



LIVES  
OF THE  
BRITISH ADMIRALS:  
CONTAINING AN ACCURATE  
NAVAL HISTORY  
FROM THE  
EARLIEST PERIODS.

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BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

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THE NAVAL HISTORY CONTINUED TO THE YEAR 1779,  
BY  
DR. BERKENHOUT.

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A NEW EDITION,  
REVISED, CORRECTED,  
*And the Historical Part further continued to the Year 1780,*  
BY THE LATE  
HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, Esq.

And further continued to  
THE LAST EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS IN 1816,  
WITH  
THE LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT NAVAL COMMANDERS  
*From the Time of Dr. Campbell to the above Period,*

BY  
WILLIAM STEVENSON, Esq.

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES  
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# C O N T E N T S

OF

## VOLUME FIFTH.

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INCLUDING  
A NEW AND ACCURATE  
NAVAL HISTORY.

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CHAP. I.

The Naval History of Great Britain from the Accession of King George II to the End of the War in the Year 1763.—Continued from the preceding Volume.

ABOUT the close of the preceding year, \* overtures of accommodation were made on the part of France by Monsieur Rouille, secretary of state, in a private letter to Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic majesty. But as this application was calculated only to amuse the English ministry, in order to gain time, it produced no other effect. The French, having now augmented their navy very considerably, ordered all the British subjects in France to depart the kingdom; published an edict for the encouragement of privateers; seized every English vessel in their ports, and sent their crews to prison. They then began to threaten us with an invasion; and, in order to give this project an air of probability, were extremely busy in their military preparations on the coast of the

A. D.  
1756.

\* Smollet's History, p. 315.

British Channel. But the design of these preparations was merely to divert our attention from their armaments in the Mediterranean, where the blow was really intended. The king, the ministry, and their adherents in parliament, were, however, so completely duped by this French manœuvre, that Hessian and Hanoverian troops were sent for to protect us, and the repeated authentic information concerning the equipment and destination of the Toulon fleet totally disregarded. There never was a more flagrant example of obstinate infatuation.

At length the destination of the armament at Toulon was so certainly and universally known, that the British ministry started suddenly from their apathy, and, like men just awakened from a sound slumber, began to act before they had recovered their senses. It was known to all Europe, that the French squadron at Toulon consisted of thirteen ships of the line, and that fifteen thousand land forces were there ready for embarkation; nevertheless, only ten British ships were ordered for the Mediterranean, and the command was given to Admiral Byng, a man whose courage and abilities were yet untried. With this squadron, not completely manned, without either hospital or fire-ship, he sailed from Spithead on the 7th of April. He had on board Major-general Stuart, Lord Effingham, Colonel Cornwallis, and about forty inferior officers, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca; also a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, and about a hundred recruits.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, where he found the *Louisa*, Captain Edgecombe, who informed him, that he had been driven from Minorca by a French squadron of thirteen ships of the line, commanded by Monsieur Galissoniere, who had landed fifteen thousand men on that island. Admiral Byng gave immediate orders for the ships to complete their provisions and water with all possible expedition. On the third day after his arrival he went on shore to confer with General Fowke,

the governor of Gibraltar, concerning a battalion to be transported to Minorca. When the admiral demanded this battalion, the governor produced three several letters of instruction from the war-office, which he could neither reconcile with each other, nor with the order given by the admiralty to Admiral Byng. These several orders, which were then compared and considered by a council of war at Gibraltar, being matter of importance to every future commander, whether at land or sea, I must entreat the reader, before he proceeds, to consider attentively Admiral Byng's instructions, and then to read carefully the orders sent from the war-office to General Fowke, which he will find at the bottom of this page. \*

The council of war, after mature deliberation, determined not to part with the battalion required; first, because it appeared by Lord Barrington's first letter, that the fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar; and, secondly, because it was the opinion of the engineers who were well acquainted with Minorca, that to throw succours into St. Philip would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. But this resolution of the council of war was certainly wrong; for though it appeared by Lord Barrington's first letter, that the fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar, that order was evidently contradicted by Admiral Byng's instructions of a later date, and the order for sending a battalion to Minorca was repeated and confirmed. However, the council of war consented that one captain, six

\* Lord Barrington's letter to General Fowke, dated the 21st of March, says, "The king has ordered the royal regiment of fuzileers to embark immediately for Gibraltar, and that upon their arrival you are to make a detachment equal to a battalion, from the four regiments in garrison, to Minorca" The second letter, without any reference to the first, repeats the order for embarking a battalion on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, in case there was any probability of its being attacked; and the third letter, dated April 1, orders the governor to receive such women and children, belonging to the fuzileers, as Admiral Byng should think fit to land.

subalterns, five drums, and two hundred and thirty-five privates, should be embarked, to supply the deficiency of those left at Minorca by Captain Edgecombe, and without which his ships would have been of little service in case of an engagement. With regard to Admiral Byng's orders, though they were in many respects conditional, his orders to save Minorca, at all events, were positive and explicit, and that he ought to have effected, even at the risque of sacrificing his whole fleet. Be this as it may, he sailed from Gibraltar on the 8th of May, and on the 16th arrived at Majorca, where he was joined by the Phoenix, Captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence relative to the French fleet and the siege of St. Philip. He then steered for Minorca, but having contrary winds, did not make that island until the morning of the 19th, when he saw the English flag still flying on the castle of St. Philip, and several bomb-batteries playing upon it from the enemy's works. There have been British admirals, who, at such a prospect, would have sworn to relieve the garrison, or perish in the attempt! Early in the morning the admiral despatched Captain Hervey, in the Phoenix, with the Chesterfield and Dolphin, with orders to reconnoitre the entrance into the harbour, and, if possible, to convey a letter to General Blakeney. \* Captain Hervey got round

\* Though this letter from the admiral was not delivered, it is necessary that the reader should know its contents, because no circumstance ought to be concealed which may, in any degree, tend to elucidate a transaction attended by such serious consequences.

“ To GENERAL BLAKENLY.

“ SIR—I send you this by Captain Hervey, of his majesty's ship  
 “ Phoenix, who has my orders to convey it to you, if possible, together  
 “ with the enclosed packet, which he received at Leghorn. I am  
 “ extremely concerned to find that Captain Edgecombe was obliged  
 “ to retire to Gibraltar with the ships under his command, and that  
 “ the French are landed, and St. Philip's castle is invested; as I flatter  
 “ myself, had I fortunately been more timely in the Mediterranean  
 “ that I should have been able to have prevented the enemy's getting  
 “ a footing in the island of Minorca. I am to acquaint you, that Ge-

the *Laire* before nine o'clock in the morning, he made signals to the garrison for a boat to come off but without effect, and the admiral, about this time, discovering the French fleet, ordered him to return.

Admiral Byng now stood toward the enemy, and about two in the afternoon made a signal for the line of battle a-head. He then distributed as many seamen as could be spared from the frigates, on board such ships as were most in want of hands, and converted the *Phoenix* into a fire-ship. At seven in the evening the French squadron, being then about two leagues distant, tacked, in order to gain the weather-gage; and the English admiral, not choosing to relinquish that advantage, also put his ships about.

On the 20th, in the morning, the weather being hazy, the French fleet could not be discovered; but it became visible before noon, and at two o'clock Admiral Byng made a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Rear-admiral West was then at too great a distance to comply with both these orders; he therefore bore away seven points from the wind, and with his whole division attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that

“ neral Stuart, Lord Effingham, and Colonel Cornwallis, with about  
 “ thirty officers, and some recruits belonging to the different regiments  
 “ now in garrison with you, are on board the ships of the squadron,  
 “ and shall be glad to know by the return of the officer, what place  
 “ you will think proper to have them landed at. The royal regiment  
 “ of English fuzileers, commanded by Lord Robert Bertie, is likewise  
 “ on board the squadron, destined, agreeable to my orders, to serve  
 “ on board the fleet in the Mediterranean, unless it should be thought  
 “ necessary, upon consultation with you, to land the regiment for the  
 “ defence of Minorca, but I must also inform you, should the fuzileers  
 “ be landed, as they are part of the ship’s complements, the maines  
 “ having been ordered by the lords commissioners of the admiralty  
 “ on board of other ships at Portsmouth, to make room for them, that  
 “ it will disable the squadron from acting against that of the enemy,  
 “ which I am informed is cruising off the island, however, I shall  
 “ gladly embrace every opportunity of promoting his majesty’s service  
 “ in the most effectual manner, and shall assist you to distress the  
 “ enemy and defeat their designs to the utmost of my power.”



several of their ships were soon obliged to quit the line. Had Admiral Byng been equally alert and eager to engage, it is most probable that the French fleet would have been defeated and Minorca saved; but the enemy's centre keeping their station, and Byng's division not advancing, Admiral West was prevented from pursuing his advantage, by the apprehension of being separated from the rest of the fleet.

After engaging about a quarter of an hour, the *Intrepid*, the sternmost ship of the van, lost her fore-top-mast, which, according to Byng's account of the action, \* obliged his whole division to back their sails, to prevent their falling foul of each other. But when this matter came to be examined by the court-martial, it appeared, that immediately after the signal for engaging, while the van were bearing down upon the enemy, Admiral Byng, in the *Ramillies*, edged away some points, by which means the *Trident* and *Louisa* got to windward of him, and that, in order to bring them again into their stations, he backed his mizen-top-sail, and endeavoured to back his main-top-sail. This manœuvre necessarily retarded all the ships in his division, and gave the enemy time to escape. *M. Galissoniere* seized the opportunity, and, his ships being clean, was soon out of danger. But Admiral Byng, before the engagement, ordered the *Deptford* to quit the line, in order to reduce his line of battle to the same number of ships as that of the enemy. For this apparent generosity he was censured by the court-martial; nevertheless, there does not appear to be any great impropriety in reserving one or more supernumerary ships in readiness to supply the place of those which may happen to be disabled.

From this relation of facts, the reader will easily perceive that Admiral Byng's conduct was by no means justifiable. The naval reader sees very clearly, from the situa-

\* Byng's letter to the admialty.

tion of the two fleets, relative to the wind, that he might have fought if he would and, from a comparison of the two fleets, it will seem more than probable, to those who are acquainted with the superior activity and skill of our sailors in time of action, that a decisive victory might have been expected. Whether Admiral Byng's conduct is justly to be ascribed to his excessive prudence, his want of skill, or want of courage, is difficult to determine. Probably these three causes operated in conjunction to produce the fatal effect. The only plausible argument that can be urged in extenuation of this admiral's conduct is, that he might be too strongly impressed by the recollection of Mathews and Lestock the first of whom was punished for fighting, not according to rule, and the latter not punished, though he did not fight at all.

The English had in this engagement forty-two men killed, and one hundred and sixty-eight wounded, the

ENGLISH			FRENCH		
SHIPS	GUNS	TONS	SHIPS	GUNS	TONS
Ramilles . . . .	90	780	Fo droyant . . . .	84	950
Culloden . . . .	74	600	La Couronne . . . .	71	800
Buckingham . . . .	68	525	Le Guerrier . . . .	71	300
Lancaster . . . .	66	520	Le Temeraire . . . .	74	800
Triton . . . .	64	500	Le Redoubtable . . . .	71	800
Intrepid . . . .	64	480	Le Hipopotame . . . .	61	600
Captain . . . .	64	180	Le Fier . . . .	64	600
Revenge . . . .	64	480	Le Triton . . . .	64	600
Kingston . . . .	60	100	Le Lion . . . .	64	600
Defiance . . . .	60	400	Le Content . . . .	64	600
Louisa . . . .	56	100	Le Sage . . . .	61	600
Portland . . . .	48	300	L'Orphee . . . .	64	600
	<hr/>			<hr/>	
	778	5875		628	8,350
<i>Frigates</i>			<i>Frigates.</i>		
Deptford . . . .	48	280	La Juno . . . .	46	300
Chesterfield . . . .	40	250	La Rose . . . .	30	250
Phoenix . . . .	22	160	Glacieuse . . . .	20	250
Dolphin . . . .	22	160	La Topez . . . .	24	250
Expenment . . . .	22	160	La Nymphe . . . .	24	200
	<hr/>			<hr/>	
	932	6,885		982	9,600

French, one hundred and forty-five wounded, and twenty-six killed. Captain Andrews, of the *Defiance*, was the only officer of distinction, on board the English fleet, who lost his life on this occasion. The French fleet soon disappeared, and at eight in the evening Admiral Byng made a signal for his squadron to bring to, at which time the *Intrepid* and the *Chesterfield* were missing, the former, being disabled, had been left to the care of the latter. They joined the fleet next morning, and the admiral then finding that three of his squadron were damaged in their masts, called a council of war, at which General Stuart, Lord Effingham, Lord Robert Bertie, and Colonel Cornwallis were requested to assist.

The council of war being assembled on board the *Ramillies*, the following questions were proposed by Admiral Byng :—

1. Whether an attack upon the French fleet gives any prospect of relieving Minorca?—Answer. It would not.

2. If there was no French fleet cruizing off Minorca, whether the English fleet could raise the siege?—Answer. It could not.

3. Whether Gibraltar would not be in danger by any accident that may befall this fleet?—Answer. It would be in danger.

4. Whether an attack with our fleet, in the present state of it, upon that of the French, will not endanger the safety of Gibraltar, and expose the trade of the Mediterranean to great hazard?—Answer. It would.

5. Whether it is not for his majesty's service that the fleet should immediately proceed for Gibraltar?—Answer. It should proceed for Gibraltar.

Here I must take leave to retard the progress of our history a few moments, for the sake of the naval reader, to whom the consideration of these five resolutions may prove of infinite importance; these volumes being written with an intention, not only to record the heroic virtues of

our naval commanders in times past, not only to amuse the gentlemen who in the present age have the honour to serve on board the British fleet, but to amuse, to inform, to warn them, by example. I have, more than once, observed, and the truth of my observation hath been frequently confirmed, that councils of war seldom forebode much heroism. When a commander in chief, whose power is absolute, condescends to ask advice of his inferiours, it is a tacit acknowledgment, that his abilities are inadequate to his power; or, that he is inclined to do that for which he dares not be responsible. I do not believe there was one member of this council of war, who, if the five resolutions had depended upon his single voice, would not have answered them all in the negative. I am also of opinion, that if Admiral Byng had been positively ordered to call no councils of war, but to relieve Minorca at all events, he would have destroyed the French fleet, saved the island, and would have returned triumphant to Britain; unless we are to suppose him constitutionally a coward; for, on such beings, the *present*, though *lost*, danger always acts most powerfully.

How this council of war could determine, that it was impossible to relieve Minorca, without ever making the least attempt for that purpose, is incredibly astonishing! and indeed it afterwards appeared that the troops on board might have been landed at the sally-port with little danger, for Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, actually went out to sea in a small boat in search of the English fleet, and returned safe to the garrison. As to their concern for the safety of Gibraltar, their apprehensions were in the highest degree ridiculous. According, however, to the fifth resolution of the council, Admiral Byng returned with his fleet to Gibraltar, and Galissoniere to his former station off Cape Mola. How the garrison of St Philip must have been affected, when they beheld the French squadron return triumphant, and afterwards heard a *few*

*de joye* in the enemy's camp, may be easily conceived. The besiegers had doubtless cause to rejoice at the safe return of their fleet, though not on account of any victory obtained by their admiral, for the two admirals evidently ran from each other. But though the garrison were not a little disappointed at Byng's disappearance, they nevertheless defended the castle till the 28th of June, when, despairing of relief from England, and not exactly knowing that, in the great system of politics, they were intended to be sacrificed, after a gallant defence of ten weeks, the venerable Blakeney, on very honourable terms, surrendered Minorca to the Duc de Richlieu.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 19th of June, where Commodore Broderick had come to an anchor four days before, with a reinforcement of five ships of the line, which were sent from Eng'and in consequence of certain intelligence that the French were fitting out more ships at Toulon. Thus enforced, Admiral Byng determined to return to Minorca, in hopes of being yet in time to relieve the garrison; but while he was with great activity preparing for this second enterprize, the Antelope of fifty guns arrived at Gibraltar. On board of this ship were Admiral Hawke, Admiral Saunders, and Lord Tyrawley, who were commissioned to supersede and arrest Admiral Byng, Admiral West, and Governor Fowke. The three delinquents were accordingly sent on board the Antelope, and returned prisoners to England. Sir Edward Hawke, with the fleet under his command, sailed immediately up the Mediterranean; but, upon his arrival off Minorca, he had the mortification to see the French flag flying on St. Philip's castle. As soon as the garrison surrendered, Galissoniere prudently retired to Toulon, where he remained in security, while Sir Edward Hawke asserted the naval empire of Great Britain, in sight of an enemy elated with the conquest of a small island, which they were afterwards obliged to relinquish. This conquest, though

really insignificant, caused such extravagant exultation in France, such an universal *Te Deum laudamus*, that one might rationally have supposed the British empire totally annihilated.

The people of England, on the contrary, received the intelligence of Byng's retreat with general dissatisfaction, and, without the least inquiry into the conduct of the ministry, pointed all their resentment against that unfortunate admiral. The ministry joined in the cry, doing every thing in their power to divert the resentment of the people from themselves. That Mr Byng's conduct was, in many respects, extremely reprehensible, is most certain; but it is not less certain, that the ministry were equally inexcusable, for not sending troops to Minorca much sooner, and for not giving Byng a superiour fleet. If the five ships, which afterwards sailed to his assistance, had made part of his squadron, Galissomere must have fled at his approach, and Minorca would infallibly have been saved. But these reflections, while they fix eternal obloquy on the administration, do not exculpate the admiral. The exigency and importance of the service on which he was sent, required a sacrifice of prudence to necessity. Our history affords many examples of English fleets obtaining a complete victory over an enemy far superiour in number of guns and men, but these victories were gained by admirals who disdained to calculate the exact weight of metal in each squadron.

Admiral Byng, Admiral West, and General Fowke, arrived at Portsmouth on the 3d of July. The two latter were ordered to London, where Admiral West was graciously received by the king. The general was tried for disobedience of orders in not sending a battalion to the relief of Minorca, and sentenced to be suspended for a year. The king confirmed the sentence, and afterwards dismissed him the service. Admiral Byng, after continuing some time in arrest at Portsmouth, was escorted to Green-

wich hospital, where he remained close prisoner till December, the time appointed for his trial, which began on the 28th of that month, on board the *St. George* in Portsmouth harbour. The court-martial consisted of four admirals, and nine captains of the navy.\* They sat a month, daily examining evidence for and against the prisoner. Admiral West deposed, that he saw no reason why the rear-division might not have engaged the enemy as close as did the van, and that there was no signal made for giving chace when the French sheered off. General Blakeney deposed, that, on the 20th of May, boats might have passed between the fleet and the garrison with great security, and that if the troops ordered for his relief had been landed, he could have held out till the arrival of Sir Edward Hawke. Captain Young, of the *Intrepid*, declared, that the loss of his fore-top-mast did not appear to prevent the rear-division from bearing down upon the enemy. Captain Gardiner deposed, that he advised the admiral to bear down, but without effect, and that, on the day of the action, the admiral took the command of the *Ramillies* entirely upon himself. These cogent depositions were corroborated by other witnesses, and not in the least degree invalidated by any counter-evidence in favour of the delinquent. But some of the officers who were on board his ship, and near him during the engagement, deposed, that he discovered no signs of confusion, or want of personal courage, but that he gave his orders distinctly and with apparent coolness. The admiral's speech, in his defence, was inadequate to the great purpose of effacing the impression which the powerful evidence against him had made upon the court; they therefore found him guilty of a breach of that part of the twelfth article of war, which says,—“or shall not do his utmost

\* Admirals.—Smith, president, Holbourne, Norris, Boderick.

Captains.—Holmes, Boys, Simcoe, Bentley, Dennis, Geary, Moore, Douglas, Keppel.

“ to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty  
 “ to engage; and to assist and relieve all and every of  
 “ his majesty’s ships which it shall be his duty to assist  
 “ and relieve.” He was therefore sentenced to be shot,  
 that being the punishment positively ordained for a breach  
 of this article. The court, however, being of opinion, that  
 Admiral Byng’s misconduct did not proceed from want of  
 courage or disaffection, added to their report of their pro-  
 ceedings to the lords of the admiralty, a petition, requesting  
 their lordships most earnestly to recommend him to his  
 majesty’s clemency.

The lords of the admiralty, having compared the sen-  
 tence of the court-martial with the words of the twelfth  
 article of war, which are, “ Every person in the fleet,  
 “ who through *cowardice, negligence* or *disaffection*, shall,”  
 &c. and not finding the crime of *negligence* (he being  
 acquitted of the other two) imputed by the court; were  
 in doubt concerning the legality of the sentence: they  
 therefore presented a memorial to the king, requesting  
 that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken.  
 This was accordingly done, and the judges pronounced it  
 a legal sentence. After the lords of the admiralty had  
 signed a warrant for Admiral Byng’s execution, some of  
 the members of the court-martial expressed a wish to be  
 released, by act of parliament, from their oath of secrecy.  
 A bill for this purpose accordingly passed the house of  
 commons; but when it came to a second reading in the  
 house of lords, each member of the court-martial was  
 separately asked, whether he had any thing to reveal  
 which might incline the king to pardon the delinquent.  
 Strange as it may seem, they all answered in the negative!  
 and, on the 14th of March, Admiral John Byng was shot  
 on board the *Monarque*, in the harbour of Portsmouth.

This exemplary punishment of a British admiral was  
 an event so singular, and so interesting to every gentle-  
 man of the navy, that it seems to require a few reflections



before we dismiss the subject. That the admiral did not exert his utmost power against the enemy, is very evident, and it is equally apparent, his fleet having the advantage of the wind, that his fighting or not fighting was matter of choice. Hence it necessarily follows, allowing that he ought to have fought, that he either wanted judgment or resolution. As to judgment, it certainly required very little, to comprehend the importance of the service on which he was sent, and still less knowledge of the history of human events, not to know, that, when great achievements are required, something must be left to fortune, regardless of the calculation of chances. In all battles, whether at sea or on the field, fortuitous events have vast influence, but in naval combats most frequently, where a single accidental shot from a frigate may disable a first-rate man-of-war. This consideration is alone sufficient to determine any commander of a king's ship never to strike so long as he can swim, be the force of his antagonist ever so superiour. Upon the whole, I believe we may equitably conclude, that Admiral Byng was constitutionally deficient in that degree of personal intrepidity, by no means essential to the character of a private gentleman, but which is the *sine qua non* of a British admiral. The justice of punishing a man for a constitutional defect, rests solely on his accepting his commission with the articles of war in his hand. But admitting we are satisfied in regard to the justice of his execution, in consequence of the sentence of the court-martial; we are not at all satisfied with the conduct of that, or those members of that court, who were so anxious to be released from their oath of secrecy as to push an act for that purpose through the house of commons, and who afterwards spoke another language at the bar of the house of lords. Truth or calumny, I know not which, has whispered, that Lord Anson's private remonstrances deprived Byng of that last ray of hope which some scruples

of conscience gave him reason to expect, and the public of that satisfaction which they have still a right to demand. I say this, on a presumption that the person alluded to is now living.

The pursuit of this tragedy to its catastrophe having carried us somewhat beyond the limits of the year 1756, it is necessary that we should now resume the thread of our relation of such public transactions as were connected with the naval history of this kingdom. Hitherto we have seen Great Britain and France actually at war, without the ceremony of an open declaration. Why this formality was so long deferred, must be ascribed to political considerations, by which the ministers of both countries were influenced; but how cogent soever these considerations might seem to a cabinet-council, a piratical war between two polished nations is unjust to the subjects of both: the reason is obvious. However, in the beginning of May, the British ministry being no longer in doubt concerning the invasion of Minorca by the French, determined to throw off the mask; accordingly a declaration of war with that nation was published in London on the 18th, and on the 9th of June war with England was proclaimed at Paris.

One principal design of this history being to perpetuate the names of such naval commanders, as, by their gallant actions, deserve to be recorded in the annals of Britain, I cannot omit an engagement which happened on the 17th of May off Rochfort, between the Colchester of fifty guns, commanded by Captain O'Brien, and the Lime of twenty guns, with the Aquilon of forty-eight guns, M. de Mauville, and the Fidelle of thirty-six guns, M. de Lizard's. They were within gun-shot about six in the evening, and soon came to so close an engagement, that the fore-sail of the Lime was set on fire by the wads of the Fidelle, against whom, notwithstanding the great inequality of strength, she maintained a glorious contest upwards of five

hours; when the *Fidelle* retreated firing signals of distress, and the *Lime* was so shattered as to be totally incapable of making any sail a-head. The *Colchester* and the *Aquilon* fought with equal intrepidity till past midnight, and then parted with mutual honour and satisfaction. Previous to this action, the *Warwick* of sixty guns, Captain Shuldham, off *Martinico*, falling in with three French men-of-war, was taken after an obstinate running fight, in which she lost her captain and a considerable number of men.

Our fleet in North America was, during this year, not totally inactive. A French man-of-war of fifty guns, called *L'Arc-enciel*, with troops and military stores for *Louisbourg*, was taken off that port by the *Norwich* and *Litchfield*, both fifty gun ships, belonging to Admiral *Spry's* squadron. On the 26th of July, off the harbour of *Louisbourg*, Commodore *Holmes* on board the *Grafton*, with the *Nottingham*, and the *Hornet* and *Jamaica* sloops, fell in with two French men-of-war, *Le Hero*, *L'Illustre*, and two frigates, which were returning from *Canada*. The enemy being to windward, Commodore *Holmes* stood toward them, as near the wind as he could lie. The French squadron bore down upon him till within about two leagues distance, when the English tacked with a design to cut the enemy off from the port of *Louisbourg* but they hauled in for it, and came to an anchor about noon. Commodore *Holmes* pursued them till within a league of the harbour, where he laid to till four in the afternoon, and then made sail to the eastward. As soon as it was dark, he despatched the *Hornet* sloop to *Halifax*, to request a reinforcement, being much inferior to the enemy. At eight next morning, the four French ships, above-mentioned, weighed anchor, sailed out of the harbour, and gave him chace. The English ships stood from the enemy at first, and fought them for some time with their stern chace only; but the *Grafton* at length hauled

up her courses, bunted her main-sail, and bore down upon the French commodore, who was also attacked by the Nottingham. *L'illustre* was prevented from assisting his partner, by a sudden calm, but a breeze springing up soon after, the French were again united about seven in the evening. At dusk the battle ended, and the two squadrons separated. According to the French account of this engagement, the two English ships sheered off when they saw the *Illustre* coming up, and next morning Mons Beausier, the commodore, finding the English at too great a distance, returned to Louisbourg, with the loss of eighteen men killed and forty-eight wounded. The English account, on the contrary, assures us, that, before it grew dark, the French sheered off, and next morning prevented a renewal of the action, by bearing away right before the wind for Louisbourg. The *Hero* was considerably injured. The *Grafton* had six men killed and twenty-one wounded.

Spain, at this time, affected to entertain sentiments of sincere friendship toward England, and declared herself determined to maintain the strictest neutrality: nevertheless, she had so continued to augment her navy, that she had now forty six ships of the line and twenty two frigates almost fit for service. Notwithstanding the pacific declarations of the Spanish ministry, they were certainly determined, as soon as they were ready, if not to break with England, at least to try her patience to the utmost. Their guarda costas began again to insult our trade in the West Indies, and private orders were sent to prevent our cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. But these insults being insufficient to provoke the British ministry, the haughty Spaniard resolved to seize the first opportunity of insulting us nearer home. A French privateer, having taken an English vessel on the coast of France, brought her to an anchor under the guns of Algeziras, a Spanish fort in the bay of Gibraltar. Sir Edward Hawke, whose

squadron was at this time riding in the bay, and Lord Trawley, governor of Gibraltar, immediately sent to demand the restitution of the prize, which the governor of Algeziras positively refused. The English officer who carried this demand, being attended with a number of armed boats, with orders to cut the ship out and to bring her off at all events, proceeded to execute his orders, and carried his point: but the castle gave him so warm a reception, that above a hundred of his men were either killed or wounded. The court of Spain approved of the governor's conduct, and pretended to be violently offended with that of Sir Edward Hawke. England bore this outrage with christian patience; and the impression it made was soon obliterated by a greater.

Human nature, collected into states and kingdoms, is influenced by the follies, passions, and vices, by which individuals are generally governed. The man who wants spirit to resent the first affront, must soon expect a second; so it is with nations. The Antigallican, an English private ship-of-war, of thirty carriage and sixteen swivel guns, commanded by Captain William Foster, cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with *Le Duc de Penthièvre*, a French East Indiaman, on the 26th of December, about seven leagues from Ferrol. The Indiaman, mounting fifty guns, being to windward, bore down upon the Antigallican, and fired a gun to bring her to. She then hoisted her colours. The Frenchman fired a broadside, and half another, with considerable effect, before the Antigallican returned the compliment. A close engagement ensued, and continued three hours, when the Indiaman struck, her captain and twelve men being killed, and her second captain and twenty-seven men wounded. They were, at this time, five leagues and a half distant from the light-house at Corunna. Captain Foster attempted to carry his prize into Lisbon; but, finding it impossible to make that port, he bore away for Cadiz, where, as soon as he came to an

anchor, the officers of the Indiaman deposed upon oath, that their ship was in all respects a legal prize. Nevertheless, incredible as it may seem, it was not long before orders were sent from Madrid, to the governor of Cadiz, to detain both the ships, under pretence that the Indiaman was taken so near a Spanish fort, as to be within the distance prescribed by the law of nations. a palpable falsehood! The Spaniards pretended to institute a legal inquiry, but their proceedings were a disgrace to all law and equity. Sir Benjamin Keene at Madrid, and Mr. Goldsworth, the English consul at Cadiz, in vain remonstrated. The court of Spain sent a positive order for the prize to be delivered to the French consul, and the governor of Cadiz, on Captain Foster's refusing to strike the English colours, sent a sixty-gun ship and a thirty-gun frigate to reduce the *Penthièvre* to obedience by force. They continued firing upon her nearly two hours, without a single shot being returned. They shot away his ensign, killed the sailor who was sent to strike his pendent, and wounded seven of his men. When the Spanish commodore had thus amused himself as long as he thought fit, Captain Foster was told that he was not a prisoner, and suffered to go on shore, and was afterwards told by the governor, that he had no farther commands for him: nevertheless, he was next morning dragged to prison, and his crew, after being robbed and abused by the Spanish soldiers, were thrown into a loathsome dungeon, where they must inevitably have perished of hunger, but for the humanity of the British consul. These unhappy men were not released, till the 5th of March.

It is as painful to the British historian, as to the British reader, to contemplate the insolent cruelty and injustice of Spain, in this and the preceding example. In some periods of our history, not a nation under heaven would have dared thus to provoke the growling lion. If this had happened in the reign of Elizabeth, or during Cromwell's usurpation,

Cadiz would have been laid in ashes in less than a month. But the political system of the British ministry prompted them rather to submit to any insult, than risk a Spanish war. The people of England grew dissatisfied. Braddock's defeat, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America; the loss of Minorca, and the absurd disposition and employment of the navy, convinced them, that the ministry were unequal to the importance of their several offices. The nation became clamorous, and the king at last consented to a partial change in the administration. Mr. Pitt was appointed secretary of state for the southern department, and Mr. Legge nominated chancellor of the exchequer.

A.D. 1757. The people in general were extremely delighted with this change of men, in full confidence that a change of measures would follow; but too much of the old leaven still remained, to suffer the full exertion of heroic patriotism. These new ministers began to act upon principles so diametrically opposite to those of their colleagues in administration, that they were hardly seated in their places before it was determined to remove them. They were represented to the king as two obstinate, wayward servants of the people, rather than of the crown, and totally ignorant of that political system by which Hanover could possibly be preserved. This artful appeal to his majesty's natural affections produced the desired effect. On the 5th of April Mr. Pitt,\* by the king's command, was dismissed the office of secretary of state, and Mr. Legge, having also resigned, was succeeded by Lord Mansfield in the office of chancellor of the exchequer. This sudden dismissal of the two popular ministers, surprized and alarmed the nation, and, instead of disgracing them with the people, added infinitely to their popularity. Many of the principal cities in England complimented them

\* London Gazette.

with their freedom in gold boxes, and the whole nation became at last so clamorous, that it was soon thought advisable to solicit their re-acceptance of the places from which they had been so lately dismissed. Mr Pitt resumed his office of secretary of state for the southern department on the 29th of June, and Mr Legge that of chancellor of the exchequer a few days after. From this time Mr. Pitt became prime minister, though the principal persons who composed the late administration remained in office. The duke of Newcastle was appointed first lord of the treasury, Mr. Fox paymaster-general of the army, and Lord Anson first lord of the admiralty.

The first expedition in which the navy bore a part, after Mr. Pitt's restoration, was that against Rochfort on the coast of France. This minister conceived, that the most effectual means of stopping the progress of the French armies in Germany, was, by ravaging their coast, to call their attention to the security of their own dominions. Rochfort became the first object of his attention in consequence of certain intelligence which he had received from a Captain Clerk, who informed him, that, returning from Gibraltar in the year 1744, he visited Rochfort, with a design to make himself acquainted with its strength, in case of a war with France, and that he found its fortifications in so ruinous a state, that the town might be easily taken by a *coup-de-main*; presuming that it remained in the same situation, because the fortifications had not been repaired during the two last wars with England. Captain Clerk's information was afterwards laid before the cabinet, and Thierry, a French pilot, was closely examined, concerning the practicability of landing and protecting the troops.

The ministry being now perfectly satisfied, as to the feasibility and importance of the enterprise, a formidable fleet was immediately ordered to Spithead, and ten regiments of foot encamped on the Isle of Wight. Sir John



Mordaunt, knight of the bath, commanded the troops, and Sir Edward Hawke the fleet of men-of-war ordered for this service. The destination of this formidable armament remained a profound secret for some time; it was, however, at last, generally understood to be intended against some part of the coast of France. Mr. Pitt, perfectly sensible of the necessity of proceeding with all possible expedition, repeatedly urged the departure of the fleet; but, either by some unaccountable fatality, or by the malignant influence of men who would damn their country to thwart the measures of an envied minister, the transports did not arrive at St. Helen's till the 4th of September. The troops were embarked with all possible expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the 8th. This entire armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, seven frigates, two bomb-ketches, two fire-ships, two busses, one horse-ship,\* and fifty-five transports, besides

	SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	GUNS.
	* <i>Viz.</i> Royal George .....	Buckle.....	100
	Ramilhes (Adm.Hawke)	Hobbs .....	90
	Neptune .....	Galbraith .....	90
	Namph .....	Dennis .....	90
	Royal William .....	Taylor .....	84
	Baifleur .....	Graves.....	80
	Princess Amelia .....	Colby.....	80
	Magnanme.....	Howe .....	74
	Torbay.....	Keppel .....	74
	Dublin .....	Rodney.....	74
	Burford.....	Young .....	70
	Alcide .....	Douglas.....	64
	America .....	Byron .....	60
	Achilles .....	Barrington .....	60
	Medway .....	Proby.....	60
	Dunkuk .....	Digby .....	60
<i>Frigate..</i>	Southampton .....	Gilchrist .....	32
	Coventry .....	Scrope .....	28
	Cormorant .....	Chve .....	18
	Postihon .....	Cooper .....	18
	Beaver .....	Gascoigne .....	18
	Pelican.....	O'Hara .....	16

the Jason, a forty-gun ship, in the capacity of a transport, and the Chesterfield man-of-war for the purpose of repeating signals. On board of this fleet were ten regiments of foot, two regiments of marines, sixty light horse, and a formidable train of artillery. The admirals under Sir Edward Hawke were Knowles and Broderick, and under Sir John Mordaunt were the generals Conway and Cornwallis.

This fleet sailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, and bore away to the westward. The troops on board were totally ignorant of their destination till the 15th, when the orders issued by Sir John Mordaunt relative to the nature of the service on which they were sent, put the matter out of doubt. They stood into the bay of Biscay, and on the 20th made the isle of Oleron. Sir Edward Hawke sent immediate orders for Admiral Knowles to proceed with his division to Basque Roads, and to attack the fort on the isle of Aix; but the execution of this order, though positive, was suspended by a very extraordinary accident. Admiral Knowles, as soon as he received these orders, made sail with his division, and prepared his ships for action; but he had scarcely taken leave of Sir Edward Hawke, before a French man-of-war was observed standing in toward the centre of the English fleet. When this singular phenomenon appeared,\* Admiral Knowles was so deeply engaged in the important occupation of exhibiting the entertaining spectacle of a clear ship between decks to General Conway, that he could not possibly attend to the first information brought by his

	SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	GUNS.
	Escort .....	Inglis.....	14
<i>Bomb</i> ...	Firedrake.....	Edwards .....	8
	Infernal .....	Kenzic .....	8
<i>Five-ship</i>	Pluto .....	Lindsay .....	8
	Proserpine .....	Banks.....	8
<i>Buss</i> ....	Canterbury .....	Lampriere .....	6

\* Knowles's answer on Sir John Mordaunt's trial.

lieutenant However, in consequence of a second message, the admiral came upon deck, and, with his spy-glass, discovered this strange sail to be a two-decked ship. Admiral Knowles recollecting that he was sent on a different service, but not recollecting the comparative importance of that service, was in doubt whether he should make a signal for any of his division to chase, during this hesitation the French ship discovered her mistake, tacked and bore away with all the sail she could crowd. The admiral continued still to doubt, and doubted so long, that all possibility of coming up with her before night vanished. At last, however, Admiral Knowles ordered the *Magnanime* and the *Torbay* to give chase. They chased as long as they could see their object, and next morning rejoined the fleet.

On the 21st, Admiral Knowles, with the division under his command, made sail toward the land; but the weather proving hazy, the pilots refused to carry the fleet in. This evening the troops were in full expectation of landing; but about seven o'clock the ships tacked, and came to an anchor near the Isle of Rheè. On the 22d, the fleet entered the bay called the Road of Basque, between the islands of Rheè and Oleron, and there remained at anchor during the night. About eight next morning, Admiral Knowles in the *Neptune*, with the *Magnanime*, the *Barfleur*, *America*, *Alcide*, *Burford*, and *Royal William*, made sail toward *Aix*, a small island in the mouth of the river leading up to *Rochfort*. Captain *Howe* in the *Magnanime*, led the van. At half-past twelve, the fort upon the island began to fire upon him, and his people soon grew impatient to return the compliment. But he continued to advance with the utmost composure, without firing a single shot, continually urging his pilot to lay the ship as close to the fort as possible. The moment he came abreast of the battery, he let go his anchors, and fired a broadside, which drove most of the

Frenchmen from their guns. From this time the fire from the battery gradually ceased. It was, however, near an hour before she struck her colours. That this island should prove so easy a conquest will not appear surprising, when the reader is informed, that the battery so furiously attacked by the *Magnanime* consisted of no more than six iron cannons, mounted *en barbette*, so that the gunners were so entirely exposed, that Captain, since Lord Howe, might have taken the fort in his long-boat. There were indeed nearly thirty pieces of cannon upon the island, but the six above-mentioned were all that were brought to bear upon the ships. The fortifications of Aix were planned by the great Vauban, but the execution of that plan had been so totally neglected, that the island was, at this time, entirely defenceless.

As soon as the French colours were struck, an English regiment landed and took possession of the *important* conquest. Aix is an island about five or six miles in circumference, entirely covered with vines, which yield a meagre wine, the common beverage of the country. The garrison consisted of about five hundred men, part soldiers and part sailors, most of whom had been landed from the continent on the day preceding the attack, and were now made prisoners of war. As to the behaviour of the English regiment which took possession of the fort, I will tell it in the language of a writer, who served as a volunteer on this expedition —“ I wish,” says the author, “ I could “ with truth report, that our people behaved with the “ moderation they ought to have done — and I am sorry, “ for the credit of our discipline, that the severe orders “ issued by the general were not as severely executed. “ Both our soldiers and sailors were suffered to get “ abominably drunk, and, in consequence of that, cruelty “ to insult the poor sufferers. This little island became, in

“ a very few hours, a most shocking scene of devastation :  
 “ even the church was suffered to be pillaged, the poor  
 “ priest robbed of his little library, and his robes became  
 “ a masquerading habit to the drunken tars.” Such behaviour is not surprising in a class of men who act without reflection, and in whom reflection would be a misfortune to themselves and to their country ; but that such conduct should have been suffered by their superiours, is wonderful indeed ! That men flushed with wine and victory are with difficulty restrained, I readily acknowledge ; but the difficulty of preventing a crime, which admits of no palliation, is a very feeble apology.

The conquest of the isle of Aix, \* though of little importance, considered as an omen of success, gave vast spirits to the whole fleet, and inspired the troops with such ardour, that, if they had been immediately landed on the continent, they would probably have succeeded in any possible attempt. Five days from this period were spent in sounding the depth of water, in prudential deliberations and sage councils of war ; so that eight days were now elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast of France, during which time, we may rationally suppose, that the enemy had made no inconsiderable progress in preparing for a vigorous defence. But, before we proceed to the conclusion of this grand expedition, it is necessary to relate, more particularly, the transactions of the five days from the taking of the isle of Aix.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, immediately after the *glorious* conquest of that *important* fortress, Sir Edward Hawke sent Admiral Broderick, with Captains Dennis, Douglas, and Buckle, to reconnoitre and sound the coast, in order to find a proper place for landing the troops which were intended to destroy the shipping, docks, and naval stores at Rochfort. These gentlemen, having spent the

\* Genuine Account of the late Expedition, p. 44.

remainder of that day, and the following night, in the laborious execution of their commission, returned to the fleet about four in the evening of the 24th, and reported, that from Angoulin to Chataillon there was a hard sandy beach, also a small bay farther to the eastward, at either of which places troops might be conveniently landed, and that there was sufficient depth of water, and clear ground for the transports to anchor at a distance of a mile and a half from the shore. They also reported, that on the south side of the bay there was a square fort, on the north-west side of which were nine embrasures, and two on the north-east. This fort had been previously reconnoitred by Colonel Wolfe, who was of opinion, that it might be easily silenced by a single ship, or, at least, so engaged, that the troops might land on each side of it with very little interruption. The pilot of the *Magnanime* made no doubt of carrying his ship near enough to batter the fort. From these several reports Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt seemed determined to proceed to the execution of Colonel Wolfe's plan. But this resolution was afterwards staggered by General Conway, who, after a tedious examination of several prisoners from the isle of Aix, reported that, according to the information of these prisoners, the attempt against Rochfort would be attended with danger and difficulty. \* This suspicious information determined the two commanders to have recourse to that bane of our national glory, a council of war. If Wolfe had commanded these brave troops, would he, on this occasion, have called a council of war? The report of prisoners ought not to be entirely disregarded, but a wise general, or admiral, will listen to their information with the utmost suspicion. Be this as it may, if these prisoners produced the council of war, they ought to have been amply rewarded by the king of France as the saviours of Rochfort.

\* Entick, vol. II. p. 321.

The members of this memorable council were, Sir Edward Hawke, Sir John Mordaunt, Admiral Knowles, General Coaway, Admiral Broderick, General Cornwallis, Captain Rodney, Colonel Howard. They met on the 25th, on board the Neptune, and, after mature deliberation, determined, unanimously, that an attempt upon Rochfort was neither advisable nor practicable. That it was unadvisable, if impracticable, no body will presume to doubt. Nevertheless, Admiral Knowles was sent next morning with two bomb-ketches and other small vessels to bombard the fort, and to sound the entrance into the river Charante; who, on his return, reported, that one of the bombs ran a-ground, and that the Coventry touched five times in attempting to protect her from two French row-gallies. This report by Admiral Knowles can no otherwise be reconciled with that of the officers first employed in sounding, and with the evidence of the pilot of the Magnanime, than by supposing that the French pilots now employed, chose to sacrifice their reputation as pilots to the safety of their country. But notwithstanding this report, orders were issued that night for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to land next morning; yet that day passed in perfect inactivity. However, another council of war, consisting of the same members, being called, it was now unanimously resolved, that it was advisable to land the troops.

In consequence of this resolution, on the 28th in the afternoon, the Ramillies hoisted a signal for the commanders of regiments to come on board, and at eight the same evening, orders were issued \* for the troops to pre-

\* *Viz.*

*“ Ramillies, Sept. 28.*

*“ The troops are to be ready to go from the transports into the boats at twelve o'clock at night, a number of men-of-war's boats will be appointed to every regiment, under the command of a lieutenant: these, with the transport boats, (who are to be under the direction of a lieutenant of foot) are to receive the grenadiers, the piket*

pare for landing in the night. Twelve hundred men were accordingly crowded into boats, in full expectation of a

“ companies, one, two, or more, as the boats can contain them, the  
 “ commander of every regiment lands with the first detachment, if it  
 “ amounts to three companies

“ Particular care to be taken that the soldiers be not too much  
 “ crowded in the boats

“ The crews of the boats that row the transports' long-boats, are to  
 “ be chiefly composed of soldiers, who are to return to the coips after  
 “ the first landing, and row backwards and forwards till the whole  
 “ disembarkation is completed, and till the provisions, tents, bag-  
 “ gage, &c. are landed, according to the orders of the 15th

“ When the first part of every regiment is embarked, it is to pro-  
 “ ceed silently and quietly to the place of rendezvous appointed for  
 “ the division, and there the whole division receives their orders from  
 “ a captain of a ship of war, which orders they are in every particular  
 “ strictly to obey.

“ The troops have had a great example before their eyes, and the  
 “ general is confident that they will endeavour to imitate the cool-  
 “ ness and determined valour that appeared in the attack of the isle  
 “ of Aix.

“ No soldier is to fire from the boats upon any account, but to wait  
 “ for the moment to join the enemy with their bayonets

“ Eight mantles *per* regiment will be distributed, and the com-  
 “ manding officers will dispose of them, so as to cover the landing  
 “ boats and rowers from the musquetry, in case it be necessary.

“ The troops are to land silently, and in the best order the nature  
 “ of the thing allows of

“ The companies to form, and be ready to attack whoever appears  
 “ before them

“ The chief engineer, the quartermaster-general, and his deputies,  
 “ are to go on shore with the first body that lands.

“ All the intrenching tools are to be landed immediately after the  
 “ second embarkation

“ Mr. Boyd, the comptroller of the artillery, is appointed to carry  
 “ orders to the chief engineer, captain of the artillery, and to every  
 “ branch of the ordnance, and is to be obeyed

“ Each regiment to send a return immediately of the number of  
 “ tents they have remaining after the calculating a tent for eight men,  
 “ as ordered on the 15th.

“ Colonel Kingsly to be ready to march with the grenadiers upon  
 “ their landing, with two field-officers, Major Farquhar, and Lieu-  
 “ tenant-Colonel Sir William Boothby



signal at midnight to put off. Indeed such was the alacrity of the troops on this occasion, and such their eagerness to land, that the boats were filled an hour before the time. In this situation they remained, the boats beating against each other, for it blew rather fresh, till about three in the morning; when, instead of a signal to put off, a laconic order came for the troops to return to their respective transports. This order was obeyed, but not without a general murmur of dissatisfaction.

If the reader be unacquainted with the real history of this expedition, he will doubtless be at a loss on what martial principle to account for all these apparent dilatory, irresolute, incongruous, and even contradictory proceedings: in justice, therefore, to the commanders on each element, I will endeavour to develope the motives by which they were influenced in their various resolutions, and, if possible, to point out the several causes to which the miscarriage of this enterprise is to be attributed.

Those who are acquainted with the history of Great Britain, must recollect many instances of our naval expeditions having failed for want of alacrity in the preparation. It requires very little nautical knowledge or experience to conceive, that the success of naval enterprises depends almost entirely upon the proper season of the year. This diversion on the coast of France seems to have been first suggested by the king of Prussia and the duke of Cumberland, who were at this time overpowered by numerous French armies in Germany. Mr. Pitt adopted their idea, because he thought it rational; but he was principally influenced by the prospect of giving a mortal stab to the naval power of France, in the destruction of Rochfort. When he first determined to carry

“ The regiments are each of them to receive from the store-keeper  
 “ of the ordnance, ten *chevaux-de-frize*, and to send for them forth-  
 “ with.”

this project into execution, there appeared to be time sufficient. The troops, and the fleet of men-of-war, were assembled early in the month of August, and their not sailing till the 8th of September was entirely owing to the misconduct of the contractors for the transports : so much is it in the power of little beings to frustrate the designs of the wisest of the human species !

That the fleet did not make the isle of Oleron till the 20th, was chiefly owing to contrary winds, but, from the above narrative, it is evident that they might with great ease, have anchored in Basque Roads next morning, that the remainder of that day would have been sufficient for reconnoitring the coast, and that the troops might have been in possession of Rochfort on the evening of the 22d. The attack upon the isle of Aix was a mere waste of time, nor would the taking of Fort Fouras have answered any better purpose ; because neither of these forts were so situated as to prevent the landing of the troops, or impede their march to Rochfort, or render their retreat less secure. By the king's private instructions to Sir John Mordaunt, it appears, that the first and principal object of the expedition was, to destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals and shipping at Rochfort. This was to be effected by surprise, or *coup-de-main* : therefore every hour of unnecessary delay was a fault, as it not only gave the enemy time to recover from the consternation into which the appearance of such an armament must have thrown them, but also gave them time to collect their troops, and add strength to their fortifications.

We have seen above, from the report of Admiral Broderick, that the transports might safely ride at anchor within a mile and a half of a firm beach, where the troops might have landed without the least molestation from any fort or battery. Why were not the transports, immediately upon this report, ordered to that station, and the army landed upon the beach ? If the transports had been thus

situated, the entire disembarkation would have been effected in the space of a few hours, and the first division landed would have been supported by the second in less than an hour. This seems to have been an obvious, easy, and rational method of proceeding, and probably would have been pursued, but for General Conway's interrogation of the French prisoners which were taken on the isle of Aix. The report of these prisoners produced a council of war, and that council, on the information of these and other Frenchmen, were persuaded, that, if the troops should land on the continent, they would certainly all be drowned, for that, by opening certain sluices, the whole country might be laid under water. With these terrible apprehensions, the council unanimously determined, that any attempt upon Rochfort was neither advisable nor practicable. For this determination some reasons were assigned; but it may be somewhat difficult to find any reason for an apparent contrary determination at their next meeting, especially when we consider, that the report of Admiral Knowles, subsequent to the first council, tended rather to increase than diminish the horrible chimeras which guarded the coast of France. But it is necessary to observe, that this second resolution meant nothing more than an attack upon Fort Fouras, if it had any precise object farther than that of mere bravado; for, at this time, every idea of attempting Rochfort was entirely relinquished.

We have seen above, that, in consequence of the resolution of the council of war of the 28th, the troops were ordered to land the same night, and that, after remaining four hours in the boats, they were ordered to return to their ships. The only reason that can be assigned for this counter-order is, that, after the first order had been issued, and in part executed, the commanders discovered the absurdity of attempting to land a numerous army from ships which were at the distance of two leagues from the

shore. It is also probable that they now recollected, that, at this time, they had no motive, no object, which could either distress the enemy or serve their country in the smallest degree. We find, in the fourth article of the king's private instructions to Sir John Mordaunt, that Mr Pitt's plan extended to other towns on the coast of France, particularly L'Orient and Bourdeaux; but we see in the following article of these instructions, that the end of September was fixed for the return of the fleet. Nevertheless, lest a scrupulous obedience to these orders might frustrate the intent of the expedition, Mr. Pitt, on the 15th of September, wrote to Sir Edward Hawke and to Sir John Mordaunt, informing them, that his majesty's commands were to continue upon the coast of France as many more days as might be necessary to the completion of any operation in which they were engaged.

Having thus endeavoured to give the reader a clue which may enable him to pass through this labyrinth of delays and councils, to the several apparent causes of our disappointment, I will now presume to assign the real cause. The very able and patriotic minister who planned this admirable enterprise, notwithstanding his superiour sagacity, was mistaken in the character of Sir John Mordaunt, of General Conway, and of General Cornwallis. In military knowledge and personal courage they were by no means deficient; but there was in them all a want of that constitutional spirit of enterprise, that impetuosity of resolution, bordering upon imprudence, without which an expedition of this nature will never succeed. If the minister himself, or any general of equal constitutional heroism, had commanded this army, Rochfort would have been destroyed in twenty-four hours after the fleet came to an anchor on the coast of France.

We now resume the thread of our narrative. Sir Edward Hawke, at length disgusted with the irresolute proceedings of the army, on the 29th of September, in-

formed Sir John Mordaunt, by letter, that if he had nothing farther to propose, he intended to proceed with the fleet to England. The land officers approved his resolution, and, on the 1st of October, the fleet sailed with a fair wind for England, and came to an anchor at Spithead on the 6th of the same month.

The people of England were exceedingly disappointed and dissatisfied at this inglorious return of such a fleet and such an army. But no man in the kingdom had so much reason to be displeased as the minister himself. He now plainly perceived that he had mistaken his generals, and, to satisfy the people, consented to an inquiry into their conduct. Accordingly, a board of inquiry was appointed, consisting of the duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, and General Waldegrave. These gentlemen, after much examination, deliberation, and reflection, presented to the king so vague, so unsatisfactory, so silly a report, that it was afterwards thought necessary to bring Sir John Mordaunt to a formal trial by a court-martial. But before we proceed to speak of that court-martial, it is impossible to avoid taking some farther notice of this court of inquiry, the first article of whose report to the king was, that—"The not attacking Fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it would have been attacked by land, was one cause why the expedition failed."—That is, the expedition failed, because something was not done in conjunction with something which was never attempted. The second article of their report was—"That the council of war of the 28th was not justifiable in the resolution not to make an attack upon Rochfort, because they afterwards resolved to attack Fort Fouras." Their third article of report was, "That the expedition failed, because the fleet returned to England without any previous regular meeting of the council of war." If the three members of this board of inquiry had been well informed as to the

situation of Rochfort, Aix, and Fouras, they would have discovered that the first ought to have been attacked without any attention to either of the latter. Sir John Mordaunt was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. The minister and the admiral were also acquitted by the general voice of the people; so that this grand expedition miscarried without a cause.

Having, I hope, satisfied the reader concerning the employment of the British navy in Europe, let us now follow our fleets and armies to other parts of the world. In the East Indies we behold a scene extremely different from that which we have just quitted; unanimity, resolution, and the genuine spirit of enterprize in our commanders; intuitive military genius, and victory its natural attendant. Admiral Watson sailed from Bombay on the 30th of April, 1756. He arrived at St David's on the 29th of May; sailed from thence on the 20th of June, and anchored in Madras road the day following.\* Here he first learnt the dreadful fate of Calcutta. Having taken Colonel Clive and his small army on board his squadron, he sailed on the 6th of October, determined to revenge the horrid murder of his countrymen. They anchored in Balasore Road on the 5th of December, reached Futla on the 15th, and on the 28th proceeded to Calcutta, with the Kent, Tyger, Salisbury, Bridgewater, and King-fisher sloop. Next day Colonel Clive, with a small body of men, landed, in order to attack a fort called Busbudgia, which, being at the same time cannonaded by the ships, was soon abandoned by the garrison. Other forts and batteries were likewise deserted as the ships proceeded up the river, and, on the 2d of January, 1757, after a smart cannonade from the Kent and Tyger, the enemy were driven from their guns, and the town of Calcutta restored to the East India Company.

\* Smollet's Continuation, vol. ii. p. 46

No more than nine seamen and three soldiers were killed, and about thirty men wounded. Ninety-one pieces of cannon were found in the place, with a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores.

This important conquest being finished, the British commanders resolved to attempt Hughly, a city of great trade, higher up the Ganges. The Bridgewater of twenty guns, and a sloop, with a detachment of troops under the command of Captain Kirkpatrick, were destined for this service. This armament proceeded up the river on the 5th of January, and reduced the place without much difficulty. Twenty pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts, besides a considerable quantity of saltpetre and magazines of gram, which were immediately destroyed by the conquerors. The nabob of Bengal, enraged at being thus rapidly driven from his most important possessions, assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, and, on the 2d of February, encamped about a mile from Calcutta. Colonel Clive, though very inferior in number, resolved to attack the nabob in his camp, and requested the admiral to assist him with all the sailors he could spare. Six hundred seamen were landed, under the command of Captain Warwick, on the 5th, at one in the morning; at three Colonel Clive marched his little army, and about five the attack began. The nabob, after a feeble resistance, retreated, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded and taken. This action, though not decisive, obliged the nabob to sign articles of capitulation, very advantageous to the East India company.

Having thus humbled this insolent nabob, the conquerors turned their attention towards Chandernagore, a capital French settlement above Calcutta, on the same river. Colonel Clive with seven hundred Europeans, and about sixteen hundred Indians, marched towards the place, and, after gaining possession of the principal outposts,

waited for the arrival of the fleet. On the 18th of March, the admirals Watson and Pocock, with the Kent, Tyger, and Salisbury men-of-war, came to an anchor two miles below Chandernagore. They found their passage obstructed by booms and chains across the river. These obstacles being removed, on the 21st in the morning they began to batter the fort, whilst Colonel Clive continued his approaches by land, and after three hours cannonading the enemy hoisted a flag of truce, and surrendered by capitulation. The garrison consisted of five hundred Europeans and twelve hundred Indians, well provided with ammunition and subsistence, and a hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts. This important conquest cost the victors no more than forty men. Colonel Clive's subsequent achievements are foreign from the purpose of this history. It is sufficient to say, that he totally defeated the nabob Sulajud Dowlah at the head of twenty thousand men, caused him to be solemnly deposed, and his prime minister Ali Khan to be proclaimed viceroy in his stead.

We now take our leave of the East in order to inquire how our fleets in the West Indies and in North America were employed. We are to remember that Mr. Pitt's first administration, which commenced with the year 1757, was of short duration. It continued however long enough to convince the nation of his spirit and political sagacity. Astonished at the negligence of his predecessors in administration, he immediately conceived, and in part executed, a plan of operation wisely calculated to revive the faded laurels of Britain. He sent a squadron of men-of-war under the command of Commodore Stevens to the East Indies, another to Jamaica under Admiral Cotes, and a third was ordered to be equipped for North America, the command of which was to be given to Sir Edward Hawke. This third squadron was destined, with a body of troops under Lord Loudoun then in America, for the



reduction of Louisbourg; but the design was scarcely revealed to the privy-council, before it was known in the French cabinet, and the preparations at Portsmouth so flagrantly retarded, that the enemy had sufficient time to render the expedition abortive. One French fleet of nine ships sailed from Brest in January, a second, of five men-of-war, sailed from Toulon in April, and a third, of fourteen sail, left France on the 3d of May. The last of these squadrons arrived at Louisbourg in June. The English fleet, intended for Sir Edward Hawke, was given to Admiral Holbourne, who sailed from Cork a week after the departure of the last French squadron from Brest, and arrived at Halifax in North America on the 9th of July. Admiral Holbourne being joined by Lord Loudoun with the troops from New York, councils of war were frequently holden, and, according to the general issue of such councils, it was resolved to postpone the attack upon Louisbourg to a more favourable opportunity. Thus ended the naval expedition of Admiral Holbourne. The troops under the command of Lord Loudoun, were twelve thousand effective men, and the fleet consisted of fifteen ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, &c.

We have seen above, that early in this year a squadron sailed to the West Indies, under the command of Admiral Cotes. Soon after his arrival on the Jamaica station, he detached Captain Forest with three frigates to cruize off Cape François, in order to intercept the trade from the French islands. Captain Forest had scarcely made his appearance on that coast before he fell in with four French men-of-war commanded by Monsieur Kersaint. An engagement immediately ensued, which was sustained with mutual courage and obstinate resolution for two hours and a half; after which the enemy retreated to Cape François, and the English frigates to Jamaica. Thus ends our naval history of the year 1757: a history equally unsatisfactory to the writer and to the reader; a year dis-

tinguished solely by our conquests in the East Indies, which are to be attributed entirely to the genius and intrepidity of one man. Our fleets and armies in Europe and in America were either totally inactive or failed in their attempts. Notwithstanding the superiority of our fleet, the number of prizes taken by the French exceeded the English list of captures by more than two hundred. Let us now hasten to the year 1758, where we may expect to find the patriotic zeal, political abilities, and heroic spirit of enterprise, so conspicuous in the character of the new minister, in full exertion of their influence. This intrepid minister was so extremely disgusted at the behaviour of some of our commanders, that, in one of his speeches in the house of commons, he did not scruple to declare, that, though the king would readily embrace any rational measure for the honour of his crown, he doubted whether a man could be found, who might safely be trusted with the execution of any enterprise of danger or difficulty.

A. D.  
1758

The parliament voted, for the service of the year 1758, sixty thousand seamen, fifteen thousand marines included; and for the land service, near fifty-four thousand men. Our fleet, at this period, consisted of three hundred and twenty ships of war, one hundred and fifty-six of which were of the line. Besides these, there were on the stocks, four ships of seventy-four, two of seventy, four of sixty-four, six of thirty-six, and ten of twenty-eight guns. The supplies were raised with the utmost facility, and at a moderate interest. The languid, latent spirit of the nation, inflamed by that of the new minister, was suddenly roused from the disgraceful apathy which, except in the East Indies, characterised the operations of the preceding year. The navy of France, at this time, consisted of seventy-seven ships of the line, and thirty-nine frigates; that of Spain of fifty-two line-of-battle ships, twenty-six frigates from thirty to sixteen guns, thirteen

xebeques of twenty-four, and four packet-boats of sixteen guns.

The reduction of Louisbourg being a principal object in Mr. Pitt's plan of military operations, a naval armament, adequate to the purpose, was prepared with all possible expedition, and the command given to Admiral Boscawen, an officer of approved abilities. The formidable French fleet which had protected Louisbourg the preceding year, had returned to France in a shattered condition. These ships being repaired, were intended to return to their former station in North America; but their intentions were effectually anticipated and prevented by the vigilant alacrity of the British minister. Admiral Boscawen sailed from St. Helen's on the 19th February, with forty-one men-of-war.\* Meanwhile, a fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, blocked up the

* <i>Viz.</i> SHIPS	CAPTAINS	GUNS.
Namur . . . . . (Adm Boscawen)	Buckle . . . . .	90
Royal William (Sir Chas Hardy)	Evans . . . . .	80
Princess Amelia (Philip Durell)	Bray . . . . .	80
Dublin . . . . .	Rodney . . . . .	74
Terrible . . . . .	Collins . . . . .	74
Northumberland . . . . .	Lord Colvil . . . . .	70
Vanguard . . . . .	Swanton . . . . .	70
Oxford . . . . .	Spry . . . . .	70
Burford . . . . .	Gambier . . . . .	70
Somerset . . . . .	Hughes . . . . .	70
Lancaster . . . . .	Edgecombe . . . . .	70
Devonshue . . . . .	Gordon . . . . .	66
Bedford . . . . .	Fowke . . . . .	64
Captain . . . . .	Amheist . . . . .	64
Prince Frederic . . . . .	Man . . . . .	61
Pembroke . . . . .	Simcoe . . . . .	60
Kingston . . . . .	Parry . . . . .	60
York . . . . .	Pigot . . . . .	60
Prince of Orange . . . . .	Feiguson . . . . .	60
Defiance . . . . .	Baird . . . . .	60
Nottingham . . . . .	Marshal . . . . .	60
Centurion . . . . .	Mantel . . . . .	54
Sutherland . . . . .	Rous . . . . .	50
Besides eighteen frigates.		

French ports in the bay of Biscay, and another squadron, commanded by Admiral Osborne, was sent to cruize between Cape de Gatte and Carthagena on the coast of Spain. There were, at this time, three small squadrons of French ships of war in the different ports of Toulon, Carthagena and Brest, which squadrons, under the command of Monsieur du Quesne and Monsieur de la Clue, had orders to steal away for Louisbourg, jointly or separately. The former of these commanders, in order to join the latter at Carthagena, sailed from Toulon on the 25th of April, on board the Foudroyant of eighty guns, attended by the Orphèe of sixty-four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and Pleiade of twenty-four guns. Admiral Osborne, expecting the departure of this squadron from Toulon, had stationed the Gibraltar frigate in the offing of that harbour to watch their motions. As soon as du Quesne's squadron appeared, the Gibraltar sheered off, and gradually decoyed the enemy so effectually, that on the 27th, about two in the morning, du Quesne found himself in the midst of Osborne's fleet. In this critical situation, the French admiral made a signal for his squadron to disperse; each ship immediately steered a different course, and were as immediately pursued by detachments from Osborne's fleet, who, with the remainder of his fleet, continued to block up the harbour of Carthagena. The Pleiade, being a prime sailer, escaped. The Oriflamme was chased by the Monarque and Montague, and escaped destruction by running under the guns of a small Spanish fort. The Orphèe was pursued by the Revenge and Berwick, and was taken, by the first of these ships, in sight of Carthagena. The Foudroyant was chased by the Monmouth, Swiftsure, and Hampton Court. About seven in the morning, the Monmouth and Foudroyant began to fire at each other, the rest of the fleet being then totally out of sight. The disproportion between the two ships was very great. The Foudroyant had one thousand men

on board, and mounted eighty guns, forty-two and twenty-four pounders; the *Monmouth* mounted only sixty-four twelve and twenty-four pounders, and her complement of men was no more than four hundred and seventy. This remarkable disparity notwithstanding, Captain Gardiner, who commanded the *Monmouth*, resolved, at all events, to vanquish his enemy. Thus determined, he brought his ship within pistol-shot of his antagonist, and now the battle raged with infernal fury. About nine o'clock Captain Gardiner was shot through the head by a musket-ball.\* He lingered till the day following, and then died, universally regretted and lamented, particularly by the officers and crew of his own ship. The death of such a man was a very great loss to his country. Soon after the captain fell, the *Monmouth's* mizen-mast came by the board; on which the enemy gave three cheers. The crew of the *Monmouth* returned the compliment a few minutes after, on the mizen-mast of the *Foudroyant* being also shot away. This disaster was soon followed by the fall of her main-mast, which giving fresh spirits to the English, their fire became so incessant and intolerable, that the French sailors could no longer be kept to their guns, and the mighty *Foudroyant* struck a little after one o'clock. This action, which is one of the most glorious in the naval history of Britain, and which must ever remain an incontestable proof of our naval superiority, I recommend to the constant recollection of such of our sea officers as may be inclined to calculate their comparative weight of metal before they venture to engage.

The *Orphée* and *Foudroyant* being taken, and the commander in chief being a prisoner, Monsieur de la Clue

\* It is said that Captain Gardiner, before he expired, sent for his first lieutenant, and made it his last request, that he would not give up the ship. The lieutenant assured him he never would, and instantly went and nailed the flag to the staff. He then took a pistol in each hand, and swore if any man in the ship should attempt to strike the colours, he would put him to death.

gave up all thoughts of passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and returned from Carthagena to Toulon, where his squadron was laid up. But the French ministry, not depending entirely on their Mediterranean fleet for the protection of Louisbourg and the reinforcement of their army in North America, had prepared a considerable fleet of transports and store-ships at Rochfort, Bourdeaux, and other ports in that neighbourhood. These transports, with three thousand troops on board, were ordered to rendezvous in April, and to sail under convoy of six ships of the line and several frigates. Such however was the intelligence and alacrity of the English minister, that effectual measures were taken to frustrate the design. Sir Edward Hawke, with seven ships of the line and three frigates, sailed down the bay of Biscay, and on the 3d of April brought up in Basque Road, where he discovered five French ships of the line and seven frigates at anchor near the isle of Aix. They no sooner saw the English fleet than they began with the utmost precipitation to slip their cables, and fly in great confusion. Some of them escaped to sea; but far the greater number threw their guns and stores overboard, and, running into shoal water, stuck in the mud. Next morning several of their men-of-war and transports were seen lying on their broadsides; but being out of the reach of his guns, Sir Edward Hawke left them to their fate, perfectly satisfied with having frustrated their intention of sailing to America.

I have before observed, that some of the store-ships and transports destined for North America were to sail from Bourdeaux. These transports were twelve in number. They sailed under convoy of the *Galathée*, a frigate of twenty-two guns, and a letter of marque of twenty guns. In the bay of Biscay they had the misfortune to fall in with the *Essex* of sixty-four guns, and the *Pluto* and *Proserpine* fire-ships, which were on their passage to join Sir Edward Hawke. After a short, but smart conflict, the

French frigate, the letter of marque, and one of the transports, were taken. But this advantage was dearly purchased with the death of Captain James Hume, who commanded the Pluto. Two more of these transports were afterwards taken by the Antelope and Speedwell sloops.

Having seen every attempt of France for the protection of Louisbourg entirely frustrated, we now proceed to projects more directly offensive, planned and executed by Mr. Pitt. But a melancholy event intervenes. On the 13th of April, the Prince George of eighty guns, commanded by Rear-admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean, took fire between one and two in the afternoon, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of human skill and labour, aided by despair, burnt with such rapidity, that in the space of a few hours she burnt down to the water edge. A little before six in the evening she sunk entirely, and more than two-thirds of her crew perished in the ocean. The admiral, after buffeting the waves nearly an hour, <sup>+</sup> was at length taken up by a boat belonging to one of the merchantmen under his convoy. Captain Peyton and the chaplain were also among the few that were saved.

We now proceed to the circumstantial relation of an expedition to the coast of Africa; an expedition which, extraordinary as it may seem, was planned and executed by a quaker. Thomas Cuming, the projector of this enterprise, having made a voyage, as a merchant-adventurer, to Portenderrick, on the coast of Africa, became personally acquainted with Amir, the Moorish king of Legibelli. This prince, being prejudiced in favour of the English nation, and extremely dissatisfied with the French, wished eagerly for an opportunity to drive them from their settlements on the river Senegal, and promised all the assistance in his power to the arms of Britain.

\* Annual Register, p. 306.

Mr. Cuming, during his residence on the Gum coast, became perfectly acquainted with the nature, extent, and importance of the trade, and was very assiduous in his enquiry concerning the situation and strength of the French forts. On his return to England he communicated his observations and ideas to the board of trade, by whom his project was approved, and finally adopted by the ministry. This was in the year 1757. A force which was deemed adequate to the expedition, was ordered to be prepared, but before the ships were ready to sail, the season was so far advanced that it was thought advisable to postpone the design. In the beginning of the following year, Mr. Cuming revived his application; the minister approved his plan, and a small squadron was equipped with all possible expedition. The ships ordered for this service were the Nassau of sixty-four, the Harwich of fifty, and the Rye of twenty guns, attended by the Swan sloop, and two busses. They had on board two hundred marines, commanded by Major Mason, and a detachment of matrosses, under Captain Walker; ten pieces of cannon and eight mortars.

This small squadron, \* commanded by Captain Marsh, and conducted by friend Cuming, sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of March, and on the 24th of April came to an anchor in the mouth of the river Senegal, and in sight of Fort Louis, which is situated on the island of Senegal, about four leagues within the bar. The French governor of this fort, as soon as he discovered the English squadron, sent down an armed brig and six sloops to dispute the passage of the bar. A brisk but ineffectual cannonading ensued. Meanwhile the channel being discovered, and the wind blowing up the river, Captain Millar of the London buss, passed the bar and came to an anchor, where he remained all night exposed to the fire

\* Smollet's Continuation of the History of England, vol. ii. p. 272



of the enemy. He was followed next morning by the other small vessels, some of which ran a-ground and bilged. The troops on board these vessels immediately took to their boats, and landed on the east shore of the river. Apprehensive of being attacked by the natives, they threw up an entrenchment and disembarked their stores. Next morning they were reinforced by a detachment of three hundred and fifty seamen, and now began to meditate an attack upon Fort Louis. But the governor, not choosing to wait the event, sent two deputies with offers of surrender. His proposals, after a little deliberation, were accepted by Captain Marsh and Major Mason. By the articles of capitulation, the natives of France were to be sent home with all their private effects. On the 1st of May the English took possession of Fort Louis, and all the settlements belonging to France on the river Senegal, were at the same time ceded to the king of Great Britain. Thus this important conquest, which was planned and conducted by a quaker, was atchieved in a manner perfectly consonant with the principles of his religion, namely, without spilling a single drop of human blood. It is also worthy of remark, that it was our first successful expedition since the commencement of the war. There were found in the fort ninety-two pieces of cannon, some treasure, and a considerable quantity of goods. This business being accomplished, and Fort Louis garrisoned by English troops, the men-of-war proceeded to attack the island of Goree, about thirty leagues distant from Senegal; but their force being insufficient, the attempt miscarried.

On the 29th day of May, the Dorsetshire, Captain Dennis, of seventy guns, cruizing in the bay of Biscay, fell in with the Reasonable, a French man-of-war of sixty-four guns and six hundred and thirty men, commanded by le prince de Mombazon, who defended his ship with great resolution, till one hundred and sixty of his men were

killed or wounded, and his hull and rigging considerably damaged.

Mr. Pitt's comprehensive plan of operation was too rational to be disconcerted by such miscarriages as were justly to be attributed to a want of spirit in the execution. The expedition to the coast of France, of the preceding year, having failed, made no alteration in the minister's opinion, that a diversion of the like nature was a proper measure. For this purpose, in the month of May, near fourteen thousand men were encamped on the isle of Wight. This army, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, consisted of sixteen battalions of infantry, four hundred artillery-men, and five hundred and forty light horse. One of the regiments of infantry, being destined for another service, did not embark; so that the number employed in this expedition amounted to about thirteen thousand. The subordinate general officers were Lord George Sackville, the earl of Ancram, Major-generals Waldegrave, Mostyn, Drury, Boscawen, and Elliot. Two distinct fleets were assembled at Spithead, the first commanded by Lord Anson, of twenty-two sail of the line; the second under Commodore Howe, consisting of several frigates, sloops, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, tenders, cutters, and transports.

This tremendous fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the 1st of June.\* Lord Anson with the line-of-battle ships stood away to the west, and proceeded to block up the French fleet at Brest; while Commodore Howe steered athwart the channel with the wind at south-east. The night proved so tempestuous, notwithstanding the season of the year, that one of the store-ships rolled away her masts. About eight next morning they made cape la Hogue, and that night anchored in the race of Alderney. On the 3d, about noon, one of the transports struck upon a rock. near

\* Account of the enterprise by an officer

the island of Sark, and was lost, but the troops on board were saved. On the 4th, Mr. Howe came to an anchor within three leagues of St. Malo. Next morning he weighed before break of day, and stood into the bay of Cancele, so called from a village of that name, where the troops were intended to land. At four in the evening the whole fleet brought up, and in a short time after ten companies of grenadiers landed near the village above-mentioned. The only opposition was from a battery of two guns fired by a brave old Frenchman and his son, who maintained their post till the poor old man was wounded by a shot from one of our frigates. If others of his countrymen had behaved with equal resolution, the disembarkation would have been more difficult; for there were at this time seven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons at Cancele; but these troops retired to St. Malo. The British grenadiers landed a little before sunset, attended by five volunteers of distinction, whose names should be recorded and remembered with gratitude. Such spirit in young men of rank and fortune, raises the military character of a nation more effectually than a victory over the enemy. Lord Down, Sir John Armitage, Sir James Lowther, Mr. Francis Blake Delaval, and Mr. Berkley, were the men. The entire disembarkation was completed on the 6th, and the whole army encamped near Cancele, the grenadiers and the light horse being advanced about a mile in the front of the line.

The duke of Marlborough, sensible of the ravages which are generally committed by the common soldiers on their landing in an enemy's country, issued strict orders to prevent marauding. Nevertheless, some irregularities were committed. The offenders were brought to immediate trial, and two or three of them executed. This rigorous exertion of military law saved the inoffensive peasantry from many acts of brutal licentiousness, which they would otherwise have experienced.

On the 7th, at break of day, the army marched towards St. Malo in two columns. The left column, commanded by Lord George Sackville, fell into the great road, but the lanes through which Lord Ancram's column marched were so narrow, and the country so enclosed and woody, that notwithstanding the previous labour of two hundred pioneers, the men were frequently obliged to pass in single files; so that a small number of the enemy might easily have destroyed this column, or at least have made it impossible for them to advance. But, so far from meeting with any opposition, they found the villages and hamlets through which they passed entirely deserted. The army proceeded in good order without beat of drum, and, after a march of six miles, encamped at the distance of little more than a mile from the town of St. Malo. While they were employed in pitching their tents, the light horse, with the piquets of the whole army, marched toward the town, and were saluted by a few shot from the cannon on the ramparts. As soon as it was dark the piquets marched down to the harbour, where they found a considerable number of privateers and other small vessels, most of which, it being low water, were laid dry. Having set fire to all the shipping, they proceeded to communicate the flames to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which were entirely destroyed, except one small store-house, which, if it had been set on fire, must from its situation have destroyed most of the houses in the suburbs. This building was spared from a noble principle of humanity, worthy the imitation of all future invaders. The number of ships destroyed was about one hundred and twenty. The piquets now rejoined the army, which continued unmolested in its encampment till the 10th, when the tents were struck, and the army in one column marched back to Cancalle. While the main body of the troops were employed as I have related, a battalion of the guards, under the command of Colonel Cesar, marched twelve miles up

the country, to a town called Dolle, where they were politely entertained by the magistrates. As their design was merely to reconnoitre, they continued one night in the town without committing the least act of hostility, and then returned. A party of English light horse penetrating a few miles farther, fell in with the *videts* of a French camp, two of which they took, and brought prisoners to Cancele.

The purpose of this invasion being fully accomplished, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet sailed on the 16th, early in the morning, and, after beating against the wind during that whole day, came to an anchor off the harbour of St. Malo. The night proved so tempestuous, that many of the ships drove, and some parted their cables. Next morning, the wind continuing contrary, the fleet returned to Cancele bay, and there remained till the 22d, when they sailed again, and next day passed the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. On the 25th, they made the isle of Wight, and on the 26th, the wind veering to the northward, they steered again for the coast of France, and ran in with the land near Havre; but toward evening it blew so fresh, that, to avoid the danger of a lee-shore, they stood out to sea. On the 27th, the weather becoming more moderate, they ran in with the land a second time, and the duke of Marlborough and Mr. Howe went out in a cutter to reconnoitre the coast. At their return, orders were given for the troops to prepare for immediate disembarkation; nevertheless, the 28th passed without any attempt to land, and on the 29th the fleet bore away before the wind, and anchored within a league of Cherbourg. Some of the transports which brought up nearer in shore, were fired at from several batteries, but received no damage. A few troops were seen parading on the strand, most of which appeared to be militia.

Soon after the fleet came to an anchor, the duke of Marlborough signified his intention of making an attack

upon the town that night, and ordered the first battalion of guards to be in their boats at eleven o'clock. The rest of the troops received orders in what manner, and at what time, they were to proceed, and every necessary preparation was made for immediate disembarkation. But as night approached, the wind off shore gradually increased, and, before the appointed hour, became so violent as to render the attempt impracticable. Next morning, the duke of Marlborough, upon enquiry into the stock of provisions, hay, and water, found these several articles so nearly exhausted, that it would be dangerous, in so variable a climate, to remain any longer on an hostile coast. He therefore resolved to return to England. The fleet accordingly weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and arrived at St. Helen's the next day in the evening. The troops were encamped on the isle of Wight, that they might recover the effects of so long a confinement, on board of transports by no means sufficient for the accommodation of so numerous an army. These troops were destined for more expeditions of the like nature, the success of which will be seen in due time; but a regular attention to a chronological series of naval events now calls us to North America.

I am to remind the reader, that Admiral Boscawen sailed from England, with a considerable fleet, on the 19th of April. \* He arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia on the 9th of May; from which he sailed on the 28th, with an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of Major-general Amherst. † This fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, anchored, on the 2d of June, in the bay of Gabarus, about two leagues westward of Louisbourg. The French governor, le Chevalier Drucour, had taken every possible precaution to prevent a surprise. He had thrown up several entrenchments, erected bat-

\* Smollet's Continuation, vol. II p. 297. † Annual Register, p. 70.

teries, and formed a chain of redoubts for two leagues and a half along the coast. There were in the harbour six ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were, during the siege, sunk at the entrance. The fortifications of the town were not in good repair; the garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, besides six hundred burghers and Canadians. When the fleet first came to an anchor, and during several succeeding days, the surf ran so high, that it was impossible for the boats to come near the shore. These several obstacles appeared so tremendous to many of the officers, that they advised the admiral to call a general council of war. Fortunately for the service, and for his own reputation, he disregarded such advice, and determined to land the troops at all events.

On the 8th of June, the weather being more moderate, the grenadiers and light infantry were in the boats before break of day. The frigates and armed sloops began to scour the coast, by an incessant fire upon the enemy; and now the boats rowed briskly toward the shore in three divisions, commanded by the Generals Wolfe, Whitmore, and Laurence. When they approached the land they met with a warm reception from the enemy, and the surf ran so high that many of the boats were staved, and some of the soldiers drowned. General Wolfe leaped into the sea, and being followed by his whole division, formed his people on the beach, and marched intrepidly to the nearest battery. The other two divisions followed his example, and the enemy soon fled in confusion. The remainder of the army, cannon, and stores, were landed with all possible speed, and the town was regularly invested. General Amherst having secured his camp by proper redoubts and epaulments, now began his approaches in form. In landing the troops, three officers, four serjeants, one corporal, and thirty-eight private men, were killed or drowned; five lieutenants, two serjeants, one corporal, fifty-one men

wounded; and about seventy boats lost. The enemy, when they fled from their intrenchments, left behind them seventeen pieces of cannon, fourteen large swivels, two mortars, a furnace for red-hot balls, small arms, ammunition, stores, tools and provisions in considerable quantity.

The *Chevalier Drucour*, having received his detachments into the town, destroyed his out-posts, and all buildings within two miles of the ramparts, prepared for a vigorous defence. The approaches of the British General were at first slow, owing to the difficulty of landing his stores, the labour of dragging his cannon through a marshy country, and the necessity of fortifying his camp. Meanwhile, General Amherst, being not a little incommoded by the fire from the enemy's ships in the harbour, and also from the island battery, detached General Wolfe, with a considerable body of troops, with orders to march round the north-east harbour and take possession of the light-house point. This order was executed with great alacrity and despatch, and a powerful battery erected, which, on the 25th, silenced that of the enemy on the island. On the 29th, the besieged sunk four ships at the entrance of the harbour. They made several sallies from the town, and were repulsed with loss. The British army continued to approach the town, in a regular and scientific manner, and the enemy displayed no less resolution and skill in the science of defence. On the 13th of July the besiegers were about six hundred yards from the covert way.

On the 21st, a shell from our battery on the light-house point set fire to one of the enemy's ships in the harbour. She immediately blew up, and two other men-of-war having caught the flame were also destroyed. These were the *Entreprenant*, the *Capricieux*, and the *Celebre*: so that the *Prudent* and the *Bienfaisant* were the only ships of force remaining. In the night of the 25th the first of



these two was set on fire, and the other towed triumphantly out, by a detachment of seamen under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour. This gallant exploit merits a circumstantial relation. The naval reader will peruse it with pleasure; probably with advantage—By the admiral's orders, a barge and pinnace from every ship in the fleet assembled, about noon, under the stern of the *Namur*. These boats were manned only by their proper crews, armed chiefly with pistols and cutlasses, and each boat commanded by a lieutenant and midshipman. From thence they proceeded, by two or three at a time, to join Sir Charles Hardy's squadron near the mouth of the harbour. Being there re-assembled in two divisions, under the two captains above-mentioned, about midnight they paddled into the harbour of Louisbourg unperceived. The night was extremely dark, and the seamen were profoundly silent. They passed very near the island battery undiscovered, the darkness of the night, and a thick fog, prevented their being seen, whilst the perpetual din of bombs, cannon, and musketry, both of the besieged and besiegers, effectually covered the noise of their oars. As soon as each division came near enough to perceive the devoted object, the two men-of-war were immediately surrounded by the boats, and were first alarmed by the firing of their own centinels. All the boats fell aboard at the same instant, and the several crews, following the example of their officers, scrambled up every part of the ships, and, in a few minutes, took possession of their respective prizes. The resistance was very feeble, and consequently the loss of men on either side inconsiderable.

Day-light and the shouts of our sailors, having at length discovered to the enemy on shore, that their ships were in possession of the English, they immediately pointed every gun that could be brought to bear upon the boats and prizes, and a furious discharge of cannon ensued. Those who were in possession of the *Prudent*, finding her

a-ground, set her on fire, and then joined the boats which were now employed in towing off the *Bienfaisant*, which, with the assistance of a favourable breeze, was triumphantly carried away and secured.

On the 26th, while Admiral Boscawen was preparing to send six ships into the harbour, he received a letter from the Chevalier Drucour, offering to capitulate on the same terms that were granted to the English at Minorca. The admiral insisted on the garrison remaining prisoners of war, and with these terms the governor finally complied. He could not do otherwise. He yielded to irresistible necessity. His ships were all destroyed or taken; his cannon were dismounted; his garrison diminished, and the remainder harassed and dispirited; all his hopes of relief from Europe or from Canada were vanished, and his ramparts in many places battered to pieces. The capitulation being signed, the British troops took possession of Louisbourg on the 27th, and the two islands of Cape Breton and St. John were ceded to his Britannic Majesty. The ships of war lost by the French on this occasion were the *Prudent* of seventy-four guns, *Entreprenant* seventy-four, *Capricieux* sixty-four, *Celebre* sixty-four, *Bienfaisant* sixty-four, *Apollo* fifty; *Chevre*, *Biche* and *Fidelle* frigates sunk at the harbour's mouth; *Diana* of thirty-six taken by the *Boreas*; *Echo* of twenty-six, taken by the *Juno*.

We now return to Europe. The spirited minister who, at this time, held the reins of government; whose successive expeditions were distinct gradations in a regular plan of operation; whose invasions on the coast of France were principally intended to divide the forces of the enemy: this active minister, I say, determined once more to invade the coast of Normandy. Part of the troops which, since the last expedition, had been encamped on the Isle of Wight, were sent to Germany. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville were likewise ordered

upon that service. The remainder of the troops now commanded by Lieutenant-General Blygh, embarked on board the fleet under Commodore Howe, and sailed from St. Helen's on the first day of August. On the 6th, in the evening, the fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Cherburg, and a few shells were thrown into the town that night. Next morning, about seven o'clock, the fleet got under weigh, and at nine brought up in the bay of Maris, two leagues west of the town, where the general resolved to land his troops. The governor of Cherburg, since his late alarm, had thrown up several entrenchments, and planted some batteries along the coast. Behind these works there appeared about two thousand regular troops. On the 7th, at two in the afternoon, the grenadiers and guards, commanded by General Drury, in flat-bottom boats, landed, without opposition, under cover of an incessant fire from the fleet. Having formed his troops on the beach, he marched immediately toward a party of the enemy, received their fire, and then attacked them with such resolution, that they soon fled in the utmost confusion, and with considerable loss. They left behind them two pieces of brass cannon. Of the English, about twenty were killed or wounded.

The remainder of the infantry being disembarked, General Blygh marched to the village of Erville, and there pitched his tents for the night. The ground which he had chosen for his encampment was so inadequate, in point of extent, to the number of troops, that the tents were crowded together as close as they could stand, without order or regularity. If the French commander had not been as ignorant in his profession as his enemy, the British army would, in this situation, have been surrounded and destroyed, or taken: two or three thousand men, judiciously commanded, were sufficient. But, either for want of skill, or strength, or resolution, the English army was suffered to sleep in perfect security, and the suc-

ceeding dawn did not discover a single French soldier in sight of the camp. On reconnoitring the nearest fort, called Quinquerville, it was found desolate; so that the light horse were now disembarked without the least interruption, and the army proceeded, in two columns, toward Cherburg, which they entered without firing or receiving a single shot, the town and all the forts being entirely abandoned by the troops. The inhabitants, in confidence of a promise of protection, contained in a manifesto published by General Bligh, remained in the town, and received their hostile visitors with politeness and hospitality. I am sorry to record, to the disgrace of English discipline, that their confidence was abused. The proper means of restraining the licentious brutality of the common soldiers were neglected, till the just complaints of the sufferers reminded the general of his duty.

General Bligh now proceeded, according to his instructions, to demolish the harbour and bason, which had been constructed by Lewis XV. at a vast expense, and were intended as an asylum for men-of-war. It appeared, however, from the unfinished state of the fortifications, that the importance of Cherburg had of late dwindled in the estimation of the French ministry. While the engineers were thus employed, the light horse were sent to scour the country, and to reconnoitre a French camp at Walloign, about twelve miles from Cherburg. In these excursions they frequently skirmished with the enemy, and in one of these rencounters Lindsay, a captain of the British light horse, was unfortunately killed. He was a very active and gallant officer. The great business of demolition being finished, on the 16th of August, at three in the morning, the army evacuated Cherburg, marched down to Fort Galet, and there embarked without molestation.

In our estimate of the utility of this enterprise, we are to remember, that the primary object was, by keeping the French coast in perpetual alarm, to oblige them to retain

an army for their own security, which would otherwise have marched to Germany. Exclusive of this consideration, the expedition to Cherburg was, by no means, unimportant. Twenty-seven ships were burnt in the harbour. A hundred and seventy-three pieces of iron ordnance and three mortars were rendered useless; and twenty-two brass cannon and two mortars were sent to England. These cannon were afterwards exposed, for some time, in Hyde Park, and then drawn through the city in pompous procession, amid the joyful acclamations of the people, the oldest of whom had never beheld a similar triumph.

Thus far the operations of this terrific, itinerant army were successful. But the general's commission did not end with the destruction of the forts and harbour of Cherburg. By his secret instructions he was ordered to keep the coast of France in continual alarm; to make descents, and attack any place that might be found practicable, between the east point of Normandy and Morlaix. In compliance with these instructions, the fleet weighed anchor on the 18th of August, and steered toward St. Malo, with a design to make a second attack upon that nest of privateers. But they were obliged, by contrary winds, to run for the English coast. They came to an anchor in Weymouth Road on the 23d; they sailed from thence on the 25th, but were obliged to put back the same evening. The next attempt proved more successful. The fleet, though not without difficulty, kept the sea, and, standing to the southward, soon made the coast of France; but it was the 4th of September before they came to an anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues west of St. Malo. While the fleet was bringing up, \* the commodore, with Prince Edward, afterwards duke of York, who attended Mr. Howe in the capacity of midshipman, went off in their barge to reconnoitre the shore. Seeing

no appearance of an enemy, the troops were disembarked, without opposition, but not entirely without misfortune. One of the flat-bottom boats being run down by the *Brilliant*, was upset, and five soldiers drowned. As soon as the troops were landed, Sir William Boothby, with three hundred grenadiers, was detached with orders to destroy a hundred and fifty vessels in the harbour of Briac, near St. Malo. He executed his commission effectually; but the number of vessels in that harbour did not exceed fifteen.

The British army continued in their encampment near St. Lunaire four days, which were spent in deliberations concerning the practicability of an attack upon St. Malo. It was finally determined to be impracticable, and Mr. Howe having declared that it was impossible to re-embark the troops from the place where they had landed, it was resolved that the troops should march over land, and that the fleet should, in the mean time, proceed to the bay of St. Cas, and there remain ready to receive them. The commodore weighed anchor, and stood to the westward. On Friday, the 8th, in the morning, General Bligh struck his tents, and began his march toward the village of Gildau, where he was told the river which he must necessarily pass, was fordable at low water. The day's march, though short, proved fatiguing to the troops, on account of the heavy rain and bad roads; and, as the army marched in a single column, it was night before the rear came to their ground. When Colonel Clark, who marched at the head of the advanced guard, arrived at the village of Gildau, he saw a body of about three hundred peasants on the opposite bank of the river, apparently forming with an intention to oppose his passage. A few shot from two or three field-pieces immediately dispersed them. Orders were issued to prepare for passing the river at six o'clock next morning, and the army went to rest. Next morning, at six o'clock, the troops were ready to plunge into the

river, when it appeared that the general had been totally misinformed as to the time of fording, that it was now high instead of low water, and that it would be three in the afternoon before the troops could pass. Such a mistake, though apparently of no great importance, as it discovered the fallibility of the general's intelligence, was a bad omen.

The army forded the river in two columns, without any other molestation than a volley or two of musket-shot from the opposite village, by which Lord Frederick Cavendish, and a few grenadiers were slightly wounded. They passed the river, and pitched their tents immediately. Why they marched no farther that night, is difficult to imagine. On Sunday morning the army again decamped, and marched toward Mattingnon. When the advanced guard approached the town, they saw a party of French dragoons, and observed that the hedges were lined by foot which seemed to be regulars. This being reported to the general, all the grenadiers were ordered to advance, and they pressed forward with great eagerness; but the enemy did not think fit to wait for them. Having marched about four miles, the army encamped to the southward of Mattingnon, after parading through the town by beat of drum. From this circumstance, it is evident that General Bligh had not the least idea that a superiour army was at this time within a few hours march of his camp. \*

This evening a French soldier was brought into the camp, who informed the general, that nine battalions of foot, two squadrons of dragoons, with five thousand gardes de costs, were on their march from Brest, and that they were not above two leagues distant. He named the general officers, and the regiments. His intelligence,

\* "I recollect," says the author of the account of this expedition, "that the language of this day, in the mouths of some of our considerable personages was—By G—d, a man might march through France with a single company of grenadiers."

however, produced no other effect than an order to the piquets of the English army to be particularly vigilant. During the night, the advanced guard of the enemy came so near, as to exchange some shot with the out-posts. Nevertheless, General Bligh continued so totally unapprehensive, that he ordered the usual drums, preparatory to a march, to beat next morning at three o'clock. The drums beat accordingly, and the army marched, in a single column, towards St Cas, which is about a league from Mattingnon. If the troops had marched in two columns, they would have reached their ships in half the time. When the head of the column reached the eminence, about half a mile from the sea, they had orders to halt, and the regiments formed the line as they advanced in succession; but, before the grenadiers in the rear reached the ground, the youngest brigade was ordered to march down to the beach. Meanwhile the frigates which were intended to cover the embarkation, and the boats, were approaching the land. Before the grenadiers quitted the height, they saw the enemy advancing in four columns. The grenadiers marched deliberately down to the beach, and there rested on their arms, while the battalions were conveyed to their transports in the flat-bottom boats.

The rear of the English army had scarcely quitted the height before it was possessed by the enemy. As soon as they began to descend, Mr. Howe made a signal for his frigates to fire; which order was executed with so much skill and dexterity, that many of the French were killed, and their whole army thrown into confusion. The British troops were now all embarked, except the grenadiers and four companies of the first regiment of guards; in all about fourteen hundred men. The enemy continued to advance, and their cannon destroyed some of our boats. General Drury, who was now the senior officer on shore, formed his little army, and most imprudently advanced up



the hill to meet his enemy. By this manœuvre he quitted a parapet of sand banks, and effectually silenced the frigates, which could not now fire without destroying their friends. This inconsiderable body of English troops, with every disadvantage of situation, and commanded by a man of no experience or abilities, maintained their ground against ten times their number, till most of them had entirely spent their ammunition. Thus circumstanced, after making terrible havock in the enemy's ranks, they yielded to necessity, and retreated to their boats. Unhappily, the boats then in shore were insufficient to receive half the number of men which now crowded to the beach, and the boats were consequently in an instant so overloaded, that most of them were a-ground. In this horrible situation, exposed to the continual fire of a numerous army, they remained for some time; till, at last, the commodore himself leaped into his boat, and, rowing to the shore, took one of the flat-boats in tow. The rest of the fleet followed his example, and about seven hundred men were brought on board. The other half were either shot, taken prisoners, or drowned. Among the killed were Major-General Drury, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson, and Sir John Armitage, a volunteer. Lord Frederick Cavendish, Lieutenant-Colonels Pearson and Lambert, and sixteen officers of inferiour rank, were taken prisoners. Four captains of men-of-war,\* who went on shore in order to expedite the embarkation of the troops, were also obliged to surrender themselves to the enemy. Eight seamen were killed, and seventeen wounded.

This terrible disaster was very justly ascribed to a total want of military knowledge, sagacity, and experience in the general, who imprudently gave ear to those about him, who talked of marching through France with a single company of British grenadiers. His marching, in

\* Viz. Rowley, Mapleson, Paston, and Elphinston.

an enemy's country, in a single column, was extremely imprudent. His beating the *generale* the morning of his march from Mattingnon, was inexcusable; and his dilatory proceedings on the fatal day of embarkation, admit of no apology. But, though our loss on this occasion was considerable, the enemy had certainly no great cause of triumph: they had defeated a rear-guard of fourteen hundred men with an army of at least fifteen thousand, and their loss in killed and wounded was much greater than that of the English. <sup>^</sup> This check, however, was no proof that the minister's plan of operation was improper. His design was fully answered, and was certainly attended with salutary consequences. Commodore Howe returned to Spithead, and the troops were disembarked.

We are now to recollect, that, after the reduction of Senegal, an attempt was made upon the island of Goree; but without success, owing to the want of sufficient naval force. The British minister, sensible that his conquest on the coast of Africa was incomplete without the reduction of this island, sent out a small squadron of four ships of the line, two frigates, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by Commodore Keppel, with six hundred land-forces under Colonel Worge. This armament sailed from Cork on the 11th of November, and, after a tempestuous voyage, anchored in the road of Goree, about a league from the island, on the 24th of December. Goree is a barren island, not a mile in length, situated near Cape Verde. The Dutch took possession of it in the beginning of the last century. The French took it in 1677, and since that period it has remained in possession of their East India

\* In the account of this affair published at Paris, by authority, they acknowledge four hundred men killed and wounded, and make the number of English prisoners six hundred. Now, as our entire loss was only seven hundred, the number of our killed must have been proportionably very small. The real number of our killed and wounded was about two hundred. The French lost three times that number.

company. On the south-west side there was a small fort called St. Michael, and another, less considerable, called St. Francis, near the opposite extremity. Besides these forts, there were several slight batteries along the shore, mounting in the whole a hundred cannon. The garrison, commanded by Monsieur St. Jean, consisted of three hundred regulars, and about the same number of negro inhabitants.

On the 28th, in the morning, the troops were ordered into the boats, ready for landing, if necessary; and, the ships being properly stationed on the west side of the island, a general cannonading began, which was answered by the enemy with great spirit, and with such success, that above a hundred of the English were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the French garrison, though not one of them was killed, were so terrified by the fire from the ships, that the governor was obliged to surrender at discretion. A detachment of marines was landed to take possession of the island, and the British flag was hoisted on the castle of St. Michael.

Mr. Keppel, having taken his prisoners on board, and left a sufficient garrison under the command of Major Newton, touched at Senegal, and then returned to England. But this expedition, though successful, was not unattended by misfortune. The *Litchfield* of fifty guns, a transport, and a bomb-ketch, were on their outward passage separated from the fleet, and wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy. A hundred and thirty people, among whom were several officers, were drowned. Captain Barton, with about two hundred and twenty, reached the inhospitable shore. They suffered great hardships, and were enslaved by the emperor of Morocco, our worthy ally, who held them in captivity till they were ransomed by the king of Great Britain. Such is the faith of barbarian princes! Our naval exploits in the West Indies, in the course of

this year, were not attended with any important consequences. There were performed, however, several gallant actions, which ought not to pass unnoticed. Captain Forrest of the *Augusta*, having sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, cruised off Cape Francis, a harbour in the island of St. Domingo; he was accompanied by the Captains Suckling and Langdon, commanding the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*. There lay at that time, at the Cape, a French squadron of four ships of the line and three stout frigates, which the French commodore, piqued at seeing the coast insulted by Forrest's little squadron, reinforced with several store-ships, which he mounted with cannon, and supplied with seamen from the merchant-vessels, and with soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out for sea. When Forrest perceived the approach of the French ships, he called his two captains. "Gentlemen," said he, "you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy. Shall we give them battle?" Being answered in the affirmative, he bore down on the French fleet, and between three and four in the afternoon, came to action. The French attacked with great impetuosity, and displayed uncommon spirit in the sight of their own coast. But, after an engagement of more than two hours, their commodore found his ship so much shattered, that he was obliged to make a signal for his frigates to tow him out of the line. The rest of the squadron followed his example, and availed themselves of the land breeze to escape in the night from the three British ships, which were too much damaged in their sails and rigging to pursue their victory.

Captain Forrest signalized his courage in this engagement; but he displayed equal courage, and still more uncommon conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near the western coast of Hispaniola. Having received intelligence, that there was a considerable French fleet at Port au Prince, a harbour on that coast, ready to sail for

Europe, he proceeded from Jamaica to cruise between Hispaniola and the little island Goave. He disguised his ship with *tarpaulins*, hoisted Dutch colours, and, in order to avoid discovery, allowed several small vessels to pass, without giving them chace. The second day after his arrival in those parts, he perceived a fleet of seven sail steering to the westward. He kept from them to prevent suspicion, but, at the approach of night, pursued them with all the sail he could crowd. About ten in the evening he came up with two vessels of the chace, one of which fired a gun, and the other sheered off. The ship which had fired no sooner discovered her enemy, than she submitted. Forrest manned her with thirty-five of his own crew, and now perceiving eight sail to leeward, near the harbour of Petit Goave, ordered them to stand for that place, and to intercept any vessels that attempted to reach it. He himself, in the *Augusta*, sailed directly for the French fleet, and, coming up with them by day-break, engaged them all by turns as he could bring his guns to bear. The *Solide*, the *Theodore*, and the *Marguerite*, returned his fire; but, having soon struck their colours, they were immediately secured, and then employed in taking the other vessels, of which none had the fortune to escape. The nine sail, which, by this well-conducted stratagem, had fallen into the power of one ship, and that even in the sight of their own harbours, were safely conducted to Jamaica, where the sale of their rich cargoes rewarded the merit of the captors.

While Forrest acquired wealth and glory by protecting the trade of Jamaica, the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel secured the English navigation to Antigua. In the month of March, this enterprising and judicious commander demolished a fort on the island of Martinico, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection. In November of the same year, he, in his own ship the *Buckingham* of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the *Weazle* sloop com-

manded by Captain Boles, discovered, between the islands of Guadaloupe and Montserrat, a fleet of nineteen sail under convoy of the *Florissant*, a French man-of-war of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, of which the largest carried thirty-eight, and the other twenty-six guns. Captain Tyrrel, regardless of the great inequality of force, immediately gave chase in the *Buckingham*; and the *Weazle*, running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the *Florissant*. Though she sustained it without considerable damage, Mr. Tyrrel ordered Captain Boles to keep aloof, as his vessel could not be supposed to bear the shock of heavy metal; and he alone prepared for the engagement. The *Florissant*, instead of lying to for him up, made a running fight with her stern chace, while the two frigates annoyed the *Buckingham* in her pursuit. At length, however, she came within pistol-shot of the *Florissant*, and poured in a broadside, which did great execution. The salutation was returned with spirit, and the battle became close and obstinate. Mr. Tyrrel, being wounded, was obliged to leave the deck, and the command devolved on the brave Mr. Marshall, his first lieutenant, who fell in the arms of victory. The second lieutenant took the command, and finally silenced the enemy's fire. On board the *Florissant* one hundred and eighty men were slain, and three hundred wounded. She was so much disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat. The largest frigate received equal damage. The *Buckingham* had only seven men killed, and seventeen dangerously wounded: she had suffered much, however, in her masts and rigging, which was the only circumstance that prevented her from adding profit to glory, by making prizes of the French fleet under so powerful a convoy.

In the East Indies the French squadron was commanded by Mr. d'Aché, and the English by Admiral Pocock, who had succeeded Admiral Watson. The former was reinforced by a considerable armament under the command of

General Lally, an adventurer of Irish extraction in the French service. The English admiral was also reinforced on the 24th of March by four ships of the line: and, being soon after apprised of Lally's arrival, he hoisted his flag on board the *Yarmouth*, a ship of sixty-four guns, and sailed in quest of the enemy. He made the height of Negapatam the 28th of March, and the day following discovered the enemy's fleet in the road of Fort St. David. It consisted of eight ships \* of the line, and a frigate, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line-of-battle. Pocock's squadron consisted only of seven ships;† with which he formed the line, and, bearing down upon Mr. d'Aché, began the engagement. The French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, in which one of his largest ships was disabled, sheered off with his whole fleet. Being afterwards joined with two more ships of war, he again formed the line-of-battle to leeward. Admiral Pocock, though his own ship and several others were considerably damaged, and, though three of his captains ‡ had misbehaved in the engagement,

## \* FRENCH.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS	GUNS.
Zodiaque .....	74	Duke of Bourgogne ..	60
Bien Anne .....	74	Condé .....	50
Vengeance .....	64	Moras .....	50
St. Louis .....	64	Sylphide .....	36
Duke of Orleans ....	60		

## † ENGLISH.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Cumberland .....	66	Tyger .....	60
Yarmouth .....	64	Newcastle .....	50
Elizabeth .....	64	Salisbury .....	50
Weymouth .....	60		

‡ Captain Bieton of the *Cumberland* was one of the three who misbehaved. God forbid that we should particularise an individual with a view to insult his misfortunes. A man may possess much probity, great good sense, and many amiable qualities, without being born with that constitutional courage, or endowed with that accurate circumspection, which qualifies him for doing his duty as a sea-

prepared again for the attack. But the manœuvres of the French fleet seem to have been intended merely to amuse him, for they neither showed lights, nor gave any signal in the night, and next morning the smallest trace of them could not be observed.

Admiral Pocock made various attempts to bring the French squadron to a second engagement. These, however, proved ineffectual till the 3d of August, when he perceived the enemy's fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, standing to sea off the road of Pondichery. They would have gladly eluded his pursuit, but he obtained the weather gage, and sailed down upon them in order of battle. As it was now impossible to escape without coming to action, the French prepared for the engagement, and fired on the Elizabeth, which happened to be within musket-shot of the ship in their van. But this spirited attack was not seconded with equal perseverance. In little more than ten minutes after Admiral Pocock had displayed the signal for battle, Mr d'Aché set his fore-sail, and bore away, maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line for nearly an hour. The whole squadron immediately followed his example; and at two o'clock they cut away their boats, crowded sail, and put before the wind. They escaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondichery, but their fleet was so much damaged, that, in the beginning of September, their commodore sailed for the isle of Bourbon in order to refit, thus leaving the English admiral, whose squadron had always been inferior to that of the French in number of ships and men as well as in weight of metal, sovereign of the Indian seas.

officer. We name this gentleman as an example, that the character of a naval commander, when once hurt by misconduct, is seldom to be retrieved, and we would, if possible, persuade men in power of the dangerous consequences of again intrusting, with an honourable employment, those who, on any former occasion, have shewed themselves undeserving of so important a charge.



Having examined the naval successes of Great Britain in the different quarters of the world, we shall, for the reader's satisfaction, exhibit in one view the consequences of these glorious exploits. During the course of this year the French lost sixteen men-of-war,\* while the English lost no more than three:† the French lost forty-nine privateers and armed merchantmen, carrying six hundred and nineteen guns, and three thousand eight hundred and twenty-four men. The diminution of their commerce, and the dread of falling into the hands of the English, prevented many of their trading vessels from venturing to sea. Of these, however, they lost one hundred and four; and not less than one hundred and seventy-six neutral vessels, laden with the rich produce of the French colonies, or with military and naval stores, to enable them to continue the war, rewarded the vigilance of the English navy. The loss of ships, on the part of Great Britain, amounted to three hundred and thirteen, a considerable number, but consisting chiefly of empty transports, and coasting or disarmed vessels, of little value or importance.

The capture of so many of the enemy's vessels, though it added much wealth and glory to those concerned in maritime affairs, was not the only, or even the principal advantage which Great Britain derived from the spirited efforts of her seamen. The conquests acquired to the nation were still more important. Not to mention the taking of Fort Du Quesne, on the river Ohio, a place of the utmost consequence, on account both of its strength and situation; the acquisition of the strong fortress of

\* These were the *Foudroyant* of eighty guns; the *Esperance* of seventy-four, the *Alcide*, *Lys*, *Orpheus*, *Raisnable*, of sixty-four each; the *Arc en Ciel* and *Duc d'Aquitaine* of fifty guns each; the *Aquilon* of forty-eight, the *Royal Chariot* and *Hermione* of thirty-six each; the *Melampé*, *Emerald*, and *Nymph*, of thirty-four; the *Brune* of thirty; and the *Galatea* of thirty-two.

† These were the *Warwick* of sixty guns; the *Greenwich*, fifty, the *Winchelsea*, twenty-four.

Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal, were events not more destructive to the commerce and colonies of France, than advantageous to those of Great Britain. even the British expeditions to the coast of France, though conducted with little prudence, brought glory and renown to the invaders, and taught an ambitious people, that, while they were intent on ravaging the territory of their neighbours, their own dominions were still within the reach of the British thunder.

The repeated triumphs of the year had inspired the English with a warlike enthusiasm: they discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest; and every object appeared inconsiderable, compared with military glory. In this disposition of the nation, the king assembled the parliament the 23d day of November. The lord-keeper, who harangued them in his name, the king being indisposed, recapitulated the glorious events of the war, and observed, that, as it was uncommonly extensive, it must likewise be uncommonly burdensome; but that no higher supplies should be required, than such as were adequate to the necessary services. The nation were not at present of a temper to refuse any reasonable demand. They voted, therefore, sixty thousand seamen, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the service of the ensuing year; and they granted for their maintenance the sum of three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Besides this, two hundred thousand pounds were voted toward the building and repairing of ships of war. These sums together, how enormous soever they may appear, amounted to little more than was annually expended in subsidies to German princes, and pay to German troops. Yet the former rendered the English name illustrious in every quarter of the globe, while the advantages of the latter still remain undiscovered.

A. D. 1759. The operations of the year 1759 began in the West Indies. In the end of the preceding year, a squadron of nine ships of the line, with one frigate and four bomb-ketches, as well as sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, commanded by General Hopson, sailed thither, with orders to attack and reduce the French Caribbee islands. The fleet was to be under the orders of Commodore Moore, who was already in those parts. Martinico, as the seat of government, and the centre of commerce, is the most considerable of these islands. The principal towns are St. Pierre and Port-Royal, places strong by nature and art, and at that time defended by a numerous and well-disciplined militia, as well as by a considerable body of regular troops. Port Royal was the first object of English ambition. The ships of war easily drove the enemy from their batteries and entrenchments, and the troops landed without meeting any considerable opposition: but after they had effected their landing, they found it impossible to convey the cannon to a sufficient vicinity for attacking the town. General Hopson judged the difficulties on the land side unsurmountable. Commodore Moore thought it impossible to land the cannon nearer the town; and, in consequence of these opinions, the forces were re-embarked, in order to proceed to St. Pierre. When they had arrived before that place, and examined its situation, new difficulties arose, which occasioned a council of war. The commodore had no doubt of being able to reduce the town, but, as the troops had suffered greatly by diseases, and the ships might be so much disabled in the attack, as to prevent them from availing themselves of their success, and from undertaking any other expedition during that season, he advised, that the armament should be brought before Guadaloupe, the reduction of which would tend greatly to the benefit of the English sugar islands. Guadaloupe falls little short of Martinico in the quality and richness of its productions.

It long continued, however, in a languishing condition, the French having treated Martinico with the predilection of a partial mother for a favourite child, to the great prejudice of all her other colonies. But the situation and natural advantages of Guadaloupe abundantly justified the opinion of Commodore Moore; and if our ministers had understood the value of such a conquest, this island might have still continued a bright gem in the British crown. The fleet arrived, on the 23d of January, before the town of Basseterre, the capital of Guadaloupe, a place of considerable extent, defended by a strong battery, which, in the opinion of the chief engineer, could not be reduced by the shipping. But Commodore Moore entertained very different sentiments, and brought his ships to bear on the town and citadel. The *Lyon*, a ship of sixty guns, commanded by Captain Trelawney, began the engagement, against a battery of ninety guns - the rest of the fleet took their stations a-breast of the other batteries, and the action, in a little time, became general. The commodore, meanwhile, shifted his flag into the *Woolwich* frigate, and kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might have a more distinct view of the state of the battle, an expedient seldom practised, though the propriety of it cannot admit of the smallest doubt. All the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution in the attack; particularly Captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney and Shuldham. The action had lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, when the fire of the citadel was silenced. The *Burford* and *Berwick* being driven to sea, Captain Shuldham in the *Panther*, was unsupported, and two batteries played on the *Rippon*, Captain Jekyl, who silenced one of them, but could not prevent his vessel from running a-ground. The enemy, perceiving her disaster, assembled on the hill, lined the trenches, and poured in a severe fire of musquetry: they afterwards brought an eighteen pounder

to bear, and, for two hours, raked her fore and aft with great effect; a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire. The captain hoisted a signal of distress, which brought Captain Leslie, in the Bristol, who ran in between the Rippon and the battery, and engaged with such impetuosity, as saved Captain Jekyl from destruction, which otherwise was unavoidable. At seven in the evening, the large ships having silenced the batteries to which they were opposed, the four bombs began to play on the town, with shells and carcasses. In a short time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with a terrible explosion, and the sugar, rum, and other combustible materials composing a continued and permanent line of fire, formed a suitable back ground to this terrible picture.

Notwithstanding the vivacity of the engagement, the loss, on the part of the British, was not very considerable. Next day our fleet came to anchor in the road, off Basseterre, having intercepted several ships, which had turned out and endeavoured to escape. They found the hulls of several more vessels, which the enemy had set on fire, to prevent them from falling into their hands. The troops landed in the afternoon, without opposition, took possession of the town and citadel, and displayed the British colours on the walls. The country, however, was still far from being reduced; it abounded in mountains and narrow defiles, of difficult and dangerous access; and although the governor, Monsieur D'Etreuil, possessed neither bravery nor conduct, the inhabitants of Guadeloupe were determined to defend their possessions to the last extremities. It is foreign from our design to enter into any detail of the operations by land, which were drawn out to an extraordinary length. The French were too prudent to hazard a general engagement with regular troops; they determined to weary them out, if possible, by maintaining a kind of petty war, in detached parties,

in which the British were harassed by hard duty, and suffered greatly by diseases in an unhealthy climate, ill supplied with those conveniencies to which they were accustomed. In this manner the war continued from the 24th of January till the 1st of May, when the inhabitants of Guadaloupe thought proper to capitulate. Their example was followed, a few days afterwards, by those of Desirade, Santos, and Petit-terre, three small islands in that neighbourhood; and, on the 26th of May, the island of Marie-Galante likewise surrendered, which left the French no footing in the Leeward Islands.

These conquests being happily finished, part of the troops were sent in the transports to England. They sailed on the 3d of July from the harbour of Basseterre; and next day Commodore Moore's squadron was joined by two ships of the line, which rendered him greatly superior to Mr. de Bompert, the French commodore, who lay in the harbour of Martinico. At this time Vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica station; but neither he nor Moore could bring Mr. de Bompert to an engagement, so that the naval transactions in the West Indies, during the remainder of the year, consisted solely in the taking of several rich prizes and armed ships of the enemy, by cruisers detached from the English squadrons.

The reduction of Guadaloupe, and the neighbouring islands, afforded an auspicious omen for the success of the British operations in North America. These were carried on in the year 1759, on the most extensive scale. The splendour of military triumph, and the display of extraordinary genius in the art of war, eclipsed, in some measure, the glory of the navy. But if we consider the conduct of the war with attention, we shall find, that our admirals had a principal share in the happy consequences which resulted even from our military expeditions. The hearty and powerful co-operation of the navy facilitated every enterprise; but the nation, fond of novelty, and

transported with their successes by land, to which they were less accustomed, conferred the most exalted honours on their generals, while they hardly bestowed due praise on their naval commanders. About the middle of February, a squadron of twenty-one sail \* of the line sailed from England, under the command of the Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of approved honour and bravery. By the 21st of April they were in sight of Louisbourg, but, the harbour being blocked up with ice, they were obliged to bear away for Halifax. From hence they detached Rear-admiral Durel, with a small squadron, to the isle of Courdres, in the river St. Lawrence, in hopes that he might intercept a fleet of French transports and victuallers destined for Quebec. He accordingly took two store-ships; but, before he reached his station, seventeen sail of transports had already got to the capital of Canada. Meanwhile Admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg, and took on board eight thousand troops, under the command of General Wolfe, whose name is so illustrious in the memoirs of the present year. With this armament it was intended, that the general should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec. The reduction of this wealthy and populous city, which gave an opening to the possession of all Canada, was the object to which all the other operations of the English in North America were subservient, and which

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

they were designed to assist. For this purpose General Amherst, who commanded an army of regulars and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, was ordered to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cross the lake Champlain, and proceed along the river Richelieu, to the banks of the St. Lawrence, to effect a junction with the armament under Wolfe and Saunders. For the same purpose, General Prideaux, who commanded the provincials of New York, with a large body of the Indians of the five nations, collected by the influence of Sir William Johnson, was commissioned to invest the French fort erected near the fall of Niagara, and, having seized that important pass, to embark on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, and co-operate with the united armies. This scheme, however, was too refined and complicated to be put in execution. The operations began by the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, the English standard was also displayed at Niagara. But these events were not of the smallest importance in effecting the conquest of Quebec, nor did the troops engaged in them afford any assistance to the northern armament. This, of itself, under such commanders as Wolfe and Saunders, seconded by the happy star of Britain, which every where prevailed in the present year, was sufficient to perform far more than had been expected, and to overcome obstacles of art and nature, that, at first sight, appeared insurmountable.

Admiral Saunders arrived the latter end of June, with his whole embarkation, at the isle of Orleans, a few leagues from Quebec. As he had discovered some excellent charts of the river St. Lawrence, in vessels taken from the enemy, he experienced none of those difficulties with which the navigation of this immense stream is said to be attended. The island of Orleans extends quite up to the bason of Quebec, and its most westerly point advances to a high promontory on the continent, called



Point Levi. Both these were at present occupied by the French, but not with such powerful guards as their importance required. The first operation of General Wolfe's troops was to dislodge the enemy, and to secure these posts, without the command of which the fleet could not have lain in safety in the harbour of Quebec. This city now appeared full to view, at once a tempting and discouraging sight; no place is more favoured by nature, and there is none of which nature seems more to have consulted the defence; it consists of an upper and lower town, the former built on a lofty rock, which runs with a bold and steep front along the western banks of the river St. Lawrence; at the termination of this ridge, the river St. Charles, from the north-west, and the St. Lawrence join their waves, which renders the ground on which Quebec stands a sort of peninsula. On the side of St. Lawrence is a bank of sand, which prevents the approach of large vessels to the town; an enemy, therefore, who attacks it, must either traverse the precipice which I have mentioned, or cross the river St. Charles. If he attempt the former, he must overcome a dangerous rock, defended by the whole force of the besieged, which the importance of the post would draw thither. The difficulty of approaching the place, by Charles River, is not less considerable, as all the country to the northward, for more than five miles, is rough, broken and unequal, full of rivulets and gullies, and so continues to the river of Montmorenci, which flows by the foot of a steep and woody hill. Between the two rivers the French army was posted, their camp strongly fortified, and their forces, amounting to twelve thousand men, commanded by Mr. Montcalm, a general of tried bravery and conduct. General Wolfe, having seized the west point of the isle of Orleans, and that of Levi, erected batteries on the high grounds, which fired continually on the town. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the north channel of the isle of Orleans, opposite the Falls of

Montmorenci, while Admiral Holmes proceeded up the river St Lawrence, beyond Quebec, which not only diverted the enemy's attention from the quarter on which the attack was intended, but prevented their attempts against the batteries already erected by the English. But, notwithstanding this advantageous position, to undertake the siege of a city skilfully fortified, well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and defended by an army far superiour to that of the besiegers, was a design so bold and adventurous, that even the sanguine temper of General Wolfe began to despair of its success; yet, whatever it was possible to perform, he was determined to attempt. He caused the troops, therefore, to be transported over the north channel of the river St Lawrence to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view, after he had crossed the latter, of moving towards the enemy's flanks, and enticing them to an engagement. But his endeavours in this way proved ineffectual, Mr. Montcalm having chosen his situation with too much judgment to abandon it imprudently. Meanwhile the fleet had been exposed to the most imminent danger. A violent storm had caused several transports to run foul of each other, many boats foundered, and some large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, taking advantage of the confusion produced by this disaster, sent down seven fire-ships from Quebec at midnight, which must have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the whole expedition, had not the English sailors resolutely boarded these instruments of destruction, run them fast a-ground, and prevented them from doing the smallest damage to the British squadron.

The general, despairing of being able to decoy the enemy to an engagement, and sensible that the approach of winter would put an end to all military operations in that northern climate, came at last to the resolution of forcing the French intrenchments. The best dispositions were made for this purpose both by sea and land; but the

design was disappointed by an accident which could neither be foreseen nor prevented, the English grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders to form themselves on the beach; but, instead of attending to this necessary injunction, they rushed with an impetuous ardour toward the enemy's intrenchments in the most tumultuous confusion; they were met by a violent and steady fire, which prevented them from being able to form, and obliged them to take shelter behind a redoubt, which the French had abandoned on their approach. There they were forced to continue till night came on, when it was necessary to make a retreat, which could not be effected without considerable loss.

This check is said to have had a strong effect on the mind and health of General Wolfe, who saw all his own measures miscarry, while those of other commanders in North America, during the same year, had been attended with extraordinary success. About this time he sent home a letter, couched in terms of despondency, but which displayed a spirit that would continue the campaign to the last possible moment. As it seemed necessary to abandon all farther prospects of gaining any advantage on the side of Montmorenci, Admiral Holmes's squadron, which had returned to assist in the late unsuccessful attack, was again ordered to move up the river for several days successively. This had a better effect than before; for, though Montcalm kept his situation, he detached Mr. de Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of the English admiral. Admiral Saunders, who still remained in his first position, was ordered to make a feint with every appearance of reality, as if the troops had intended to land below the town, and attack the French intrenchments on the Beauport shore. While the enemy were amused by these movements, the general embarked his troops on board the transports, the 12th of July, at one in the morning, and proceeded three leagues farther up the river than the intended place of landing; then he put

them into boats, and fell down silently with the tide, unobserved by the French sentinels posted along the shore; the ships of war followed them, and, by a well conducted navigation, arrived exactly at the time concerted, to cover their landing. When they were put on shore, a hill appeared before them extremely high and steep, having a little winding path, so narrow that two men could not go abreast, and even this strongly intrenched and defended by a captain's guard. This small body was speedily dislodged by the English light infantry; after which the whole army ascended the hill, and at day-break appeared regularly formed in order of battle.

Montcalm could hardly believe the advices that were brought him, so impregnable did he imagine the city to be on this side; but his own observation soon convinced him of the English movements, and that the high town might be attacked by their army, while the low town might be destroyed by their fleet. It was thus become necessary, notwithstanding all his disinclination to such a measure, to decide the fate of Quebec by the event of a battle; accordingly he quitted Beauport, passed the river St Charles, and formed his troops opposite to the English army. The success of this engagement, conducted with the most deliberate wisdom, united with the most heroic bravery, put Great Britain in possession of the capital of French America. It is foreign from my design to describe the judicious disposition, animated behaviour, and steady persevering courage of the British troops; these were the immediate cause of the reduction of Quebec; but the matter could not have been brought to this issue, had not the marine co-operated with an unanimity, ardour, and perseverance, that can never be enough celebrated. When the English entered the place, they found the fortifications in tolerable order, but the houses almost totally demolished. Five thousand men were left to defend the garrison, and the remainder re-

turned to England with the fleet, which sailed soon, lest it should be locked up by the frost in the river St. Lawrence.

If we turn our attention to the affairs of the East Indies, we shall find the British arms equally triumphant. The French were unsuccessful in all their attempts by land, particularly in the siege of Madras; they had still, however, a considerable superiority of land forces in India, and they had strained every nerve to enable the fleet under Mr. d'Aché to cope with that of Admiral Pocock. The former was augmented to eleven \* sail of the line, besides frigates and store-ships, an armament hitherto unknown in the Indian seas. The English commander no sooner had intelligence of their arrival in those parts, than he sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and determined, by the most unremitting exertions of vigilance, to pursue, and give them battle. This resolution shews the ardour and spirit of the English navy at this period, as their enemies had a superiority of one hundred and ninety-two guns, two thousand three hundred and sixty-five men, besides a great advantage in the size of their ships. † In the morning of the 2d of September, the French fleet were descried from the mast-head; Admiral Pocock immediately threw out the signal

\* These were:—

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.
The Zodiaque .....	74 .....	660
Minataur .....	74 .....	660
The Count of Provence .....	74 .....	660
The Centaur .....	70 .....	660
The Active .....	64 .....	600
The Illustre .....	64 .....	600
The Fortune .....	64 .....	600
The Avenger .....	64 .....	500
The Duke of Orleans .....	60 .....	500
The St. Louis .....	60 .....	500
The Duke of Bourgogne .....	60 .....	500

† See a list of the English vessels, p. 68.

for a general chase; but, the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage, though he crowded all the sail he could carry; during several days his endeavours to bring the French fleet to an engagement, which they always declined, were equally fruitless. At length they totally disappeared, and the admiral stood for Pondicherry, on a supposition that they intended to sail thither. His conjecture was well founded; for on the 8th day of September he observed them standing to the southward, and on the 10th, about two in the afternoon, Mr. de Aché, seeing no possibility to escape, made the signal for battle. The cannonading began without farther delay, and both squadrons engaged with equal impetuosity; but the French directing their cannon at the masts and rigging, while the English fired only at the hulls of the ships, the former sustained such a loss of men, and found their vessels in so shattered a condition that they were glad to sheer off, with all their canvas set. The loss on the side of the English was not inconsiderable, there being in the whole five hundred and sixty-nine men killed and wounded; but that on the side of the French must have been far greater, as their ships could hardly keep the sea, and they were obliged to make the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted. Soon after this engagement Admiral Cornish arrived from England with four ships of the line, and confirmed the dominion of the English over the Indian seas.

The French, being equally unsuccessful in Asia, Africa, and America, sought in vain to repair their misfortunes; no sooner was a fleet put to sea than it was either taken or destroyed; they were active to no purpose; for, while they built and armed vessels with the greatest speed and diligence, they only laboured for the English, whose fleet was continually augmented by captures from the enemy. But neither the loss of their possessions, nor the destruction of their fleets, nor the complaints of twenty millions

of people exhausted by oppression, could check the fatal ambition of the French court. The ministry seemed to derive courage from despair, and the greater misfortunes they sustained, the more daring were the projects which they had in agitation. All their ports were now filled with preparations for an invasion of Great Britain. Men-of-war, transports, and flat-bottomed boats were got ready with the utmost diligence; they talked of a triple embarkation. Mr. Thurot, who, from being captain of a merchant vessel, had successively become a commander of a privateer, and now a commodore in the French service, commanded a squadron of men-of-war and several transports at Dunkirk, which, it was believed, were intended against Scotland. The design against England was to be carried on from Havre de Grace and some other ports of Normandy, where a great number of flat-bottomed boats had been prepared for the purpose of transporting troops. The third embarkation, destined against Ireland, was to be made at Vannes in the Lower Brittany. The land forces were commanded by the Duc d'Aguiillon, while a powerful squadron under Mr. de Conflans was to cover and secure their landing. In order to counteract these machinations, the English ministry ordered a squadron under Commodore Boyce to be stationed before Dunkirk; Admiral Hawke was sent with a large fleet to block up the harbour of Brest, while a smaller fleet kept a watch upon that of Vannes. As to Havre, from which the danger seemed most imminent, Rear-admiral Rodney was despatched, with orders immediately to proceed to the bombardment of that place. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre in the beginning of July, and made a disposition to execute his instructions. The bomb-ketches were placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfluer; and, having begun the bombardment, continued to throw their shells for above two days without intermission. The town was set on fire in several places,

the boats upset or reduced to ashes, and, at the expense of one thousand nine hundred shells and one thousand one hundred carcasses, the French preparations at Havre were totally destroyed.

While the danger threatening England from the northern coast of France was thus happily removed, the honour of the British flag was effectually maintained by the gallant Admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean. The French had assembled there a considerable armament \* under the command of Mr. de la Clue, which some believed to be destined for America, while others conjectured, that it was designed to reinforce the squadron at Brest, and to co-operate with it in the intended descent on the English coast. At present Mr. de la Clue continued to lay in the harbour of Toulon, before which Admiral Boscawen took his station with fourteen ships of the line, † besides frigates and fire-ships.

Boscawen, having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, and tried every other art to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered three ships of the line,

\* It consisted of the following ships.—

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
L'Océan .....	80	Le Lion .....	64
Le Redoubtable ..	74	Le Triton .....	64
Le Centaur .....	74	Le Fier .. . . .	50
Le Souverain ....	74	L'Ouflemme .....	50
Le Temeraire ...	74	Le Chimere .....	26
Le Guerrier .....	64	La Minerve .....	24
Le Fantasque ...	64	La Gracieuse ....	24
Le Modesta .....	64		

† These were :—

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
The Namur .....	90	The Intrepid ...	64
Prince .....	90	Edgar .....	64
Newark .....	80	America .....	64
Culloden .....	74	St Alban's .....	60
Warspight .....	74	Jersey .....	60
Conqueror .....	74	Poitland .....	60
Swiftsure .....	70	Guernsey .....	50



commanded by the Captains Smith, Barker, and Harland, to advance and burn two French vessels lying close to the mouth of the harbour. They prepared for executing their orders with the utmost alacrity, but met with a warm reception from several batteries, which had not been before perceived; and, the wind unfortunately subsiding into a calm, they sustained such considerable damage as made it convenient for the English admiral to put into Gibraltar to refit his shattered ships. Mr. de la Clue seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Gut of Gibraltar unmolested during the absence of the English fleet. But Boscawen had previously detached two frigates, one of which cruised off Malaga, and the other hovered between Estepona and the fortress of Ceuta, in order to observe the motions of the enemy. On the 17th day of August the Gibraltar frigate made the signal at the mast-head for the enemy being in sight; upon which the English admiral without delay hove up his anchors, and put to sea. At day-light he descried seven large ships, part of Mr. de la Clue's squadron, from which five ships of the line and three frigates had been separated in the night. Having made the signal to chase, and engage in line-of-battle a-head, his foremost ships came up with the rear of the enemy about half after two. The admiral himself did not wait to return the fire of the sternmost, but employed every effort to come up with the Ocean, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock he ran athwart her hawse, and poured into her a furious broadside, which was returned with equal vivacity. This dispute, however, was not of long continuance; for the French admiral being wounded in the engagement, and the next in command perceiving that Boscawen's vessel had lost her mizen-mast and top-sail-yards, went off with all the sail he could carry. Mr. Boscawen shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, and joined some other ships in attacking the Centaur, which was obliged to

strike. The pursuit continued all night, and Mr. de la Clue, finding himself at day-break on the coast of Portugal, determined rather to burn his ships than allow them to fall into the hands of the victors. When he reached the Portuguese shore, he put his ship under the protection of the Fort Almadana, to which the English paid no regard. He himself landed with part of his men; but the count de Carne, who succeeded to the command of the Ocean, having received a broadside from the America, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, deemed the best ship in the French navy. Meanwhile Captain Bentley brought off the Temeraire, little damaged, and having on board all her officers and men; while Rear-admiral Broderic burnt the Redoubtable, and took the Modeste. The scattered remains of the French fleet got with difficulty into the harbour of Cadiz, where they were soon after blocked up. Nothing was wanting to complete the glory of this victory; for it was obtained with the loss of only fifty-six men killed, and one hundred and ninety-six wounded, and not one officer lost in the action.

After the memorable naval engagement off Cape Lagos, the French met with a disaster by land equally calamitous. The important battle of Minden deprived them of all hopes of again getting possession of Hanover, or of putting their affairs in such a situation in Germany as might afford them the prospect of any other than an ignominious peace. They were under the unhappy necessity, therefore, of trying a last effort on an element which had hitherto been extremely unpropitious to all their designs. Their sole hopes now centered in their fleets at Brest and Dunkirk, of which the former was blocked up by Admiral Hawke, and the latter by Commodore Boyce. They still expected, however, that the winter storms would compel the English fleets to take refuge in their own harbours, and thus afford them an opportunity to cross the sea un-

opposed, and to execute the object of their destination against the British coasts. In this expectation they were not wholly disappointed : on the 12th of October, a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irresistible storm, drove the English squadrons off the French coast. Thurot, a French adventurer, availed himself of this accident to obtain his release from Dunkirk, without being discovered by Commodore Boyce, who, upon the first information of his departure, sailed immediately in pursuit of him : but Thurot had the good fortune or dexterity to elude his vigilance, by entering the port of Gottenburg in Sweden, where he was laid up till after Christmas by the severity of the weather, and want of necessaries to enable his ships and men to keep the seas.

Admiral Hawke's squadron had taken refuge, during the violence of the storm, in the harbour of Torbay. When its fury began to subside, the French admiral Conflans, perceiving no enemy on the coast, immediately put to sea. But the same day that he sailed from Brest, the English admiral sailed from Torbay. The two squadrons\* were the most powerful of any employed in

* ENGLISH FLEET.			SHIPS.	GUNS.	MIN.
SHIPS.	GUNS.	MIN.			
Royal George ..	100	880	Revenge .....	64	480
Union .....	90	770	Essex .....	64	480
Duke .....	90	750	Kingston .....	60	400
Namu .....	90	780	Intrepid .....	60	420
Mars .....	74	600	Montague.....	60	420
Warspight .....	74	600	Dunkirk .....	60	420
Hercules .....	74	600	Defiance .....	60	420
Torbay .....	74	700			
Magnanune.....	74	700			
Resolution .....	74	600			
Hero .....	74	600			
Swiftsure .....	70	520			
Dorsetshire .....	70	520			
Burford .....	70	520			
Chichester .....	70	520			
Temple .....	70	520			

  

FRENCH FLEET.		
SHIPS.	GUNS.	MIN.
Le Soleil Royal	80	1200
Le Tonnant ...	80	1000
Le Formidable	80	1000
L'Orient.....	80	1000
L'Intrepide..	74	815
Le Glorieux ...	74	815
Le Thesée ....	74	815
L'Heros .....	74	815

the course of the war, and worthy to be entrusted with the fate of the two leading kingdoms in Europe. Their forces were nearly equal, the English being, by some vessels, more numerous, but having no superiority in number of men, or weight of metal.

Sir Edward Hawke directed his course for Quiberon bay on the coast of Bretagne, which he conjectured would be the rendezvous of the French squadron. But here fortune opposed his well-concerted measures; for a strong gale sprung up in an easterly point, and drove the English fleet a great way to the westward: at length, however, the weather became more favourable, and carried them in directly to the shore. The Maidstone and Coventry frigates, which had orders to keep a-head of the squadron, discovered the enemy's fleet in the morning of the 20th of November. They were bearing to the northward between the island of Belleisle and the main land of France. Sir Edward Hawke threw out a signal for seven of his ships, that were nearest, to chace, in order to detain the French fleet until they themselves could be reinforced with the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chaced, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. These manœuvres indicated the utmost resolution and intrepidity; for at this time the waves rolled mountains high, the weather grew more and more tempestuous, and the sea, on this treacherous coast, was indented with sand and

SHIPS.	GUNS	MLN	SHIPS	GUNS.	MLN.
Le Robuste . . . .	74 . . . .	815	Le Sphinx . . . .	64 . . . .	750
Le Magnifique . .	74 . . . .	815	Le Schtaer . . . .	64 . . . .	750
Le Juste . . . . .	70 . . . .	800	Le Brillant . . . .	64 . . . .	750
Le Superbe . . . .	70 . . . .	800	L'Eveille . . . . .	64 . . . .	750
Le Dauphin . . . .	70 . . . .	800	Le Bizarre . . . .	64 . . . .	750
Le Dragon . . . .	64 . . . .	750	L'Inflexible . . . .	61 . . . .	750
Le Northumb. . . .	64 . . . .	750			

The French had five frigates, and ten joined Hawke between Ushant and Belleisle.

shoals, shallows and rocks, as unknown to the English pilots as they were familiar to those of the enemy. But Sir Edward Hawke, animated by the innate fortitude of his own heart and the warm love of his country, disregarded every danger and obstacle that stood in the way of his obtaining the important stake which now depended. Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea without the imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to attempt a more artful game, which, however, he did not play with the address which his situation required. As he was unwilling to risk a fair engagement, he could have no other view but to draw the English squadron among the rocks and shoals, that, at a proper time, he might take advantage of any disaster that befel them: but, fluctuating between a resolution to fight and an inclination to fly, he allowed the British ships to come up with him, and then crowded his sail when it was too late to escape. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy. The Formidable commanded by the French rear-admiral Mr. du Verger, behaved with uncommon resolution, and returned many broadsides poured into her by the English ships as they passed to bear down on the van of the French. Sir Edward Hawke reserved his fire, and ordered his master to carry him alongside of the French admiral. The pilot observed, that he could not obey his orders without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal: the brave admiral replied, "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger; you now are to obey my commands, and lay me alongside the Soleil Royal." While the pilot was preparing to gratify his desire, the *Thesèe*, a French ship of seventy guns, generously interposed itself between the two admirals, and received the fire which Hawke had destined for a greater occasion. In returning this fire, the *Thesèe* foundered in consequence of a high sea that entered her lower-deck ports:

the *Superbe* shared the same fate: the *Heros* struck her colours, and the *Formidable* did the same about four in the afternoon. Darkness coming on, the enemy fled toward their own coast. Seven ships of the line hove their guns overboard, and took refuge in the river *Villaine*: about as many more, in a most shattered and miserable condition, escaped to other ports. The wind blowing with redoubled violence on a lee shore, Sir Edward made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island *Dumet*, where he continued all night in a very dangerous riding, continually alarmed by hearing guns of distress. When morning appeared, he found the French admiral had run his ship on shore, where she was soon after set on fire by her own men. Thus concluded this memorable action, in which the English sustained little loss but what was occasioned by the weather. The *Essex* and *Resolution* unfortunately ran on a sand-bank called *Lefour*, where they were irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given, but most of their men and some part of their stores were saved. In the whole fleet no more than one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines were killed, and two hundred and two wounded. The loss of the French in men must have been prodigious. All the officers on board the *Formidable* were killed before she struck. They had, besides, four of the best ships in their navy destroyed, one taken, and the whole of their formidable armament, the last hope of the French marine, shattered, disarmed, and distressed.

It would be unjust to pass over a circumstance which characterises the spirit that distinguished the English navy at this happy period. Admiral Saunders happened to arrive from his glorious *Quebec* expedition a little after *Hawke* had sailed. Notwithstanding the length of the voyage, and the severity of the duty in which he had been so long employed, he lost not a moment in setting

sail, with a view to partake the danger and honour of the approaching engagement. Fortune did not favour the generosity of his intentions. He was too late to give assistance; but such a resolution was alone equal to a victory.

Under such commanders it was impossible that the English should not maintain the ascendant over their enemies. Accordingly, in the words of a celebrated writer, who ought not on this subject to be suspected of partiality, "the English had never such a superiority at sea as at this time." "But," continues he, "they at all times had the advantage over the French. The naval force of France they destroyed in the war of 1741; they humbled that of Lewis XIV. in the war of the Spanish succession; they triumphed at sea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. and still more in the unhappy times of the league. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I. If we examine into past times, we shall find, that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip de Valois could not withstand those of the kings Henry V. and Edward III. of England. What can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea, which the French can live well enough without, is essentially necessary to the English, and that nations always succeed best in those things for which they have an absolute occasion? Is it not also because the capital of England is a sea-port, and that Paris knows only the boats of the Seine? Is it that the English climate produces men of a more steady resolution, and of a more vigorous constitution, than that of France, as it produces the best horses and dogs for hunting?" Fearful lest he had gone too far in suggesting a reason which is doubtless the true one, he returns to his natural scepticism, and concludes in a flattering strain; "but from Bayonne even to the coasts of Picardy and Flanders, France has men of an inde-

“ fatigable labour; and Normandy alone formerly subdued England.”\*

The events above related compose the principal operations of the British navy during the present year. But besides the actions of whole squadrons, there were a great many captures made by single ships, attended with circumstances highly honourable and advantageous. The *Favourite* of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Edwards, carried into Gibraltar a French ship of twenty-four guns, laden with the rich productions of St. Domingo, valued at forty thousand pounds. A French privateer belonging to Granville, having on board two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by the *Montague*, Captain Parker, who soon after made prize of a smaller vessel from Dunkirk, mounted with eight guns, and having on board sixty men. About the same period, that is in the month of February, Captain Graves of the *Unicorn*, brought in the *Moras* privateer of St. Malo, carrying two hundred men and two and twenty guns. The *Vestal* Captain Hood, belonging to Admiral Holmes’s squadron in the West Indies, engaged a French frigate called the *Bellona*, greatly superiour to the *Vestal* in men and weight of metal, and, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted above two hours, took her, and brought her safely into port. The English frigates the *Southampton* and *Melampe*, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, descried in the evening of the 28th of March, as they were cruising to the northward, the *Danaé*, a French ship of forty guns and three hundred and thirty men. The *Melampe* came up with her in the night a considerable time before the *Southampton*, and with admirable gallantry maintained the combat against a ship of double her own force. As they fought in the dark, Captain Gilchrist was obliged to lay by until he could

\* Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis Quinze*.



distinguish the one from the other. At day-break he bore down on the Danaé with his usual valour, and, after a brisk engagement, in which she had forty men killed, and many more wounded, compelled her to surrender. This victory, however, was clouded by a misfortune which happened to the brave Gilchrist. He received a wound in the shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, rendered him incapable of future service. On the 4th of April another remarkable exploit was achieved by his majesty's ship Achilles, commanded by the honourable Captain Barrington. The Achilles, which mounted sixty guns, encountered to the westward of Cape Finisterre, a French ship of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentin, under the command of the Sieur de Montay. After a close engagement of two hours, during which the French captain was slain, and one hundred and sixteen of his men killed or wounded, the Count de St. Florentin struck her colours. She was so much damaged that it was very difficult to bring her into Falmouth. The Achilles had but twenty-five men killed or wounded, and had sustained no hurt but in her masts and rigging. On the 27th of March, Captain Faulkner of his majesty's ship the Windsor, mounting sixty guns, discovered off the rock of Lisbon four large ships to leeward, and gave them chase. As he approached they formed the line of battle a-head, at the distance of about a cable's length asunder. He closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour; and then, upon a signal given, the other three edged off, and the ship engaged struck her colours. She proved to be the Duke de Chartres, pierced for sixty guns, but having only twenty-four, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, as well as the other three that escaped, to the East India company; was loaded with sixty tons of gunpowder, and an hundred and fifty tons of cordage, with a large quantity of other naval stores.

The Windsor had, in this engagement, but one man killed and eighteen wounded. About the same time Captain Hughes of his majesty's frigate the *Tamer*, took and carried into Plymouth two privateers, called *Le Chasseur*, and *Le Conquerant*, the one from Cherburgh and the other from Dunkirk. A third, called the *Dispatch*, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the *Diligence* sloop; while the *Basque* from Bayonne, furnished with two and twenty guns, fell into the hands of Captain Parker of the *Brilliant*. Captain Atrobus of the *Surprise* took the *Vieux*, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth from Dunkirk, struck to Captain Knight of the *Liverpool*. In the month of May a French frigate called the *Arethusa*, mounted with two and thirty guns, and commanded by the marquis of Vandreuil, submitted to two English frigates, the *Venus* and the *Thames*, commanded by the captains Harrison and Colby. The engagement was warm; the loss on the side of the English inconsiderable. The enemy had sixty men killed and wounded. In the beginning of June an armed ship, belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs by Captain Angel of the *Stag*; and a privateer of force, called the *Countess de la Serre*, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate engagement, by his majesty's ship the *Adventure*, commanded by Captain Moore. In the beginning of October the *Florissant*, a French ship of seventy-four guns, was engaged near the chops of the channel by Captain Porter of the *Hercules*. The English vessel having lost one of her top-masts and rigging, the *Florissant* took advantage of this misfortune to sheer off, and escaped behind the isle of Oleron.

While the English cruisers were attended with continual success in Europe, several armed ships of the enemy and rich prizes were taken in the West Indies. About the same time that the *Velour* from St. Domingo, carrying twenty guns and above one hundred men, and loaded with a rich cargo, was taken by the *Favourite* sloop of war,

commanded by Captain Edwards, two French frigates and two Dutch ships, laden with French commodities, fell into the possession of cruisers detached from Admiral Coates's squadron stationed at Jamaica. Captain Collingwood, commanding his majesty's ship the *Crescent*, off St. Christopher's, attacked two French frigates, the *Ame-thyste* and *Berkeley*: the former escaped, but the latter was conveyed into the harbour of Basseterre.

These particular losses, combined with the general destruction of the French squadrons by Boscawen, Hawke, Saunders and Pocock, in a great measure, ruined the French navy. In the course of the year the English had enriched their marine with twenty-seven ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates of French construction. They had destroyed eight ships of the line and four frigates, whereas the English navy had lost, during all the various operations of the present year, no more than seven men-of-war and five frigates. In reviewing the captures of merchantmen, the balance is not so much in our favour. Notwithstanding the courage and vigilance of the English cruisers, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that in the course of the present year, they took two hundred and ten British vessels, chiefly, however, coasters and small craft, that did not chuse to confine themselves and wait for a convoy. On the other hand, we took one hundred and sixty-five merchant vessels from the enemy; of which, as it appears from some examples above given, many contained very valuable cargoes.

While the naval power of France was falling to its ruin, her commerce was cut off in its source by the taking of Guadeloupe and Quebec. The French government, broken by repeated calamities, and exhausted by exorbitant subsidies to its German allies, was reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune. The monarch, however, still found a resource in the loyalty and attachment of his people. They acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when

the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt, they declared against every suggestion of accommodation that was not advantageous and honourable, and they sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down and coined into specie, for the support of the war

The liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, which met in November, formed a striking contrast with the indigence of our rivals. For the service of the ensuing year they voted seventy-three thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and they allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds for their maintenance. The sums destined to other purposes were no less ample; the whole amounted to fifteen millions five hundred and three thousand five hundred and sixty-four pounds. Of this immense supply not less than two millions three hundred and forty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds were paid to foreigners, for supporting the war in Germany, exclusive of the money expended by twenty thousand British troops in that country, and the charge of transporting them, with the expense of pontage, waggons, and other contingencies, and the exorbitant article of forage, which alone amounted, in the course of the last campaign, to one million two hundred thousand pounds.

The comparative expense of our naval preparations, and of the German war, affected, with equal astonishment and concern, many disinterested and dispassionate men, whose imaginations were less heated than those of the bulk of the people with the enthusiastic ardour of victory. Amid the triumphs of glory and success concealed murmurs were heard, which, in a free nation, were speedily re-echoed with increased force. Men formed themselves into parties according to their different notions upon this subject, and the dispute between the naval and continental schemes came to be the common topic, not only of public

assemblies but of private conversation. The abettors of the naval interest asserted, that the insular situation of Great Britain, as well as the continued experience of many ages, clearly pointed out the course which England ought to pursue in her wars with France. They pretended not that the former kingdom ought never, in any case, to take part in the disputes of the continent; but this, they thought, ought always to be as an auxiliary only. She might even engage with success in a continental war against France, provided she had a concurrence in her favour of the neighbouring powers of the continent. This was the grand principle of King William, and the foundation of that alliance, at the head of which, in defence of the liberties of Europe, he acted the greatest part that can be allotted to man. It was on the same principle that, in conjunction with the powers of the empire, we carried on the war with so much honour and success against France, under the duke of Marlborough. But to engage in a continental war with that kingdom, not only unassisted but opposed by the greatest part of those states with which we are then combined, is an attempt never to be justified by any comparative calculation of the populousness, the revenues, or the general strength of the two nations. They asserted still farther, that the theatre we had chosen for that war was the most unfortunate that could possibly be imagined. Germany has at all times proved the firmest bulwark against French ambition. What, therefore, could France herself more heartily desire than to see the swords of the Germans turned against each other, and England co-operate with all her power in embittering the hostilities which have already desolated that country. In carrying on a war there, France has many advantages: she supports her armies in a great measure by pillaging those whom, in every view, it is her interest to weaken: she is not very remote from her own frontiers, from which her armies may be recruited

and supplied without great expense : even when unsuccessful, she is brought still nearer her own territories, supports her troops with still greater facility, and exhausts still less the natural wealth of her people. If she were obliged to take refuge at home, would the English continue so frantic as to follow her into her own dominions ? To Great Britain, on the other hand, every thing is unfavourable in such a war. The utmost success with which her arms can be attended, will only carry the English to a greater distance from their resources, and, by going a certain length, the transport of provision, artillery, ammunition, and the infinite impediments of a large army, must become altogether impracticable. Upon this plan, victory itself cannot save us, and all our successes will only serve to accumulate new distresses, new difficulties, and new charges. As to the king of Prussia, what does he give us in return for the immense subsidies which are paid him ? Instead of assisting our armies, is he able to defend himself ? Besides, he is the worst ally we could have chosen, on account of his long and intimate connection with our enemies, and the general lightness of his faith in deserting every engagement which forms an obstacle to his ambition. He is looked upon as the protector of the protestant religion : but has he not desolated the first protestant electorate ? Has he not divided the reformed states of Germany, and turned their swords against each other ? And do not his writings sufficiently testify not only his indifference to the protestant cause, but his total disregard to all religion whatever ? Had England kept herself clear of the inextricable labyrinth of German politics, she might, without exhausting her own vigour by attacking France on her strong side, have been, before this time, in possession of all the French colonies together : even had the French, therefore, got possession of Hanover, which could not have suffered more by this event than it has already done in the course of the war, England, while

her own power was entire, and while she held all the commercial resources of France in her hands, must not only have recovered the Hanoverian dominions to their lawful sovereign, but have procured full indemnification to them for what they had suffered in our quarrel

The advocates for continental measures were obliged to acknowledge the exorbitant expense of a German war; but they affirmed, that, if it had cost England much, it had cost France still more, as the number of French troops to be paid exceeds the difference between French and English pay. They observed, that her subsidies to German princes greatly exceeded ours, although she had not derived so much advantage from all her allies together as England had done from the victory of the king of Prussia at Rosbach: that the German war had brought the finances of France to that deplorable condition which all Europe had witnessed: that her chief strength and attention, being engaged in this quarter, were in a great measure withdrawn from her navy, her commerce, and her colonies; which had enabled England to deprive her of the best part of her colonies, to render her commerce equally precarious and unprofitable, and to give such a blow to her navy as, perhaps, she might never be able to recover. But had England, instead of exhausting the French resources by diverting their efforts to Germany, allowed that country to receive laws from her rival, the continental war would have soon terminated, and France strengthened by victory, by conquest, and by alliance, would have preserved the whole force and revenue of her mighty monarch entire, to act against Great Britain.

These reasonings will be interesting as long as the great system of European politics continues in any measure the same, and as long as the measures of the British court are liable to be warped by the same motives as formerly. I would therefore observe, that taking for granted the facts alleged by the partisans of our German allies, many of

which require proof, and supposing that France had expended even more than Great Britain in prosecuting the German war, the principal question would still be undecided. It would be proper still farther to inquire, whether England or France could maintain the same number of troops, and make the same efforts in Germany, at the smallest expense? Whether, on the plan of a continental war alone, the revenues and resources of France or England would be soonest exhausted? And which of the two kingdoms could, with the smallest trouble and expense, augment its navy, and prosecute successful enterprises in distant parts of the world? These queries need only be proposed, their solution is obvious, and it shews, in the fullest light, the impropriety of England carrying the war into the continent of Europe, while France possessed any species of foreign commerce, or a single foot of land in Asia, Africa, or America.

But notwithstanding the force of evidence, and the clamour of party, the court remained firm in its first resolution. The continental system prevailed more than ever, and although the supplies granted for maintaining the navy were liberal beyond example, yet, the strength and attention of the nation being diverted to a different channel, our marine enterprises appeared to languish at a time when past success ought to have caused them to be pushed with the utmost vigour, and fewer exploits were achieved at sea in 1760 than are recorded in the memoirs of the preceding year.

The British navy at this time amounted to one hundred and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these capital ships seventeen were stationed in the East Indies, twenty for the defence of the West India islands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and sixty-one either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of commerce. Considering

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these mighty preparations, it is remarkable, that the return of the little squadron commanded by Thurot, which, as was already mentioned, had taken refuge the preceding year in the harbour of Gottenburg in Sweden, should have caused a general alarm over the three kingdoms. This inconsiderable armament originally consisted of five frigates, on board of which were one thousand two hundred and seventy land soldiers. They had sailed from Gottenburg to Bergen in Norway, and during that voyage had suffered so much by storms, that they were obliged to send back one of their largest vessels to France. It was not till the 5th of December that they were able to sail directly for the place of their destination, which was the northern coast of Ireland. In this voyage their ill fortune continued to pursue them. For nearly three months they were obliged to ply off and on among the western isles of Scotland, during which time they suffered every possible hardship: their men thinned and disheartened, suffering by famine and disease, one ship irrecoverably lost, and the remaining three so shattered, that they were obliged to put into the isle of Ilay. Here this enterprising adventurer, though oppressed with misfortune, and steeled by such hardships as too often extinguish every generous principle of humanity, behaved with the utmost justice and moderation, paying handsomely for the cattle and provisions which he had occasion to use, and treating the natives with unusual courtesy and kindness.

As soon as the weather permitted, Thurot quitted this island, and pursued his destination to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, where, on the 21st of February, he effected a descent with six hundred men. They advanced without opposition to the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of Colonel Jennings, who commanded only four companies of raw undisciplined men, would allow. A vigorous defence was made, until the

ammunition of the English failed; and then Colonel Jennings retired to the castle of Carrickfergus, which, however, was in all respects untenable, being unprovided in provisions and ammunition, and having a breach in the wall of near fifty feet wide: nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in their first attack, having supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel surrendered, on condition that his troops should be ransomed by exchanging them for an equal number of French prisoners; that the castle of Carrickfergus should not be demolished, nor the town burned or plundered. This last circumstance, however, was not strictly observed. The magistrates of Carrickfergus refused such supplies of wine and provisions as the French officers demanded, and thus, by their own imprudence, caused the town to be subjected to a contribution, which, however, was not immoderate. Thurot, having by this time gotten notice of the defeat of Conflan's expedition, and hearing that a considerable body of regular troops were assembled and preparing to march to the assistance of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus, embarked, and set sail for France, after gaining great reputation by the exploits of a squadron, which deserves to be considered as little better than a wreck of the grand enterprise against the British coasts.

But this gallant adventurer had not left the bay of Carrickfergus many hours, when he perceived, near the coast of the isle of Man, three sail that bore down on him. These were English frigates, the *Æolus* of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain Elliot, the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, each of thirty-two guns, under the command of the Captains Clement and Logie, who had been despatched by the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in quest of the French squadron. At nine in the morning of the 28th of February, Captain Elliot came up with the *Belleisle*, commanded by Thurot, which was superiour to the *Æolus* in strength of men, number of

guns, and weight of metal ; but both ship and men were in a bad condition. The engagement was hardly begun, when the Pallas and Brilliant attacked the other two ships of the enemy. The action was maintained with great spirit on both sides for an hour and a half, when Captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleisle, who immediately struck her colours, the gallant Thurot having fallen in the action. The English took possession of their prizes, and conveyed them into the bay of Ramsay in the isle of Man. In this engagement three hundred of the French were slain or disabled ; whereas our loss did not exceed forty killed and wounded. The name of Thurot had become so terrible to all the sea-ports of Britain and Ireland, that the service performed on this occasion was deemed essential to the quiet and security of these kingdoms. The thanks of the house of Commons of Ireland were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, the commanding officer at Carrickfergus ; and the defeat and capture of this petty squadron was celebrated with the most hearty and universal rejoicings. Such was the fate of the last branch of the grand armament which had so long been the hope of France, and the terror of Great Britain.

In North America the affairs of the French had taken such a turn as afforded them a happy prospect of future success. While the operations of the war there were entrusted to the land forces alone, England was unfortunate, and France triumphant : but no sooner did our squadrons appear on the coast, than every thing returned to its former situation, and Britain was as victorious as before. The garrison left for the defence of Quebec amounted originally to five thousand men, a number much too small, considering both the nature of the place, and the number of French forces which still remained in Canada. The fortifications of Quebec were weak and incomplete ; without any kind of out-works ; and the

town had been reduced, during the late siege, almost to a ruin. Mr Levi had collected at Montreal six thousand experienced militia of Canada, with three hundred Indians, besides ten battalions of regular troops amounting to about five thousand men more. With this force he took the field on the 17th of April, and, while his provisions and ammunition fell down the river St. Lawrence under a convoy of six frigates, the French army arrived in ten days march at the heights of Abraham, three miles distant from Quebec. General Murray, who commanded the garrison, had it in his option either to remain within the city, or to march out and try his fortune in the field. As his troops were habituated to victory, and provided with a fine train of artillery, he was unwilling to keep them shut up in a place which appeared to him scarcely tenable. He determined, therefore, to lead them against the enemy; a resolution, which, considering the immense inequality of numbers, for, although the garrison originally consisted of five thousand, he had not now above three thousand effective men, favoured more of youthful temerity than of military discretion. At first, however, fortune seemed to favour his designs. The English army, having marched out of the city, and descended from the heights of Abraham, attacked the enemy's van with such impetuosity, that it was obliged to give way, and to fall back on the main body. This advantage brought them full on the main army of the French, which by this time had formed in columns. The fire became so hot, that it stopped the progress of our troops; and the French, wheeling to right and left, formed a semi-circle which threatened to surround them, and to cut off their retreat. Nearly a third of the English army were now killed or wounded, and nothing could be thought of in this situation but to make proper movements to secure their return to Quebec. Thus they effected without losing many men in the pursuit, and the severe misfortune, occasioned by their own temerity, roused the

governor and troops to the most strenuous efforts in defence of the place. The French lost no time in improving their victory. They opened the trenches on the very night of the battle: but, being deficient in artillery, they had performed nothing of consequence before the 15th of May, when the besieged were reinforced by the arrival of the British fleet. Then the enemy understood what it was to be inferior at sea; for, had a French squadron got the start of the English in sailing up the river, Quebec must have reverted to its former owners.

On the 9th of May, to the great joy of the garrison, an English frigate anchored in the bay, and told them that Lord Corville who had sailed from Halifax with the fleet under his command, on the 22d of April, was then in the river St. Lawrence. He had been retarded in his passage by thick fogs and contrary winds. About the same time Commodore Swanton, arriving with a small reinforcement from England, and hearing that Quebec was besieged, sailed up the St. Lawrence with all expedition. On the 15th he anchored at Point Levi, and early next morning ordered Captain Schomberg of the *Diana*, and Captain Deane of the *Lowestoffe*, to slip their cables, and attack the French fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a considerable number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in motion than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran a-shore, and was burned at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town, and all that remained were taken or destroyed.

Mr. Levi had the mortification to behold, from the heights of Abraham, this action, which at one stroke put an end to all the hopes he had conceived from his late victory. He was persuaded that these frigates, by the boldness of their manner, preceded a considerable reinforcement, and he therefore raised the siege in the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him a great quantity of bag-

gage, tents, stores, magazines of provisions and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field-pieces, six mortars, and a great number of scaling-ladders, intrenching tools, and other implements necessary in a siege.

This event, which was entirely owing to the seasonable assistance of the fleet, was equally important in itself and in its consequences. While it secured the possession of Quebec, it gave an opportunity to General Murray to march to the assistance of General Amherst, who was employed in the siege of Montreal, the second place in Canada for extent, commerce, and strength. Here the whole remaining force of the French in North America was collected under the command of Mr Vaudreuil, an enterprising and artful general, who neglected no means of protracting the siege. At length he was obliged to yield to the united armies, and on the 8th of September, 1760, surrendered his garrison to be sent to France, on condition that they should not serve in the present war, and yielded up the inhabitants of his government as subjects to the king of Great Britain.

The French had not neglected to send relief to a place, which was the last object of their hopes for regaining possession of Canada. They had despatched three frigates, with twenty ships of burden, containing a reinforcement of troops and military stores for the garrison of Montreal. But when the commander of this expedition understood, that the fleet under Lord Colville had anticipated his arrival in the river St. Lawrence, he attempted to land his whole embarkation in the bay of Chaleurs, that they might endeavour, if possible, to join the principal army by land. But here they were discovered by Captain Byron, with three of his majesty's ships; their armament was taken or destroyed, and their whole design disconcerted. Thus, by the bravery of our troops, and the uncommon spirit, vigilance, and activity of our

navy, every attempt of the enemy was frustrated, and the quiet possession of all Canada confirmed to Great Britain.

In the East Indies, the British arms were attended with equal success. After raising the siege of Fort St. George in February, 1759, the English army possessed themselves of the important town and fortress of Conjeveram, as well as of the city Masulipatam, both on the Coromandel coast. This coast joins to the rich province of Bengal, where the French interest had been totally ruined by the conduct and gallantry of Colonel Clive.

Encouraged by these advantages, a body of one thousand two hundred men, Europeans and Seapoys, advanced farther, and attempted to dislodge an army of French and their confederate Indians, encamped under the cannon of a fort near Wandewash. They were repelled with the loss of between three and four hundred killed and wounded. But Colonel Coote, at the head of the principal body of English troops on that coast, compensated for this disaster by investing and taking Wandewash in three days. Soon after, he obtained a complete victory over General Lally, who commanded an army twice as numerous as that of the English, and consisting of two thousand two hundred Europeans and ten thousand blacks. After this decisive engagement, which, excepting the battle of Plaissey, was more important in its consequences than any fought in India during the war, Colonel Coote undertook the siege of Chhilliput, which surrendered in two days. He then prosecuted his march to Arcot the capital of the province, the fort of which being silenced, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of Arcot all the inferior places, such as Permacoil and Allumparva, submitted. The important settlement of Carical was reduced by the sea and land forces, commanded by Rear-admiral Cornish and Major Monson; and Colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the

harbour was beset by the English squadron. This town was the only important settlement which now remained to our enemies in India.

During all this time, Admiral Pococke had, with his usual skill and intrepidity, seconded the efforts of the troops. He had more than once compelled M. d'Achè, the greatest admiral that France could boast of, and who alone supported the declining reputation of her marine, to take shelter under the walls of Pondichery. Pococke had reduced the French ships to a very shattered condition, and killed a great many of their men; but what shews the singular talents of both admirals, they had fought three pitched battles in the course of eighteen months, without the loss of a ship on either side.

The British squadrons in the West Indies were commanded by Admiral Holmes on the Jamaica station and Sir James Douglas in the Leeward Islands. The active vigilance of these commanders not only enabled them to protect the islands from insult or invasion, but prompted them to annoy the enemy. Rear-admiral Holmes, having in the month of October received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape François on the island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Europe, he stationed the ships under his command, in such a manner as gave them an opportunity to intercept this fleet. The principal French ship was the *Sirene*, commanded by Commodore M'Caity, an Irish officer of considerable reputation. After two sharp engagements she struck to the *Boreas*, while the other four frigates bore away, with all the sail they could crowd, for the west end of Tortuga, to shelter themselves in Port au Prince. They were pursued by the *Lively* and *Hampshire*, the former obliged one of the French frigates to submit, after a warm engagement of an hour and a half. The *Hampshire* stood for the other three, and, running between the *Duke of Choiseul* and the *Prince Edward*, engaged them both at the same time. The



first, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix; the other ran a-shore about two leagues to leeward, and struck her colours. At the approach of the Hampshire, the enemy set her on fire, and she blew up. The Fleur de Lys, that had run into Fresh-Water Bay, a little to leeward of Port au Prince, shared the same fate; and thus by the gallantry of the captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, and the prudent disposition of Admiral Holmes, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three destroyed.

Immediately after this event, advice being received by Admiral Holmes, that the enemy's privateers swarmed about the island of Cuba, he ordered the boats of the Trent and Boreas to be manned, that they might proceed under the direction of the Lieutenants Millar and Stuart, to the harbour of Cumberland in that island. There they met with the Vainqueur of ten guns, sixteen swivels, and ninety men, the Mackau of six swivels and fifteen men, and the Guespe of eight guns and eighty-five men. The boats, after surmounting many difficulties, rowed up to the Vainqueur, boarded and took possession of her under a close fire. The Mackau was taken without resistance; but, before they could reach the Guespe, the enemy set her on fire, by which she was destroyed.

The same enterprising courage distinguished the officers of the squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward islands. The captains Obrien and Taylor, cruising near the Grenades, were informed that the Virgin, once a British sloop, with three French privateers, had taken refuge under the guns of three forts on one of these islands. They sailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprize was crowned with success. Having demolished the forts, they took the four ships after a warm engagement, which lasted several hours. They next entered another harbour on the same island, where they had intelligence of three more ships; they demolished the

fort on this harbour, and carried off the three prizes. In returning to Antigua they fell in with thirteen victuallers, who immediately surrendered. At the same time eight privateers were taken by the ships which Commodore Douglas employed in cruising round the island of Guadeloupe.

While the English were carried forward with a continual tide of prosperity in distant parts of the world, no action of importance was achieved in the British seas by the naval force of that kingdom. Admiral Rodney still maintained his station off the coast of Havre de Grace, to observe the French movements toward the mouth of the Seine. The admirals Boscawen and Hawke alternately commanded the powerful squadron which still remained in the bay of Quiberon, to interrupt the navigation of the enemy, to watch and detain the French vessels which had run into the mouth of the river Villaine after the defeat of Conflans; and to divert the efforts of the French from other quarters, by employing a great number of their forces on that part of the coast.

Meanwhile a numerous body of forces were assembled, and a great number of transports collected at Portsmouth. The troops were actually embarked with a good train of artillery; generals were nominated to the command of the enterprize; and the eyes of the whole nation were fixed upon this armament, which had been prepared at an immense expense, and the destination of which remained a profound secret. But, to the astonishment of all those who were not admitted behind the curtain, the whole summer was spent in idleness and inaction, and upon the death of the late king, in the month of October following, the enterprize was entirely laid aside.

The seeming inutility of these mighty preparations occasioned loud clamours in the nation. These were still farther increased by the inactivity of the powerful squadrons in the British seas. It was said, that with either of

these, or with the armament prepared at Portsmouth, we might have reduced the island Martinico in the West Indies, Mauritius on the coast of Africa, or Minorca in the Mediterranean, all of which were objects equally important to our power and commerce. It was asked what advantage we derived from those squadrons which were so well provided in all necessaries by the liberality of the supplies, but which were condemned to inactivity, or employed in useless parade? This question, however, was not unanswerable. The armament at Portsmouth might be intended to intimidate the French into proposals of peace; to alarm the coast of Bretagne, and thereby make a diversion in favour of Germany; or to transport troops into Flanders, in order to effect a junction with the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who, at the head of twenty thousand men, had crossed the Rhine, and was at first as successful as finally unfortunate in that daring expedition.

Nor were the squadrons on the French coast altogether unnecessary. While Admiral Rodney hovered near the mouth of the Seine, he perceived, on the 5th of July at noon day, five large flat bottomed boats, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance. These boats were despatched by way of experiment, to try whether it were possible for vessels of this newly invented construction to escape the vigilance and efforts of an English fleet. The French had prepared above an hundred of them, which then lay at Caen in Normandy. The ten which now sailed, stood backwards and forwards on the shoals, intending to amuse Mr. Rodney till night, and then to proceed under cover of darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions that his small vessels should be ready to sail in the night for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself with the larger ships stood for the steep coast of Port Bassin. The disposition was judicious, and at-

tended with success. The flat bottomed boats having no way to escape, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of these vessels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men. The disaster which befel them taught the French minister of the marine not to build any further hopes upon such awkward machines. The remainder were ordered to be unloaded at Caen, and sent to Rouen to be laid up as useless.

This was not the only service which Rodney's squadron performed. In the month of November, Captain Ourry of the *Acteon*, chased a large privateer, and drove her on shore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue, and his cutters scoured the coast, and took or destroyed forty vessels of considerable burden, which carried on a great fishing near Dieppe.

Besides the purposes above-mentioned, which were answered by Admiral Boscawen's fleet, it effectually prevented any vessels from sailing from the harbours of Brest or Rochfort, with the design to reinforce the French in North America, which might have protracted the war there to another campaign. The enterprising spirit of this English admiral, impatient of continuing so long in a state of inaction how advantageous soever to the interests of his country, prompted him to employ his men in the execution of some actual service. He exercised them, therefore, in taking a small island near the river Vannes, which he ordered them to cultivate and plant with vegetables for the use of the seamen infected with scorbutic disorders, arising from the constant use of salt provisions, from the sea air, and from a want of proper exercise.

Sir Edward Hawke, who relieved Mr Boscawen in September, pursued the same plan. Sensible of the inconveniences to which a fleet on that station is exposed

for want of fresh water, which must be carried to them by transports hired on purpose, he detached Lord Howe in the *Magnanime*, with the ships *Frederick* and *Bedford*, to reduce the little island *Dumet*, which abounded in that great necessary of life. This island, about three miles in length and two in breadth, was defended by a small fort mounted with nine cannon, and garrisoned with one company of the regiment of Bourbon, who surrendered with little or no resistance after the ships had begun the attack.

We have not interrupted the history of the British squadrons by relating the exploits of particular cruisers, several of which conferred the highest honour on the English navy. On the 2d of April, Captain Skinner of the *Biddeford*, and Captain Kennedy of the *Flamborough*, both frigates, having sailed from Lisbon, fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ships, which the English captains immediately determined to engage, notwithstanding the great inferiority of their strength. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after six in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the *Flamborough* had lost sight of the *Biddeford*, and the frigate with which the former was engaged bore away with all the sail she could carry. Captain Kennedy pursued her till noon the next day, when he entirely lost sight of her; by which means she got into Lisbon with the loss of several men besides the lieutenant of marines, and considerably damaged in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the *Biddeford*, who, after a most severe conflict, had compelled her antagonist to fly, and had chased her till she was out of sight. Soon after the action began, Captain Skinner, while standing upon the arm-chest to inspect the several posts, and to animate his men by his example, was unfortunately killed. He was an officer equally brave and bountiful, and as much beloved for

his gentleness and humanity, as respected for his skill and courage by those who served under him. The command devolved upon the honourable Lieutenant Knollis, who maintained the battle with great spirit, even after he was wounded; and a second shot through his body deprived him of life. Notwithstanding these disasters, the crew of the *Biddeford*, though deprived of their officers, their main-top-mast shot away, the ship disabled in her rigging, and the enemy's fire which continued exceedingly hot, discovered no signs of fear or of disinclination to the service. The master of the ship now assumed the command, and every man on board acted as if on his personal bravery alone the fortune of the engagement had depended. While the master kept the quarter-deck, and took care of the posts there, the purser was stationed on the main-deck, and kept up a brisk and well-directed fire. Numbers of the wounded men returned with cheerfulness to their posts, after the surgeon had dressed their wounds. Their cool determined valour prevailed over a ship double their own in strength. The enemy's fire began to slacken, one gun becoming silent after another, till the enemy did not discharge four guns in a quarter of an hour. It was believed they were going to strike; but it proved, that they were preparing for flight; for a little after, about ten at night, the engagement having lasted three hours, they bore away with all the sail they could crowd. The *Biddeford* took the opportunity to pour a broadside into her enemy, and a volley of small arms nearly at the same instant. But, when she attempted to chase, the sailors found they had no command of their ship, the rigging being cut to pieces, and the masts and yards shattered and disabled.

The spirit of enterprise, a consciousness of their own superiority, and a contempt of the French, seem to have been communicated to the meanest seaman of Great Britain at this happy period. As an example of this kind,

the bravery of five Irishmen and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ship, from Waterford, has been much celebrated. The ship, in her return from Bilboa, being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, the captors removed all the hands but these five men and a boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel. These daring Hibernians immediately formed a plan of insurrection, which they executed with success. Four of the French mariners being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprise, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck, but, missing the mark, he knocked him down with the butt-end of the piece. At the same time hallooing to his confederates below, they assailed the enemy with their broad swords, and, soon compelling them to submit, came upon deck, and shut the hatches. The Irish being now in possession of the quarter-deck, the French who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. As neither Brian nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least principle of navigation, they steered the ship northward at a venture, and the first land they made was the neighbourhood of Youghall in the county of Cork.

The captures from the French, within the course of this year, consisted of royal ships of war, privateers, and armed merchant-men. The royal ships were six, mounting in all one hundred and seventy-six guns. The privateers and armed merchantmen amounted to one hundred and ten, which carried eight hundred and forty-eight carriage-guns, two hundred and forty swivels, and six thousand three hundred and eighty-nine men. The English navy suffered little from the French during this period, but sustained great damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ship of the line, was lost in the channel off the island of St. Nicholas; the crew and guns were saved. The Lyme of

twenty guns foundered in the Cattedgate in Norway, and fifty of the men perished. In the West Indies a tender belonging to the Dublin commanded by Commodore Sir James Douglas, was lost in a gale of wind, with one hundred chosen mariners. But these losses, great as they were, seemed inconsiderable, compared to that of the *Ramilies*, a magnificent ship of the second rate, belonging to the squadron which Admiral Boscawen commanded on the coast of France. In the beginning of February, a series of stormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty. The *Ramilies*, having overshot the entrance to the sound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt Head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was dashed in pieces among the rocks, after her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, one midshipman and twenty-five of the seamen excepted, amounting to seven hundred, perished.

The number of merchant vessels taken by the French amounted to above three hundred; chiefly, however, coasters and colliers of very inconsiderable value. Nor would it have been at all surprising if the French had taken not only more numerous but more valuable prizes. While their own commerce was in a great measure destroyed, and they had no merchant ships at sea but some coasters, and a few vessels, under convoy from the West Indies, the trading fleets of England covered the ocean. Every year her commerce was augmenting, the money which the war carried out was returned by the produce of her industry, the sinking fund amounted annually to above three millions, and in the year 1760, eight thousand vessels were employed by the traders of Great Britain.

But, notwithstanding this happy flow of prosperity, if we compare the naval and military transactions of the present year with those of the preceding, they will appear extremely inconsiderable. Excepting the reduction of



Montreal, which was a natural consequence of our prior conquests in Canada, no additional acquisitions of great consequence had been made by the British arms. The English strength and wealth were employed in the war of Germany; but our operations, undertaken upon national principles, and tending to the interest of Great Britain, began gradually to languish. It was hoped, therefore, that after a general war of five years, carried on upon a larger scale, and attended with greater expense, and more surprising revolutions of fortune, than any war of equal duration that had ever taken place among the nations of Europe, it was now full time to give tranquillity to the four quarters of the globe, all of which had been shaken by our commotions. The posture of our affairs was now much altered from what had taken place during the first periods of hostility. The ambition of France, which had inflamed the fuel of dissension, had been crowned with success in the beginning of the war. Admiral Byng behaved disgracefully in the Mediterranean, Minorca was taken, and the battle of Hastembeck seemed to decide the fate of the electorate of Hanover. The duke of Cumberland was shut up at Closter-seven, and the Canadians obtained considerable advantages over the English in North America. But now all was changed. The French had not reaped the fruits which they expected from their success in Germany, and had been obliged to abandon some part of their conquests, their interest was totally ruined in North America; in the East Indies, where they had formerly so many flourishing settlements, they were confined to one town; and the principal source of their wealth was cut off by the loss of Guadaloupe, Goree, and Senegal, and the destruction of their commerce and shipping. The misfortunes which France had already experienced in carrying on a naval war against Great Britain, induced her, as early as the year 1758, to signify her pacific intentions to the English ministry, who declined

listening at that time to any proposals of negociation. In the following year the court of London was not so decisively bent on continuing the war; but it was not till 1761, that they began to think seriously of laying down their victorious arms. Had France been equally sincere in the wishes for accommodation which she publicly professed, matters might then have been amicably adjusted. But she had by this time discovered an after game, which remained for her to play, notwithstanding all her bad fortune. She had alarmed the pride and jealousy of the court of Spain, whose rich and extensive American possessions seemed now to lie at the mercy of the English colonies, and whose honour was deeply wounded in the disgrace inflicted on the first prince of the house of Bourbon. If the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy, augmented by continual accessions during a long peace, could be drawn into the vortex of hostility, France expected to be able still to retrieve her affairs. While she publicly declared for peace, her secret hopes were all centered in war, she treated of friendship with a spirit of enmity; and, the false principles upon which she negociated being discovered by the penetration of the British ministry, these allowed not the prospect of a treaty to amuse them into a neglect of the naval and military operations which had been previously concerted.

The parliament which assembled the 18<sup>th</sup> of November, 1760, had voted seventy thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines, and a sum not exceeding four pounds monthly *per* man for their maintenance, the whole amounting to three million six hundred and forty thousand pounds. No material alteration was made in the disposition of the several squadrons which constituted the navy of Great Britain. That in the bay of Quiberon was commanded by Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the Mediter-

ranean. The Rear-admirals Stevens and Cornish commanded in the East Indies, Rear-admiral Holmes at Jamaica, Sir James Douglas at the Leeward Islands, and Lord Coiville at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Besides these, single ships cruised in different parts, in order to protect the British merchantmen, and squadrons were occasionally equipped under various commanders.

AD  
1761.

The scene of action, in the year 1761, opened in the East Indies. After the defeat of the French near Wandewash, the taking of the city of Arcot, and the reduction of the fortresses of Clatteput and Carrical, the French were blocked up in Pondicherry, a town of near four miles in circuit, elegantly built, strongly fortified, and defended by the whole force which remained to the enemy on the coast of Coromandel. The periodical rains which fall on that coast rendered a regular siege impracticable; so that the blockade, which had been commenced by the fleet under Admiral Stevens, and the land forces under Colonel Coote, was continued with the best disposition, and the most extraordinary patience, for full seven months. On the 26th of November, 1760, four batteries were raised, at some distance, to enfilade the streets of Pondicherry, while others were advanced nearer, in order to play upon the works. The works of the besiegers suffered much from storms, which ruined the batteries and approaches; but these were repaired with great alacrity, and the enemy was reduced to the most extreme distress. They lived on camels, elephants, dogs, and cats. Even this wretched provision was so scarce, that it was purchased at an immense price; five pounds had been paid for the flesh of a dog.

In the midst of this distress their hopes were suddenly revived by a dreadful misfortune which happened to the English fleet. On the 1st of January, 1761, one of these terrible tempests, so destructive and so frequent in the Indian seas, obliged Admiral Stevens to slip his cables

and put to sea. The rest of the British squadron were driven from before the walls of Pondicherry. The Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the storm, and their crews perished. The Newcastle, the Queenborough, and Protector fire-ship, were driven on shore and destroyed, but the men were happily saved, together with the guns, stores, and provisions. Many other ships sustained considerable damage. This unexpected disaster elevated to the highest pitch the spirits of the garrison, and General Lally, seeing the port clear, lost not a moment to send an express to the French agent in the neighbouring neutral settlements, in order to obtain a supply of provisions. This letter \* was intercepted by Admiral Stevens, and from the singular character it discovers of this daring adventurer, we have thought the insertion would be acceptable to the reader. As the admiral imagined, that Lally had made the same solicitations by other messengers, he immediately despatched letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements, mentioning the good condition of the greater part of his fleet, and assuring them that he would make prize of such vessels as he found infringing the neutrality, by attempting to supply the enemy. He was sufficiently in a condition to make good his threats; for, in four days after

\* Mr RAYMOND,—The English squadron is no more, Sir, out of the twelve ships they had in our road, seven are lost, crews and all the four others dismasted, and it appears that there is no more than one frigate that has escaped, therefore do not lose an instant to send us chelungoes upon chelungoes, loaded with rice, the Dutch have nothing to fear now, besides, according to the law of nations, they are only to send us no provisions themselves, and we are no more blocked up by sea. The saving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already, if you miss the present opportunity, it will be entirely your fault. Do not forget also some small chelungoes, offer great rewards. I expect seventeen thousand Marattoes within these four days. In short, risque all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time

(Signed)

LALLY.

the storm, he had, with incredible diligence and celerity, repaired the damage of his ships, and appeared before Pondicherry with eleven sail of the line and two frigates, all fit for service. The siege was now carried on with redoubled ardour. By the 15th of January, a battery was raised within point blank; a breach was effected in the curtain; the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely silenced. The principal of the Jesuits came out with two civilians, and proposed terms of capitulation in the name of the inhabitants. General Lally disdained to capitulate, but sent out a paper, full of invectives against the English for breach of treaties relative to India; the obstinacy of the governor made the proposal of the inhabitants be disregarded; so that the city of Pondicherry, with a garrison of near two thousand European soldiers, a vast quantity of military stores, and great riches, was, without any formal surrender, abandoned to the discretion of the besiegers.

After the reduction of Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, a body of English forces was embarked for an expedition against Mahie, a settlement on the coast of Malabar, which the French had lately fortified at a very considerable expense. The place was attacked with so much vigour, that the French governor thought proper to surrender it about the beginning of February, by which means the English obtained the command of the whole peninsula of India, the most extensive as well as the most profitable sphere of commerce in the world.

These important successes had not, since the commencement of the war, been chequered by any considerable misfortune attending the British arms in the east. We must not, however, omit to mention the achievements of the Count d'Estaing, who in the year 1759, had made himself master of the English fort of Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia, and had taken two frigates, with

three other vessels belonging to the company. He performed this with four ships under Dutch colours, one of which carried sixty-four guns, and another twenty-two, with a land force of one hundred and fifty Europeans, and about two hundred Caffies. In the succeeding year the fort of Natal on the coast of Africa surrendered to him at discretion, and he found two ships in the road. He afterwards sailed to Sumatra, where the English carried on a great trade in pepper, and, before the end of the following April, reduced Tapponapoli and Bercoolen, or Marlborough fort, which last, though in a good state of defence, was ingloriously abandoned by the English garrison, after they had burnt a vessel richly loaded, the Denham Indiaman, that lay in the harbour. The activity and enterprise of Mr. d'Estaing would deserve commendation, if his character had not been strongly marked with perfidy and cruelty. He had surrendered himself at the siege of Madras, and had engaged not to serve against the English until he should be regularly exchanged; so that, when he attacked Gambioun, he was a prisoner on parole. When he became master of that place, he paid no regard to the terms on which it had surrendered. He promised to prevent thefts and disorders, but the houses were set on fire, and the factory given up to the licentious pillage of the Arabs.

After the expulsion of the French from North America, the English found in the Cherokees a cruel and barbarous and not an unwarlike enemy. They defended themselves with a savage heroism against the superiour arts of a civilized nation, nor could they be reduced to the necessity of accepting a peace from their conquerors, until the English had penetrated with great courage and perseverance into their country, destroyed fifteen of their towns or villages, and burnt or cut down the greatest part of their harvest.

While the continent of North America was thus reduced

to a state of undisturbed obedience, the British squadrons were still carrying on their conquests in the West Indies. On the 4th of June, Sir James Douglas sailed from Guadaloupe with the Dublin, Belliqueux, Sunderland, and Montague, four ships of the line, and a considerable body of land forces, under the command of Lord Rollo, destined for an expedition against the island of Dominica. This island, though one of those called neutral, had been occupied and fortified by the French. Its extent is about ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth, it is well watered by rivers plentifully supplied with fish; produces abundant pasture for cattle, and is very fruitful in coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and cotton. It is situated within ten leagues of Martinico, the capital of the French sugar islands, which, in case of an invasion, it could easily supply with men and provisions, a circumstance which rendered it of great importance to France, and an object worthy the ambition of the British ministry.

The armament under Lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas, arrived within a league of Roseau, the capital of Dominica, on the 6th of June; and the fleet having anchored, a lieutenant of the navy, accompanied by a land officer, was immediately despatched with a manifesto, signed by the commodore and general, requiring the inhabitants of the neutral island of Dominica to surrender, and take the oaths of allegiance to his majesty King George. The manifesto being read to the people of Roseau, some of the principal inhabitants set off in a boat, and went on board the English fleet. Their behaviour and conversation discovered no dislike to the British government, on the contrary, they seemed very well pleased that his majesty's forces had come to take possession of the island. But when they were put on shore in the afternoon, they, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, were encouraged by the French governor, Mr. Longprice, to stand on the defensive, and to declare they would not

tamely surrendered, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as this determination was known, the ships anchored as near as possible to the shore, and the necessary dispositions were made for landing the troops. This was effected about five in the evening, under cover of the shipping. They formed quickly on the beach, and, while the main division took possession of the town, the corps of grenadiers, consisting of the companies of the fourth and twenty-second regiments, seized a flanking battery, and part of the adjoining intrenchment, which had been abandoned. But the enemy continued to annoy the British troops by their musquetry from behind bushes and trees, and by their cannon fired from a battery which overlooked the town. By this means the troops might have suffered greatly during the night, the enemy, perhaps, might have been reinforced before morning, and, fortified in a strong post with four intrenchments on a steep hill, might have been enabled to make a vigorous defence. Lord Rollo, therefore, judged it best to order them to be immediately dislodged by the grenadiers supported by the battalions; which service was performed with so much order and rapidity, that, before night, the French were driven successively from all their intrenchments, and the battery above them, where Colonel Melvill immediately took post with his grenadiers. Lord Rollo continued at their advanced post during the night, having established a communication, by proper guards, with the rest of the troops who possessed the town. Next day he established his head-quarters at Roseau, where he received the submission of the inhabitants, who came to lay down their arms, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty.

While this important conquest was acquired by the assistance of part of the squadron belonging to the Leeward Islands, the remainder were employed in protecting the British traders, and scouring those seas of the Mar-



tinico privateers, of which they took a great number. Nor was the squadron stationed off Jamaica less vigilant, or less alert; Rear-admiral Holmes, who commanded there, planned his cruises with judgment, and executed them with success. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that several ships of war belonging to the enemy had sailed from Port Louis, he immediately made such a disposition of his squadron as was most likely to intercept them. He himself in the Hampshire fell in with the St. Anne, and chased her to leeward down upon the Centaur. The French captain, perceiving this last ship, and dreading the danger of being between two fires, hauled up between them, and ran close in shore, until he was becalmed about a league to the northward of Donna Maria bay. The Centaur chased, and got up along-side; upon which the Frenchman, who had fired his stern chase, struck his colours, and surrendered a very fine ship, pierced for sixty-four guns, loaded with coffee, sugar, and indigo, and manned with near four hundred sailors and marines.

Earlier in the same year, the French were foiled in an attempt to regain a footing on the coast of Africa. They were too sensible of the advantages attending the lucrative trade of this coast, to remain satisfied under a total exclusion from it. In order to recover some part of what they had lost, they sent two frigates to surprise James fort, at the mouth of the Gambia. The little garrison there, received them with such resolution, that one frigate was forced on shore, and lost; and the other sailed off, after having sustained considerable damage. There had been two more frigates appointed by the French to act on this service. But these had been intercepted by Sir Edward Hawke's squadron, stationed in the bay of Quiberon.

This unimportant capture, and that of a few merchantmen of little value, did not justify to the nation the in-

activity in which the British squadron on the coast of France had been allowed to remain. Something of greater consequence was expected from such a powerful armament, under the direction of such naval commanders as Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. But in the month of March, to the general surprise and indignation of the public, the two admirals returned to Spithead, and another squadron, with a great body of land forces on board, was afterwards sent to occupy their station. This squadron consisted of the Sandwich, ninety guns; the Valiant, Temeraire, Torbay, Dragon, and Swiftsure, seventy-four guns each; the Prince of Orange, seventy guns, the Hampton Court and Essex, sixty-four guns each, the Achilles, sixty guns; and several frigates, bomb-ketches and fire-ships, with upwards of an hundred transports, carrying nine hundred soldiers, under the command of Major-general Hodgson. The expedition was intended against Belleisle, the reduction of which, it was imagined, would be attended with inconsiderable difficulties and many advantages. This island is between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference, and the largest of all the European islands belonging to the French king. It contains only one city, called La Palais, three country towns, one hundred and three villages, and about five thousand inhabitants, who live by the natural fertility of the soil, and the curing and vending of pilchards. There are three harbours in this island, Palais, Lauzion, and Goulfard, every one of which labours under some considerable defect. But, although the harbours are bad, small privateers might issue from thence greatly to the molestation of the French coasting trade, and the fleet of England might ride between these harbours and the continent of France, in a well-protected road. The real advantages, however, arising from this conquest, were not the only inducements to undertake it. Nothing could wound more cruelly the pride of France than the

acquisition of what might be regarded as a part of the coast; and, at the same time, the jealousy of Spain would be less alarmed by our advantages in this quarter, than by those which we might obtain by pushing our conquests in the West Indies.

The fleet sailed from Spithead, on the 29th of March, in three divisions, commanded by Commodore Keppel, Sir Thomas Stanhope, and Captain Barton. On the 5th of April, a westerly wind enabled them to approach the coast of France, and the Commodore detached several frigates, with orders to station themselves in such a manner as might intercept the enemy's communication with the continent. Next morning the fleet passed along the southern shore of the island, and came to an anchor in the great road, about twelve o'clock at noon. The commanders agreed, that the descent ought to be made on the south-east extremity of the island, near the Point Lomaria. But, in order to amuse the enemy, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ships conveyed the troops to the intended landing place, and silenced a battery which the enemy had there erected. The flat-bottomed boats were now approaching the shore, and about two hundred and sixty had actually landed under the command of Major Purcel and Captain Osborne, when the enemy, suddenly appearing on the height, poured in such a severe fire as threw them into the utmost confusion, and intimidated the rest of the troops from landing. Captain Osborne, at the head of sixty grenadiers, advanced with great intrepidity so near as to exchange several thrusts with the French officer. But the handful of men which he commanded were soon overpowered by numbers. He himself, as well as Major Purcel and two sea officers, were shot, and the attempt ended with the loss of above five hundred killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. This discouraging check was succeeded by tempestuous weather, which did considerable

damage to the large vessels, and staved or overset twenty flat-bottomed boats.

These disasters did not dispirit the English commanders. They determined to examine the whole coast, in order to find a place more favourable for another attack. As soon as the weather afforded them the prospect of making a second trial, they pitched on a place near the above-mentioned port of Lomaria, where the excessive steepness and difficulty of the rocks had rendered the enemy less attentive than elsewhere. On the 22d of April, in the morning, the troops were disposed in flat-bottomed boats, and rowed toward different parts of the island, which distracted the French operations, and obliged them to divide their forces. Meanwhile Captain Paterson, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and Captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, landed near Lomaria, mounted the precipice with astonishing intrepidity, and sustained the whole fire of the enemy, until they were reinforced by the approach of the greatest part of the English troops. The French then retired before the bayonets of the British soldiers, leaving many of their wounded companions and several field-pieces. Nor was the action without loss on our side. Forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were Colonel Mackenzie and Captain Murray of the marines, and Captain Paterson, of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who lost his arm in the engagement.

The whole army being now landed, Mr. de St. Croix ordered all his out-posts to repair to a camp under the walls of the town of Palais, where he determined to make a vigorous defence, his forces, when joined by the militia of the island, amounting to four thousand men fit for service. On the 23d of April, the English troops were formed into columns, and began their march toward the capital of the island. Next day General Hodgson ordered a detachment of light horse to take post at Sauzon; and,

on the 25th, a corps of infantry took possession of a village called Brodilla ; and the whole army intrenched itself in that neighbourhood. The tempestuous weather rendering it impossible to bring on shore the artillery and implements necessary in a siege, the French governor seized this opportunity to erect six redoubts for defending the avenues of Palais, the citadel of which had been planned and fortified with admirable skill by the celebrated Vauban. General Hodgson, compelled by necessity to defer his military operations, published a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants, offering them the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, provided they would submit themselves to the protection of the English government ; an assurance which had considerable effect on the natives, but produced no alteration on the resolution of the governor, who, when summoned to surrender, declared he was determined to defend the place to the last extremity. About the latter end of April, some mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, and the besiegers broke ground on the 2d of May. The day after, in the evening, the enemy attacked the trenches with great vigour, and threw the piquets on the left in confusion. Notwithstanding the efforts of General Crawford, who performed every thing that could be expected from the bravery and conduct of an experienced officer, the works of the besiegers were destroyed, several hundreds of their men were killed, and the general with his two aid-du-camps fell into the hands of the enemy. The French did not attempt to push the advantage any farther, by attacking the piquets on the right, who had prepared to give them a warm reception. They retired after their first success, and allowed the British to repair the damage which they had sustained. This was done in less than twenty-four hours, and a redoubt was also begun on the right of the works to prevent a second surprise.

From this time the siege was carried on with the utmost

vigour: and the besieged gave such continual proofs of their courage and activity, as confirmed the reputation of Mr. de St. Croix for a gallant officer, consummate in the art of war. The engineers being unanimously of opinion that the works could not be properly advanced until the French redoubts should be taken, the general made the disposition for that purpose on the 10th. The attack began at day-break, with four pieces of cannon and thirty cohorns, which poured a terrible fire into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank. This opened a way for a detachment of marines, sustained by part of Loudon's regiment, to advance to the parapet, and, with fixed bayonets, to drive the French from the works, and take possession of the post. The other redoubts were successively reduced by the same detachment reinforced by Colvill's regiment, and the enemy were compelled, after great slaughter, to take shelter in the citadel. Such was the ardour of the assailants, that they entered the streets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives; and having taken possession of the town, they released the English prisoners above mentioned.

The defence being now confined entirely to the citadel, which could have no communication either with the rest of the island or with the continent of France, it was evident that the place must soon be obliged to surrender for want of provisions. But Mr. de St Croix determined to sell it as dearly as possible, and to maintain his own honour at least, if he could not the possession of the citadel of Palais. On the part of the English nothing was neglected. Parallels were finished, barricadoes made, batteries constructed, an incessant fire from mortars and artillery was maintained day and night, from the 13th of May till the 25th. Then the fire of the enemy began to abate; by the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and, notwithstanding the indefatigable industry of the governor in repairing the damage, the fire of the

besiegers increased to such a degree, that the breach became practicable by the 7th of June, and the place was apparently no longer tenable. Then Mr. de St. Croix capitulated upon terms not unworthy of his noble defence, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

Thus was the whole island of Belleisle reduced under the English government, after a defence of two months, in the course of which we lost eighteen hundred men killed and wounded. The loss most regretted was that of Sir William Williams, a young gentleman of great talents and expectations, who had already made a distinguished figure in parliament. He was the third gentleman of fashion, whom, in this war, the love of glory had brought to an honourable death in hostile expeditions against the coast of France.

Having particularized the successful operations of the British squadrons in the taking of Belleisle, Dominica, and Pondicherry, as well as in defeating the projects which the French meditated against our settlements on the coast of Africa, we shall mention the exploits performed by single cruisers in the course of the year, many of which confer the highest honour on the British flag. Captain Elphinstone, commander of the Richmond frigate, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, stationed on the coast of Flanders, being informed that a French frigate called the Felicité had made a prize of an English merchantman, sailed in quest of the enemy, and coming in sight of her, about eleven at night on the 23d, a severe engagement began next day, about ten in the morning, near Gravesande, which is but eight miles distant from the Hague. The vicinity of the place induced the young prince of Orange, as well as the ambassadors of England and France, to set out, in order to view the combat, in the issue of which, as the ships were exactly of equal force, the honour of the two nations was mate-

rially interested. About noon both ships ran ashore, along-side of each other, and in this situation the fight continued with great obstinacy, till the French abandoned their quarters, their ship being much damaged, the captain slain, and above one hundred men killed or wounded. The *Richmond* soon floated, without sustaining any considerable hurt, having obtained the victory at the expense of three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French ambassador loudly exclaimed against this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded signal reparation for the insult and injury which his countrymen had sustained. But the Dutch at that time did not think it convenient to urge their remonstrances with vehemence, and they were answered in such a manner by the British ambassador as prevented any difficulties arising between the two courts.

On the 23d of the same month, Captain Hood, commanding the *Minerva* frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, cruising in the chops of the channel, descried a large ship of two decks steering to the westward. This was the *Warwick* of sixty guns taken from the English, the most boasted capture the enemy had made in the course of the war. She had formerly carried sixty, but now was mounted with only thirty-six guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger de Belair. Her crew amounted to about three hundred men, including a company of soldiers intended as a reinforcement to the garrison of Pondicherry. Notwithstanding her superiority, Captain Hood gave chase, and, the wind blowing a fresh easterly gale, he came up with her at twenty minutes past ten. His attack was warmly returned; the fire on both sides was terrible. Several masts of both ships were shot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the sea ran very high; so that the crews were greatly encumbered by their broken masts and shattered rigging. The high sea separated them, and the *Warwick* fell to leeward. About



a quarter after eleven the *Minerva's* bowsprit was carried away, and the fore-mast soon followed it. This misfortune made Captain Hood almost despair of coming up with the enemy, who had gotten three leagues to leeward. However, he cleared his ship with incredible activity, and bearing down, renewed the attack about four o'clock. In three quarters of an hour the enemy struck, having thirteen men killed and thirty-five wounded. The loss of men was equal on board the *Minerva*, and all her masts were destroyed: nevertheless, her prize was conveyed in triumph to Spithead. On the 8th of the same month, Captain Hood had taken the *Ecueil* privateer belonging to Bayonne, of fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-two men.

On the 13th of March, another French ship called the *Entreprenant*, built for forty-four guns, but mounted with twenty-six, having two hundred men on board and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the *Vengeance* frigate commanded by Captain Nightingale. The *Vengeance* was mounted with twenty-six guns, nine and four pounders, and carried two hundred men. There was a great disparity in the size of the ships and in the weight of metal. But the English captain, as usual, gave chase, and got up with the enemy at five o'clock in the afternoon. The action was maintained on both sides with uncommon fury, and continued for near an hour, during which time the *Vengeance* being set on fire, the *Entreprenant* ran her bowsprit upon the taffrail of the English frigate, with an intention to board her. In this design, however, the French miscarried through the skill and activity of Captain Nightingale, who found means to clear himself, and stood to leeward, in order to repair his rigging. The ship was no sooner in proper condition than he ranged close up again to the enemy, whose fire was still directed against the rigging of the English frigate, which, after this second attack had

lasted above an hour, being again disabled, allowed the enemy to sheer off, and bear away. But the English a second time repaired their damage, wore ship, ran up within pistol-shot, and began a third attack more furious than any of the preceding. The engagement continued an hour and an half before the *Entreprenant* called for quarter. She had fifteen men killed, and twenty-four wounded. The *Vengeance* had an equal number wounded, but only six men killed.

These losses did not complete the misfortunes of the French navy, during the present year, in the British seas. In April, a French frigate called the *Comete*, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and fifty men, just sailed from Brest, was taken by Captain Deane of the *Bedford* man-of-war, and conveyed safely into Portsmouth. About the same time Captain Bograve of the *Albany* sloop of sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men, came up with the *Pheasant* frigate, of equal force, after a chase of twenty-eight hours. The French captain, having thrown his guns overboard, struck as soon as the *Albany* came alongside of him, and the prize was carried into Spithead. In the course of the same month a large East India ship, fitted out from France, with twenty-eight guns and three hundred and fifty men, fell in with the *Hero* and the *Venus*, commanded by the Captains Fortescue and Harrison, and being taken without opposition, was carried into Plymouth.

The same spirit of enterprise and activity distinguished the cruisers belonging to the squadron commanded by Vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean. In the beginning of April the *Oriflamme*, a French ship of forty guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was descried by the *Isis* of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Wheeler. The English captain gave chase, and came up with the enemy about six in the evening; but the Frenchman, having the advantage of the wind, maintained a running fight till

half-past ten, during which Captain Wheeler unfortunately was shot. The command devolved on Lieutenant Cunningham, who perceiving it to be the enemy's intention to reach, if possible, the neutral coast of Spain, ordered his men to board her, which was done with great bravery; and, her commander in a short time submitting, she was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to forty-five; the loss of the *Isis* did not exceed four killed, and nine wounded. The next action in those seas was much more destructive to the British sailors. The *Thunderer*, Captain Proby, in company with the *Modeste*, *Thetis*, and *Favourite* sloop, cruised off the coast of Spain, with a view to intercept the *Achilles* and *Bouffon*, two French ships of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz. These were descried on the 16th of July by the British ships, which gave them chase. The *Thunderer* came up with the *Achilles* about midnight, and, after a short but warm action of half an hour, obliged the enemy to strike. The French had, on this occasion, fired their guns with more effect than usual; for in the English ship forty men were killed, and upwards of one hundred wounded: among the latter was the captain. The *Thetis* pursued the *Bouffon*, but could not bring her to an engagement till seven next morning. The engagement was maintained on both sides with great impetuosity for the space of half an hour, when the *Modeste* ranging up, and thus putting the French ship between two fires, compelled her to submit. The victors carried their prizes, which had been much damaged in their rigging, and suffered great loss in their crews, into the bay of Gibraltar.

These advantageous captures were preludes to one of the most remarkable and glorious actions that distinguished the whole war. On the 10th of August, Captain Faulkner of the *Bellona*, a ship of the line, and Captain Logie of the *Brilliant*, a frigate of thirty guns, sailed from the river *Tagus* for England, and on the 14th discovered three sail

standing in for the land, one of the line-of-battle, and two frigates. These vessels had no sooner descried Captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him until within the distance of seven miles, when seeing the *Bellona* and the *Brilliant* through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmosphere, they concluded they were both two-decked ships, and, dreading the issue of an engagement, resolved to avoid it by flight. The English captains, judging them to be enemies by their crowding sail to escape, immediately chased, which continued all night. At five in the morning they approached so near as to discern the *Courageux*, a seventy-four gun ship, and two frigates of thirty-six guns, the *Malicieuse* and the *Hermione*. The French captain now perceived, that one of the English vessels was a frigate; and the *Bellona*, being one of the best constructed ships in the English navy, lay so flush in the water, that she appeared at a distance considerably smaller than she really was. The Frenchman, therefore, no longer declined the engagement, but hoisted a red ensign in the mizen-shrouds as a signal for his two frigates to close with and attack the *Brilliant*. At the same time he took in his studding sails, wore ship, and stood for the *Bellona*, while Captain Faulkner advanced with an easy sail, manned his quarters, and made every necessary disposition for an obstinate engagement.

Both commanders had a fair opportunity to measure their strength and abilities. The wind was gentle, the sea calm; the ships were of equal rates, their guns and weight of metal the same. The *Courageux* had seven hundred men; the *Bellona* five hundred and fifty. While the vessels came up with each other, the fire was suspended on both sides till they were within pistol-shot. The engagement then began with a dreadful fire of muskets and artillery. In less than ten minutes all the *Bellona's* braces, shrouds, and rigging, were tore and shattered, and her mizen-mast went by the board, with

the men on the round top, who saved their lives with much difficulty, by clambering into the port-holes. Captain Faulkner, apprehensive that the enemy would seize the opportunity of his being disabled, to sheer off, gave orders for immediate boarding; but the *Courageux*, by falling athwart the bow of her enemy, rendered this altogether impracticable. In this position the English ship might be raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and most of the other ropes by which she could be worked, were already shot away. But Captain Faulkner made use of the studding sails with such dexterity as to wear the ship quite round, and his officers and men, perceiving this change of position, flew to the guns on the other side, now opposed to the enemy, from which they poured a terrible discharge, which continued twenty minutes without intermission or abatement. The fire became so intolerable that the French hauled down their ensign, and called for quarter. The damage done to the rigging of the *Bellepoule* was considerable; but she had suffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The *Courageux*, on the other hand, appeared like a wreck on the water. Nothing was seen but her fore-mast and bowsprit; her decks were torn up in several places, and large breaches were made in her sides. Above two hundred and twenty of her men were killed, and half that number of wounded were brought on shore at Lisbon, to which place the prize was conveyed.

During the action between the larger ships, Captain Logie of the *Brilliant* had displayed the most signal courage and address. He could not attempt to board, or expect to make prize of two ships, each of which was of equal strength with his own. But he so managed his attack and defence as to keep the two French frigates continually employed, and to prevent either of them from giving the smallest assistance to the *Courageux*. Finally,

he obliged them both to sheer off, and to consult their safety by flight, after they had suffered considerably in their masts and rigging.

In all the engagements which we have described, the advantage was continually on the side of the English. The French neither managed their ships with that facility, nor fought their guns with that dexterity and skill, which appeared in all the operations of their opponents. Their awkwardness in working ship may be ascribed to inexperience; but their inferiority in managing their guns, it is impossible to refer to any such cause. The French sailors are regularly taught the practical part of gunnery, an advantage which the English, in general, have little opportunity to acquire. But even here the British seamen shewed themselves, on every occasion, superiour to the enemy; a superiority owing, not to their education or discipline, but to that bravery and resolution which never forsake them in the moment of danger, but allow them to remain in full possession of their faculties at a time when the French are rendered incapable, through fear, of any vigorous exertion either of mind or body.

In the course of the year 1761, the French lost one hundred and seventeen privateers and armed merchantmen, which mounted six hundred and ninety-eight carriage-guns and two hundred and thirty-nine swivels, and carried five thousand five hundred and seventy-six men, exclusive of four Indiamen, the cargoes of which were valued at near four hundred thousand pounds, and many unarmed merchant-ships. Their royal navy was deprived of six ships of the line and eight frigates, which together carried six hundred and thirty-six guns and six thousand two hundred and forty men. In the course of the same year the English lost eight hundred and fourteen merchantmen, a proportion of three to one, which arose from the inattention of the English vessels to the orders of the convoys sent to protect them, from the immense numbers

of them which covered the seas, and from the enemy's venturing the whole remains of their strength in privateers fitted out in order to interrupt our commercial navigation. Among all the vessels that were taken, we find but one of any considerable value, the Ajax East Indiaman, Captain Lindsey, from Bengal, valued at two hundred thousand pounds. Excepting the Warwick, which was retaken, the royal navy lost but one small vessel, the Speedwell cutter of eight guns; and the captain was honourably acquitted by a court-martial, who were unanimously of opinion, that the said cutter, being taken in the harbour of Vigo, was an illegal capture. There is a circumstance which shews in a clearer light than the number of captures, the general result of the naval advantages obtained by Great Britain. Notwithstanding the various exchanges made by cartel ships in the course of the year, we still retained in our possession upwards of twenty-five thousand French prisoners; whereas the number of English prisoners in France did not exceed one thousand two hundred.

A D.  
1762.

Notwithstanding many spirited exertions of the English navy in the year 1761, it is obvious, that the naval as well as the military operations of Great Britain had continued gradually to languish during the course of two years. The French, like ruined gamblers, had little more to lose, and the smallness of the stake produced a degree of phlegm and indifference in the victors, which deprived them of their wonted activity. Besides this, all their external glory could not alleviate their domestic sufferings. Great Britain groaned under a burden of an hundred millions, without enjoying any other consolation than that of seeing her opponent as much indebted, and more exhausted, than herself. Had the parties, therefore, been left to their own strength and resources, there would speedily have been an end of the contest. But France, by a dexterity of negociation, of which there is hardly an

example in history, acquired, at the end of a most ruinous war, such a powerful and hearty assistance as afforded her the fairest hopes of retrieving all her misfortunes. We have already hinted at the partiality of Spain in the cause of our enemies, and the motives of her uneasiness at the unexampled success of the British arms. These were heightened by the intrigues of the French ambassador at the court of Madrid, so that while our artful and ambitious rival was negotiating a treaty at London, and seemed desirous of procuring the blessings of peace by the most humiliating concessions, her minister at the Spanish court was employed in such measures as, instead of extinguishing the flames of war, tended to spread them more widely, and to make them rage with redoubled fury. Every concession on the part of France was a new incentive to the animosity of Spain. When the negotiation of the peace, therefore, seemed nearest to a conclusion, it was precisely at that time the farthest removed from an happy issue, for then was the moment for Spain to interpose, and, at one explosion, to blow up the whole basis of the treaty. Along with a very agreeable plan for an accommodation, Mr Bussy, the French agent at London, delivered a private memorial, signifying, that, in order to establish the peace upon the most solid foundation, it might be proper to invite the king of Spain to guarantee and confirm it, and for this purpose it would be necessary finally to adjust the differences which subsisted between the crowns of Spain and England. He condescended on three points which had been disputed between these crowns, the restitution of the captures which had been made on the Spanish flag, the privilege of the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the demolition of the English settlements made in the bay of Honduras.

When these unexpected proposals were made, the manly spirit of Mr. Pitt rejected, with the utmost scorn, the idea



of negotiating the disputes of his nation with Spain, a power with which we were actually at peace, through the medium of an enemy humbled and almost at our feet. He called on the Spanish ambassador to disavow this extraordinary memorial, which was equally insolent and irregular, as matters of such high moment, relating to the interests of Spain, ought not to have been proposed by a French agent, commissioned to negotiate a particular and distinct business, when the Spaniards had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of these matters had been previously received. But the Spaniard, when thus called upon, instead of disavowing, openly acknowledged and justified the step taken by Mr. de Bussy. He declared, that the kings of France and of Spain were united not only by the ties of blood but by mutual interest. He magnified the humanity and greatness of mind which his most christian majesty demonstrated in the proposition which had so unjustly given offence. He insisted much on the sincere desire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs, and concluded haughtily, that, if his master had been governed by any other principles, "his catholic majesty, giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his dignity."

Mr. Pitt had penetration enough to see through the veil that covered this hostile declaration. He perceived, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the two courts: that Spain must inevitably coincide with all the measures of France; and that, if she deferred to declare war, it was only for her own convenience, and especially because she waited the arrival of her flota from America. Totally possessed with this idea, the minister determined to act with a magnanimity becoming the dignity of his nation.

Great Britain was singularly circumstanced at this period of time. She had carried on a continental war

against France, Austria, the Empire, Russia in a word, all the great northern powers on the continent. She had destroyed the marine, the commerce, and the colonies of France. The interference of Spain alone was wanting to set her at war with all the great powers of Europe and Spain is precisely that country against which she can at all times contend, with the fairest prospect of advantage and honour. That extensive monarchy, though vigorous at the extremities, is exhausted at the heart, her resources lie at a great distance, and whatever power commands the ocean, may command the wealth and commerce of Spain.

The situation of Great Britain, as well as the character of the minister, soared above the timid policy which commonly prevails in modern courts. There was not only a great man, but a great occasion, which is often wanting to a great man to display the full force of his mind. Mr. Pitt asserted, with the magnanimous patriotism of an ancient Roman, that, despising useless ceremonies and insignificant forms, we ought to consider the evasions of the Spanish court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a sufficient declaration of war. We ought, therefore, from prudence as well as from spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow by interrupting the Spanish resources in their arrival to Europe, and by the same early and effective measures, which had reduced France to a dependence on Spain, disable Spain from giving assistance to France. This procedure was suited to the offended majesty of the British empire, and would teach Spain and every other power the danger of presuming to dictate in our affairs, or to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, as insidious as it was audacious. He would allow our enemies, whether secret or declared, no time to think and recollect themselves.

The sentiments of Mr. Pitt shocked the delicacy of his colleagues in administration. They talked of the chi-

merical heroism of unnecessarily entering on a war, and of seeking new enemies, while no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new resource whatsoever. To plunge into such measures could not fail to alarm and scandalize all Europe. The Spanish king's partiality in favour of France was still doubtful; but had we real cause not only for suspicion but complaint, the law of nations and of reason requires, that recourse should be had to expostulation, and demands of satisfaction. If these failed of success, then is the time to take up arms, after employing the forms universally acknowledged among civilized nations as necessary to distinguish lawful war from lawless violence and oppression. This unseasonable opposition transported the minister beyond the bounds of moderation. He affirmed, "That this was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that, if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered, and, if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved to sit no longer in that council; that being called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he was accountable for his conduct, he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures which he was not permitted to guide." Accordingly he resigned the seals the 9th of October, and his colleagues continued to negotiate by means of Lord Bristol, ambassador at the court of Madrid, for nearly two months longer. Mr. Wall, the prime minister of Spain, was repeatedly solicited, in moderate and inoffensive terms, to disclose the nature of the treaty, which, as the French industriously circulated, had taken place among all the different branches of the house of Bourbon. As often as the question was proposed, it was artfully avoided. At length, Lord Bristol being instructed to make the demand with greater force, Mr. Wall entered into a long and bitter complaint against England, accused her of insolence and ambition, of a boundless desire of conquest

and dominion, and of having shewn to the world, by the haughtiness of her late proceedings, that she intended to drive the French from all their possessions in the new world, that she might have an easier task in seizing the Spanish dominions in those parts, that he would be the man to advise the king of Spain not to suffer his territories to be invaded, without arming his subjects in their defence. As to the question which had been so often put to him, he gave no other reply, but that the king his master had thought proper to renew his family compacts; and then, as if he had gone farther than he was authorised, he suddenly changed the discourse, and continued his declamatory invective against Great Britain. This was the happy effect of the measures of the English ministry, whose forbearance and good breeding were repaid by insult and reproach. At length their patience forsook them; they perceived that longer moderation would be construed into fear, and they sent orders to Lord Bristol to renew his instances concerning the treaty with becoming firmness, while at the same time he signified, that a refusal to disclose its contents, or to disavow an intention to take part with our enemies, would be considered as an aggression on the part of Spain, and an absolute declaration of war. The demand was made in the precise terms of the order, and then the pride of Spain tore asunder that veil which her policy had so long thought proper to assume. Her flota was by this time safe in the harbour of Cadiz. She was now secure as to her interest, and could give full scope to her resentment. Mr. Wall, therefore, replied to the English requisition in these memorable words: “ That  
“ the spirit of haughtiness and discord, which dictated  
“ this inconsiderate demand of the English ministry, and  
“ which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so  
“ much in the British government, is what has made the  
“ declaration of war; that in that moment the war was  
“ declared, when the king’s dignity was attacked; and

“ that the English ambassador might return how and  
“ when he thought proper.”

The earl of Bristol quitted Madrid the 17th of December; and soon after the Spanish ambassador left London. Europe was thus plunged into a new war by the very means which had been used to draw her out of an old one. A mere punctilio, if we can possibly believe Mr. Wall, was the motive which weighed with his master and himself, and prompted their humane magnanimity to involve one half of Europe in discord and misery. But whoever diligently attends to the measures of the Spanish court from the memorial presented by Mr. de Bussy to the final answer of Mr. Wall, will perceive, that their motives to hostility were of a nature more serious and important. The insult offered to the king's honour in the question proposed by Lord Bristol, might have been easily done away. Spain might have required England to disavow the proceedings of her ambassador, a request which, upon sufficient security of the pacific intentions of the former, the latter would readily have granted. But the insult to the king's honour was held out as a pretence for coming to a rupture at a time which seemed to suit the interests of Spain. The real cause of the war was her partiality for the French, her uneasiness at seeing the eldest branch of the house of Bourbon reduced to extremity, and her jealousy of the growing power of England, whose renown offended her pride, and whose naval greatness threatened the safety of her distant dominions. It appeared, however, to Mr. Wall, to be below the dignity of the Spanish monarch to avow reasons of disgust, in which fear seemed to have any share. He therefore directed the Count de Fuentes his ambassador at London, to carry on the farce, and, before he left the English court, to publish a paper or manifesto, in which he assigns, as the only cause of the rupture, the insulting manner in which the affairs of Spain had been treated during Mr. Pitt's administration. He

declares to the British king, to the English nation, and to the whole universe, that the horrors of war, into which the Spaniards and English are going to plunge themselves, must be attributed only to the immeasurable ambition of him who held the reins of the government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand; that, if the respect due to royal majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty. the ministers of Spain might have said frankly to those of England what the Count de Fuentes, by the king's express orders, declares publicly, *viz* that the much-talked-of treaty is only a convention between the members of the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing that has the least relation to the present war, that there is an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two sovereigns, but it is specified therein, that that guaranty is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France after the present war shall be ended

This extraordinary paper, which may be called the king of Spain's declaration of war against the right honourable William Pitt, was evidently intended for the ignoble purpose of sowing dissensions among the subjects of Great Britain. It was answered in every article with the utmost moderation, perspicuity, and force, in a memorial published by Lord Egremont, who succeeded Mr Pitt as secretary for the southern department. It is obvious, that the Spanish manifesto, while it pretends to set forth the purport of a treaty dated the 15th of August, does not deny the existence of any other treaty, which might more offensively concern the interests of Great Britain; nor does it say the least word that can explain the intentions of Spain, or the farther engagements that she may have contracted with France.

When the terms of this famous treaty came to be disclosed, it was found to contain articles sufficient to alarm

## NAVAL HISTORY

not only Great Britain, against whose interests it was particularly levelled, but all the other powers of Europe. It was rather an act of incorporation, than of alliance among the kings of France, Spain, the two Sicilies, the duke of Parma, and all the branches of the Bourbon house. It contained stipulations hitherto unheard of in any treaty. By the 23d and 24th articles, the subjects of the several branches of that august family are admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a general participation of reciprocal privileges and immunities. They appear, by the 26th article, to disclose to one another their alliances and negociations. By the 17th and 18th they formally engage not to make, or even to listen to any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent, being determined in time of peace, as well as in time of war, to consider the interests of France and Spain as the same, to compensate their several losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power. There are but two restrictions to the extent of this scheme. The direct trade to America forms an exception to the absolute community of interests, and in the 8th article it is provided, that France shall not be entitled to the assistance of Spain, when she is involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, unless some maritime power take part in those wars. This article plainly points at the object against which the whole treaty was more immediately directed. It indicates, that the direct and immediate tendency of the whole is to affect England, and insinuates to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England is the circumstance which is to provoke the resentment, and call forth the activity of Spain.

Excepting these two restrictions, the family-compact produced that entire union between the French and Spanish monarchies, which was so much dreaded on the death of Charles II. and which it was the great object of

the treaty of partition, and the war of the grand alliance, to prevent. France acquired by negotiation and intrigue what she could never acquire by force of arms, and, at the close of an unfortunate war, obtained an advantage greater than any she could have expected from the most fortunate issue of her affairs.

England was never placed in a more critical situation. She had to contend not only against all the great continental powers, but against the principal naval strength of Europe. When war was declared in January, 1762, the Spaniards had at Ferrol eleven ships of the line ready to sail, and their whole fleet amounted to one hundred ships of war.\*

The French, upon the conclusion of the family-compact, felt themselves animated with new vigour. The shattered remains of their navy became of consideration when united with that of Spain. The spirits of the people, long sunk in despondency, revived, and great exertions were made to put their fleet once more on a respectable footing. The government tried every resource; private merchants contributed the last farthing for equipping privateers, and several communities engaged to fit out men-of-war at their own expense.

\* List of the Spanish Fleet.

	GUNS.		GUNS
1 ship of	86	3 ships of	30
1 .....	84	7 .....	26
2 .....	80	3 .....	24
1 .....	76	8 .....	22
1 .....	74	5 .....	20
7 .....	70	5 .....	18
29 .....	68	4 .....	16
1 .....	64		
1 .....	62	BOMB-KETCHES.	
8 .....	60	4 .....	16
1 .....	58	1 .....	14
1 .....	50	Four fire-ships.	



Great Britain enjoyed peculiar and sufficient advantages to excite her activity, and to balance the combination of all her enemies. The uniform tenor of success on our side made the people believe themselves invincible; and this belief, combined with the solid experience acquired in such a variety of services, and so many sharp conflicts by sea and land, inspired an enthusiasm of disciplined valour, which indeed rendered it almost impossible to resist them. The prospect of a Spanish war, while it held forth the hopes of immense plunder, conspired with the prevailing propensities, and roused to the most vigorous exertions of public and private strength. Nor had the parliament, which met the 3d of November, 1761, been wanting in liberality to second the generous ardour of the nation. They went through the estimates with diligence, and granted such liberal supplies as greatly exceeded those of all former years. Seventy thousand seamen, including nineteen thousand and sixty-one marines, were voted for the service of the year 1762; the land forces were maintained at the number of sixty-seven thousand six hundred and seventy-six, besides the militia of England, the two regiments of fencible men in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and sixty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-seven German auxiliaries to support the war of Westphalia. For the payment of the sea and land forces, of subsidies to our German allies, and of the deficiencies of the grants of former sessions, they voted the sum of eighteen millions six hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninety-five pounds two shillings and eight pence, of which twelve millions were borrowed on remote funds, at four *per cent. per annum*, with an addition of one *per cent. per annum*, for ninety-nine year.

When war was declared against Spain, his majesty granted a commission, empowering the admiralty to issue letters of marque, for privateers to act against the subjects

of that kingdom At the same time he communicated the measure which the treaty between Spain and France had compelled him to take, in a speech to both houses of parliament. Such ample supplies were already granted, that no farther demand was made on this account, and so immensely had the power of England increased in the course of three reigns, that an union, the suspicion of which had alarmed all Europe in the time of the grand alliance, was beheld without the smallest symptom of fear or despondency. The king of Great Britain disdained not only to take any illiberal advantages of his enemies, but even to retort their wrongs. Although his catholic majesty detained the British ships in his ports, and laid restraints on the British subjects within his dominions, the subjects of Spain were left at entire liberty, and the merchantmen which had arrived in English harbours, before they had been apprized of the declaration of war, were allowed to depart in safety. This magnanimity became the dignity of the British nation. It is the part of fear to snatch at every pitiful advantage. But had Britain descended so low, it would have been unworthy of the grand scene of action and glory, which was now ready to open in remote parts of the earth.

The failure of the expedition against Martinico in 1759, did not discourage our administration from making this island the object of another attempt. Martinico still furnished a considerable resource to the declining commerce of France. It is the largest of all the Caribbee islands, advantageously situated between Barbadoes and Guadeloupe, and to windward of Antigua and St. Christopher. It extends twenty leagues in length, and is about one hundred and thirty miles in circumference, indented by a great number of creeks and harbours, diversified with hill and dale, shaded with wood, watered by many streams, and produces a very considerable quantity of sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento. Here the

governor-general of all the French islands in the West Indies resides, and here is established the sovereign council, whose jurisdiction extends over the French Antilles, and even to the settlements of that crown in the islands of St. Domingo and Tortuga. In a word, Martinico is the most populous and flourishing of all the French settlements across the Atlantic. Its towns and harbours are strongly fortified; the country itself is rendered extremely difficult of access by woods, rivers, rocks, and ravines; defended by a body of regular troops, besides a disciplined militia consisting of ten thousand white natives, and four times that number of negroes, whom they can arm in cases of emergency. The acquisition of Martinico would, in case of a peace, furnish us with a place of the utmost importance, either to retain or to exchange; and, if Spain was unchangeably determined on a war, it would put us on a respectable footing in that part of the world where the Spaniards are most vulnerable, and where, every wound affecting the vitals of the state, they feel with quickest sensibility.

The plan for prosecuting this important conquest had been laid down by Mr. Pitt; the preparations had been made, the officers appointed, and every necessary order given for carrying the whole design into execution. Upon a change of administration the project was not abandoned. As every thing, which had been the object of war in North America was by this time completely acquired, it was easy to draw a considerable part of the army from that quarter. A draught of eleven battalions was ordered from New York, and also from the different bodies of troops that were scattered among the Leeward islands. Rear-admiral Rodney sailed from England in October, and took on board his transports four battalions at Belleisle. The general rendezvous was in the island of Barbadoes, where the united armaments from England and North America amounting to eighteen battalions and as many ships of the

line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, arrived in the month of December. The land-forces alone fell little short of twelve thousand men, and, taking the military and naval together, it was such an armament as had never before been seen in that part of the world. The fleet proceeded from Barbadoes the 5th day of January, and on the 8th anchored in St. Anne's Bay on the eastern coast of Martinico, after the ships had silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the island. In the course of this service, the *Raisable*, a ship of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from which she could not be disengaged; but the crew were saved as well as the stores and artillery. General Monkton, who commanded the land-forces, judged this an improper place for a disembarkation, and therefore detached the brigadiers Haviland and Grant under a strong convoy to the bay of Petite Anse, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the seamen and marines. The detachment then effected a landing, and marched to the ground opposite to Pigeon island, which commands the harbour of Fort Royal; but, the roads being found impassable for artillery, General Monkton thought it improper to land the main body there, and proceeded to a creek called Cas Navires, where the whole forces were disembarked on the 16th, without the loss of a man, the fleet having been stationed so properly, and directing their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged in a short time to abandon the batteries erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. The inhabitants of Martinico seemed determined to defend the island to the last extremity. Every pass was guarded and fortified. The detachment which had first landed, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes; but these met with so warm a reception, that they were

compelled, after sustaining considerable loss, to retire with precipitation.

The general determined to attack the town and citadel of Fort Royal, although his march thither was encumbered with difficulties and dangers, there being many ravines and gullies, very deep, and difficult of access, well covered with batteries and redoubts, and defended by the slaves as well as natives in arms. Besides the difficulties of the approach, the town and citadel are overlooked, and commanded by two very considerable eminences called Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. Whilst the enemy kept possession of these, it was impossible to attack the town. They were protected like the other high grounds in this island by natural ravines, strengthened by every contrivance of art. The Morne Tortueson, was first to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right, along the sea-side, towards the town, in order to take the redoubt, which lay in the lower grounds. A thousand sailors in flat bottomed boats rowed close to the shore to assist them. On the left, toward the country, a corps of light infantry, properly supported, was to get round the enemy's left, whilst the attack in the centre was made by the British grenadiers, and the main body of the army, under the fire of batteries which had been erected on the opposite side with great labour and perseverance, the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the seamen, across the enemy's line of fire, to which they exposed themselves with amazing indifference.

The attack, which was planned with so much judgment, was executed with equal spirit and resolution. The British troops succeeded in every quarter. The enemy were successively driven from post to post; some fled into the town; others mounted to Morne Garnier; while the English standard was displayed at Morne Tortueson. But nothing decisive could be effected against the town

until the French were driven from the former eminence. It was three days before proper dispositions could be made for this purpose. During this interval the enemy's whole force sallied out of the town, or descended from the hill, and attacked the English in their advanced posts. But they were repelled with singular bravery, and, the ardour of the British troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, and posted themselves on the summit of Morne Garnier.

All the situations which commanded the town and citadel were now secured, and the English in the morning of the 28th, began to play their artillery; which the governor no sooner observed than he ordered the chamade to be beaten, and surrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February, the gates were delivered up to the English, and next morning the garrison, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war. On the 7th, Pigeon island, which was strongly fortified, and counted one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons, and obtained a capitulation similar to that of the citadel. Deputations were sent from different quarters of the island by the inhabitants, desiring the same terms. But the governor-general, Mr. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre the capital, which he meant to defend with uncommon vigour. It is probable, however, that when he arrived there, his opinion was altered by the advice of the inhabitants. They saw the English masters of all the rest of the island; they reflected on the favourable capitulation which the island of Guadalupe had obtained, and the good faith with which the terms of this capitulation had been observed. Although they changed masters, they changed neither laws nor religion; their property was more secure than under the ancient government, their commerce more free and unrestrained, and

they were furnished with all necessaries from the dominions of Great Britain; whereas formerly they depended for subsistence upon the most precarious and hazardous methods of supply. These considerations had great weight with the inhabitants of St. Pierre, who persuaded the governor to send two deputies with proposals of capitulation. On the 14th the terms were settled, and the agreement signed. On the 16th the English commander took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood, while the governor-general, the lieutenant-governor, the staff-officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers were embarked in transports to be conveyed to France. These signal successes were obtained at the small expense of four hundred men, including a few officers killed and wounded in the different attacks. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal, and a much greater number, from other parts of the island, were delivered up to Admiral Rodney, in consequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who in all other respects were very favourably treated.

The surrender of Martinico, which was the seat of government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. While General Monkton was regulating the capitulation of St. Pierre, Commodore Swanton sailed with a small squadron to the fertile island of Granada, which was given up without opposition. St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been disputed between the two nations, followed its example. By these acquisitions, the English colonies at Antigua, St. Christopher and Nevis, as well as the ships trading to these islands, were secured against the hostilities of the enemy; the commerce of Great Britain acquired an annual addition to the amount of at least a million sterling, and the British nation became undisturbed possessors of that chain of innumerable islands,

which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South America.

The consequences of this important conquest were still more important than the conquest itself. It opened a way for humbling effectually the pride of Spain. In the course of a few months, more decisive strokes were struck against that haughty monarchy than during ten years of the former Spanish war. In that war Great Britain acquired wealth and honour, but in this she displayed such a scene of national glory as Europe had never before beheld. As these events, however, did not immediately follow upon the reduction of Martinico, it is proper here to pause, and to contemplate the effects of that formidable alliance concluded in the year 1761, among the different members of the house of Bourbon.

The kings of France and Spain imagined they had acquired such an ascendant over all their neighbours by forming this league, that they might henceforth neglect with impunity, the observance of those rules which the most ambitious and despotic princes commonly prescribe to themselves in the execution of their boldest designs. This evidently appeared in their conduct toward Portugal, the ancient and natural ally of Great Britain. Portugal possessed gold without possessing industry or ingenuity. England furnished the Portuguese with all the conveniences of life, and received specie in return. The balance of trade was supposed to bring annually into Great Britain about a million sterling. This commercial connection was strengthened by the strongest political ties. The two kingdoms were so situated, that they had little to fear from one another, while they might mutually impart many reciprocal advantages. The harbours of Portugal afforded protection as well as supplies to the English fleet, while the English fleet defended the lucrative commerce of the Portuguese with their American colonies. The



natural and inveterate antipathy between Spain and Portugal made it necessary for the latter to look out for some powerful distant ally. None is so advantageous in that view as England, which in her turn might derive great advantages from Portugal, in prosecuting a war against any of the southern powers of Europe.

The united monarchs, unwilling to trust the issue of the war to hostilities committed against England on her own element, determined to wound her through the sides of this ally. They were strongly invited to this measure by the present unhappy circumstances of Portugal. That kingdom was altogether unprovided in the means of defence. The military spirit, by which the Portuguese had formerly distinguished themselves, was totally extinct. The nobles were overwhelmed in ignorance, bigotry, and oppression spiritual as well as temporal. There was neither skill, discipline, nor order among the troops, nor indeed any appearance of a regular army, and the frontier places were ill fortified, worse garrisoned, and almost entirely destitute of ammunition and artillery. In this condition Portugal received a fatal blow from an earthquake in 1756. The wealthy and flourishing city of Lisbon was levelled with the ground, nearly thirty thousand of the inhabitants were buried in her ruins, and those who remained with the court itself were reduced to the utmost distress and misery. As if this earthquake, which had overturned their capital, had also shaken and distracted the frame of their government, and the temper of their minds, the most dreadful distempers broke out in the state. A series of horrid crimes and cruel punishments succeeded to this national calamity. Two of the most noble and wealthy families of Portugal, having engaged themselves in a sacrilegious attempt on the life of their sovereign, were cut off at once with little distinction of age or sex, by a bloody and dreadful exertion of justice. Many others, who were accused or suspected, suffered death, or exile,

or imprisonment. Among these, and partly from the same causes, one of the most considerable religious orders for wealth, influence, and policy, was stripped of its possessions, and entirely driven out of the country.

This being the unfortunate situation of Portugal, the house of Bourbon hoped that kingdom would be an easy conquest, notwithstanding all the succours it could possibly receive; which would not only be a great loss to the commerce of Great Britain, and a considerable inconvenience to her in carrying on the war, but would afford a valuable deposit, to be exchanged at the peace, for the farther acquisitions England might make at the expense of France or Spain. Full of these ideas, his catholic majesty gave orders for providing magazines and artillery, and for strengthening his fortified places on the side of Portugal. The Spanish army, supplied with able engineers from France, overspread the Portuguese frontiers; the commerce of corn between the two kingdoms was prohibited, and every thing threatened a sudden invasion. In the midst of these hostile preparations the French and Spanish ministers presented a joint memorial to the court of Lisbon, the purport of which was to persuade his most faithful majesty to desert his ancient alliance, and to co-operate with the two crowns against Great Britain. The memorial insisted largely on the tyranny which Great Britain exerted upon all powers, especially the maritime; and upon Portugal among the rest; on the particular insult which had been offered to her jurisdiction by Admiral Boscawen's attack on Mr. de la Clue's squadron in a Portuguese harbour. The memorial concluded with a declaration, that as soon as his most faithful majesty had taken his resolution, which they doubted not would be favourable, that the king of Spain would march his troops into Portugal, in order to garrison the harbours and defend them against the hostile attempts of the English. An answer

was required in four days, and any delay beyond that time was to be considered as a negative.

Such insolent proposals were never made to an independent kingdom. His Portuguese majesty answered in a moderate and humble strain, but with becoming firmness. He took notice of the misfortunes of his country, which prevented her from taking part in an offensive war; he offered his mediation between the contending parties; but was resolved at all events to preserve his faith to England inviolate, which ought not, he observed, to give the smallest offence, as his alliance with that crown was ancient and merely defensive. This answer drew on a reply, in which the ministers of the united kingdoms denied that the alliance between England and Portugal was purely defensive, and for this unheard-of reason, "that the defensive alliance was converted into an offensive one by the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and the nature of the English power. The English squadrons," said they, "cannot in all seasons keep the sea, nor cruise on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the ports and the assistance of Portugal; that these islanders could not insult all maritime Europe, if the whole riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands; which furnishes them with the means to make war, and renders the alliance between the two courts truly and properly offensive." They conclude most insultingly, "That the king of Portugal ought to be glad of the necessity which they laid upon him to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory and of the common interest." The king replied with sufficient spirit; the two ministers took leave and retired the 27th of April; and immediately after, war was declared by France and Spain against Portugal.

The advantages which Portugal possessed in herself for balancing this powerful combination, consisted princi-

pally in the nature of the country, which is so extremely barren and uncultivated as to make it very difficult for any considerable army to subsist in it. The badness of the roads, and the frequency and steepness of the mountains, made it no less difficult to advance by rapid marches, and to improve the advantages of the campaign with proper expedition. Add to this, that toward the frontiers of Spain the only roads are narrow and difficult defiles, which may be maintained by a small body of forces against a very powerful invasion. But notwithstanding these circumstances, the whole hopes of Portugal centered in the assistance from England. The greater her own weakness, the more conspicuous were the magnanimity and resources of Great Britain, who, at the close of so expensive and ruinous a war, made such astonishing efforts in protecting her allies. She sent a squadron of ten ships of the line to Lisbon,\* besides frigates. With these she sent officers, troops, artillery, military stores, provisions and money; every thing that could enable the Portuguese to exert their natural strength, and every thing which could supply that strength where it was deficient.

\* The Spaniards could entertain no hopes of depriving the English of the use of the Portuguese ports by attacking them by sea, so that they reposed their whole confidence in the bravery and good fortune of their troops. It belongs not to our design to give a particular account of the military operations in this effeminate country, which could

\* List of Sir Edward Hawke's squadron which sailed from St. Helen's for Lisbon, June 25th.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Royal George .....	100	Nassau .....	64
Prince .....	90	Essex .....	64
Ocean .....	90	Achilles ..	60
Princess Amelia ....	80	Launceston .....	40
Magnanime .....	74	Æolus .....	32
Prince of Orange....	70	Tartar .....	28
Lancaster.....	66		

hardly furnish out a faint image of war. The inaccessible and difficult nature of the country, joined to the spirit and activity of the British troops, were sufficient to defend the Portuguese dominions with a very feeble effort on the part of the natives. After a campaign of above five months, the Spaniards had gotten possession of no advanced posts in which they could maintain themselves during the winter. The heavy rains, which began to fall in October, and the want of provisions for men and horse in an enemy's country, made them fall back to the frontiers of Spain, where every thing had been provided for them in great abundance.

Thus did the arms of Great Britain save Portugal, by undertaking to defend her cause within her own territories. The same power protected this useful ally not only against present but future dangers, by the operations carried on in remote parts of the earth, where the success of the British squadrons compelled the house of Bourbon to accept terms of accommodation, in which the interests of Portugal were not neglected.

While the English troops were employed in taking possession of Martinico and the dependent islands, a French fleet appeared to windward of the former, and sent an officer on shore to obtain information. They continued cruising to windward for two days, and even approached within cannon-shot of Trinity, as if they had intended to make a descent, but afterwards they changed their course, and bore away for the harbours of Dominica. Admiral Rodney being informed of their arrival in those parts, got under sail with his squadron, and beat up to windward in quest of the enemy; they did not wait his approach, but made haste to take refuge in their own harbours. While Rodney's fleet commanded the Caribbees, Lord Colville's squadron was stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coast of North America, and the new conquests in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Sir

Charles Saunders was reinforced in such a manner as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, or if that should be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. For the defence of the British coast, and in order to answer the emergencies of war, a powerful squadron was kept in readiness at Spithead; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of Admiral Moore; and from these two were occasionally detached into the channel, and all round the island, a number of light cruisers, which acted with such vigilance and activity, that not a ship could venture from any of the French sea ports without running the most imminent risk of being taken; and scarcely a day passed in which some privateer of the enemy, either French or Spanish, was not brought into the harbours of Great Britain. Rear-admiral Cornish had the direction of the fleet in the East Indies, Admiral Pocock, who had acquired so much glory there, being called to a more dangerous and important command, the consequences of which we are now going to relate. The whole of these squadrons, combined with detached cruisers in different parts, amounted to more than two hundred and forty ships of war; a force which, considering the disciplined valour and naval experience of our seamen, was fit to contend against the maritime strength of the whole world united.

The rupture with Spain, which was rendered incurable by the invasion of Portugal, brought on the execution of a plan which had been long in agitation, upon the presumed probability of such an event. It is said that Admiral Knowles was the first who laid before his royal highness the duke of Cumberland a scheme for the reduction of the island of Cuba, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West Indies centres, and without which it cannot be carried on. The duke approved of the plan, and recommended it to the ministry. But after they

had considered the draughts and plan, which his royal highness put into their hands, Lord Anson, the first lord of the admiralty, produced his own, which had been made out upon more accurate information; and after maturely considering both plans, Lord Anson's was adopted. However, the duke of Cumberland had so much merit in this affair, that he was permitted to appoint his favourite, Lord Albemarle, commander in chief of the land forces, and his brothers, Major-general and Commodore Keppel, to important commands in an expedition which, it was imagined, would be equally lucrative and honourable.

Nothing indeed could be so proper at this time, as an attempt against the Spanish West Indies. The French were now expelled from every place in North America, except their settlement of Louisiana, which was deemed of little importance. They had lost their West India islands; so that hardly any thing remained to be done in that part of the world, but an expedition against those of Spain. But it shewed great wisdom in the British administration, who determined on this measure, that they fixed their eyes at once on the capital object. The failure of an armament in a subordinate attempt is a bad preparative for a greater; as the former, even though successful, is far from being decisive. The plan of the war of 1740, in which we began with smaller attempts, and so proceeded to more considerable, was mean and ignoble, because the success in the first of those attempts did nothing to insure success in the second; nor were both together of any consequence in deciding the fortune of the war. But the plan now adopted was great and just; for by beginning with the Havannah we aspired at a conquest, which being obtained, would enable us to terminate the war with honour, as it entirely intercepted the enemy's resources; and if we chose to prosecute our advantage, the acquisition of the Havannah might put us in possession of the whole of Spanish America.

The fleet destined to extend the British empire in the west, sailed from Portsmouth, the 5th of March, under the command of Admiral Pocock, whose valour and conduct had contributed so much toward that sovereignty which his country possessed in the East Indies. They sailed for the island of Hispaniola, where they were happily met at Cape Nicholas, the north-west point of the island, by a detachment from the fleet at the Caribbees, under the command of that gallant and able officer Sir James Douglas. The junction happened on the 27th of May, and the united squadrons consisted of nineteen sail of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about one hundred and fifty transports, having on board above ten thousand land forces and marines. A supply of four thousand men had been ordered from New York, which, it was supposed, would arrive time enough to bear part in their military operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his course to the Havannah. The first and most obvious was the common way to keep to the south of Cuba, and fall into the tract of the galleons. But this, though by much the safest, would prove by far the most tedious passage; and delays, above all things, were dangerous, as the fleet had been so late in sailing from England, that it would be extremely difficult to arrive before the hurricane season, which would put an end to all naval and military operations. He therefore resolved to run along the northern shore of the island of Cuba, pursuing his course from east to west, through a narrow passage not less than seven hundred miles in length, called the Old Straits of Bahama. This passage, through almost the whole of its extent, is bounded, on the right and left, by the most dangerous sands and shoals, which has caused the navigation to be avoided by single and small vessels. There was no pilot in the fleet whose experience could be depended on to conduct them safely through it. The admiral, however,



being provided with a good chart of Lord Anson's, resolved to trust to his own vigilance and sagacity to carry through those Straits a fleet of nearly two hundred sail. So bold an attempt had never been before made; but the success of the expedition depending entirely on despatch, made it prudent to hazard it. At the same time no precaution was omitted, which could remove the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and make soundings, some frigates followed; sloops and boats were stationed on the right and left, on the shallows, with well adapted signals both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in seven divisions, and being favoured with a fair wind and good weather, got through this perilous passage on the 5th of June, without accident or interruption.

Two days before the accomplishment of this hazardous navigation, the Echo and Alarm frigates, which had been ordered a-head of the fleet, descried four vessels which proved to be the Thetis, a Spanish frigate of eighteen guns and sixty-five men, and the Phoenix of twenty-two guns and one hundred and seventy-five men, and two brigs, bound to Suga in the Straits, for a cargo of timber for the use of the ships at the Havannah. The English frigates gave them chase, and obliged them to strike in three quarters of an hour. This, though a small success, was an auspicious beginning of the expedition against the Havannah. This place, the object of their long voyage, and of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. Though St Jago, situated on the south-east side of the island be denominated the capital of Cuba, yet the Havannah is superiour to it in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour upon which it stands is, in every respect, one of the best in the world. It is entered by a narrow passage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large basin, sufficient to contain one thousand sail of the largest ships, having almost

throughout six fathoms water, and perfectly secured from every wind. In this bay the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish West Indies assemble, in order to set out together on their voyage to Europe. Great care had been taken to fortify a place which, besides being extremely populous, wealthy, and flourishing in itself, is the centre of the richest commerce of the world. The entrance into the harbour is secured on one side by the Moro fort, built upon a projecting point of land, all of solid mason work, having a ditch seventy feet deep from the edge of the counterscarp, and more than forty feet of that depth sunk in the rock; on the other it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The Havannah itself, which is situated to the west of the harbour, and opposite to the Moro fort, is surrounded by a good rampart, flanked with bastions, and strengthened by a ditch.

The Spaniards, sensible that, upon a rupture with Great Britain, their West Indies were the fanest mark for the attack of the enemy, maintained a powerful fleet in those parts, and had actually a considerable squadron of ships of the line in the harbour of the Havannah. But so little confidence did they repose in their shipping for resisting the efforts of the English armament, that the only use which they made of it was to sink three of their largest vessels behind an immense boom which they had thrown across the mouth of the harbour. Their chief hope was in the strength of the place, and the difficulties attending all military operations which are drawn out to

\* List of Spanish ships at the Havannah —

SHIPS	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Tyger .....	70	Asia .....	64
Rcyna .....	70	America .....	60
Soverano .....	70	Europa . . . . .	60
Infante . . . . .	70	Conquistador ..	60
Neptune .....	70	San Genaro ...	60
Aquilon .....	70	San Antonio ...	60

any considerable length in this unhealthy climate. These circumstances encouraged Don Juan del Prado, governor of the Havannah, to determine on a vigorous defence. He was assisted by the activity of the marquis del Real, commodore of the fleet, and by the counsels and experience of the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be then in the place, on their way to their respective governments.

On the 7th of June, all things were in readiness for landing ; and, in order to effect this with the least inconvenience, the admiral, with the greatest part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, that the enemy's attention might be drawn towards this quarter, while the earl of Albemarle and the whole army were landed under the direction of Commodore Keppel, between the rivers Bocanosa and Coxemar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro castle. A body of Spaniards appeared on the shore ; but, some sloops being ordered to scour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops passed the river Coxemar in great order, without the smallest opposition. The first attempt was to drive the enemy from a small redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos which overlooked the Moro. This was effected on the 10th, and at the same time three bomb-ketches, being anchored on shore, began to throw shells into the town, under cover of the ships Stirling Castle and Echo.

The principal body of the army, destined to act against the Moro, was divided into two corps, one of which, commanded by General Elliot, advanced a considerable way into the country, towards the south-east of the harbour in order to cover the siege, and to secure the parties employed in watering and procuring provisions. The other, conducted by General Keppel, was immediately employed in the attack on the fort ; and a detachment headed by Colonel Howe, was encamped to the westward of the town, partly with a view to cut off the communi-

cation between it and the country, and partly to make a diversion in favour of the grand operation.

The seamen having landed fascines, stores, and artillery, with great expedition, the engineers, under the direction of Mr Mackellar, whose abilities were equally distinguished at Louisbourg and the Havannah, began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed in cutting parallels, and forming a line with fascines to secure the troops from the fire of the enemy. The hardships sustained in this service are almost inexpressible. The thinness of the earth made it extremely difficult to cover the approaches. It was necessary to cut roads for communication through thick woods. The artillery was to be dragged a great way over a rough rocky shore. During this fatigue the supplies of provision were not plentiful, and water was to be brought from a great distance. Many men dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. But the spirit and ardour of the troops, the unanimity and conduct of the commanders by sea and land, overcame every difficulty. On the 29th, two thousand chosen Spaniards, with a numerous body of negroes and mulattoes, landed in two divisions, to the right and left of the Moro, with an intention to destroy the works of the besiegers. They were repulsed by the picquets and advanced posts with great bravery, and compelled to retreat in confusion, leaving behind them two hundred of their number killed or taken.

The cannonading began, on the 1st of July, from two batteries bearing twelve cannon, six large mortars, three small ones, and twenty-six royals. The enemy had seventeen pieces of artillery on the front attacked. The fire was for a considerable time pretty nearly on an equality, and kept up with great vivacity on both sides. At length that of the enemy began to fail. Their attention was divided in consequence of an attack made upon the north-east face by three ships of the line, the Cambridge,

Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the Captains Goostrey, Hervey, and Barnet. These ships, having laid their broadsides against the fort, kept up one of the warmest firings ever seen, for seven hours, without intermission. But the Moro, situated upon a high hill, had great advantages, and the fire from the opposite fort of Punta galba rained exceedingly. They were obliged to retire in a very shattered condition, after losing above one hundred men, among whom was Captain Goostrey, of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer.

When the Spaniards were released from the fire of the ships, they redoubled their activity against the batteries, and on both sides a constant unremitted fire was kept up for several days. During this sharp and doubtful contention, the merlons of the grand battery unfortunately took fire on the 3d of July. The flames became too powerful for opposition, and the labour of six hundred men, for seventeen days, was destroyed in a few hours. This stroke was felt the more severely, because the other hardships of the siege were become scarcely supportable. Sickness had reduced the army to almost half its number. Three thousand seamen were at one time unfit for service, and nearly double that number of soldiers. The scarcity of water, and the total want of wholesome provisions, exasperated the disease. The army was ready to perish by these calamities, and, if the hurricane season came on before the place were reduced, the destruction of the fleet was inevitable.

The unconquered spirit of the commanders could hardly maintain the languishing activity of the troops, when Sir James Douglas who had parted from the admiral, in order to steer his course for Jamaica, arrived with the fleet from that island, carrying many conveniencies for the siege. This favourable circumstance, with the hopes of a considerable reinforcement from New York, which arrived a few days afterwards, restored the vigour of the men, and

roused them to every effort. New batteries arose in the place of the old, the fire of which soon became equal, and afterwards superiour to that of the enemy ; the cannon of the fort was silenced, the upper works demolished, and a lodgement at length made in the covered way. Notwithstanding this advantage, the immense ditch cut in the solid rock formed an obstacle that was very difficult to surmount. To fill it up was impossible, and the work of mining would have been impracticable, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwise have been open to the sea. On this narrow ridge the miners passed wholly uncovered, and with very little loss made a lodgement at the foot of the wall. While they formed a mine for throwing the counterscarp into the ditch, another sap was carried on along the glacis. In the night of the 21st, a serjeant and twelve men scaled the wall by surprise ; but, the garrison being alarmed before any additional troops could sustain them, they were obliged to retreat.

The governor of the Moro now plainly saw, that the place must be speedily reduced, unless some bold measure were tried for its immediate relief. Accordingly, next day at four in the morning, he ordered a sally to be made from the town by one thousand five hundred men, composed chiefly of the country militia and negroes, divided into three detachments, who attacked the besiegers in as many different places. Meanwhile, a warm fire was kept up from the fort of Puntal, and the shipping in the harbour. But the English guards, though surprised, defended themselves with great resolution ; the posts attacked were speedily reinforced ; and the enemy were driven precipitately down the hill, without being able to destroy any part of our approaches. The English lost fifty men killed or wounded, and the Spaniards had four hundred killed or taken prisoners.

On the 30th of the month, about two in the morning,

a floating battery was towed into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the close fire of the covering party soon compelled the enemy to retire. This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro for on that day the mines did their work. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach which, though very narrow and difficult, the engineer judged practicable. Orders were immediately given for the assault. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart commanded the attack. The troops hoping to see an end of all their hardships, entered on this most dangerous service with the greatest resolution. The enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, when they had passed the breach, were terrified at the determined valour which appeared in their countenances, and fled on all sides. In vain Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, whose bravery and conduct had excited during the whole siege the admiration of his enemies, endeavoured, with romantic courage, to defend the colours of Spain. He fell, as well as his second the Marquis Gonsales, while attempting to no purpose, to rally his troops. About four hundred of the garrison laid down their arms, and were made prisoners, as many were slaughtered on the spot; others ran to the boats, and were drowned in attempting to escape to the town.

The Moro fort thus came into the possession of the English, after a vigorous struggle of forty days from the commencement of the operations against it. This advantage was not immediately followed by the surrender of the Havannah. The governor seemed still determined to defend that place, the fire of which was immediately turned against the fortress which had been lost, while a ship of the line was sent down into the harbour, in order to batter it with more effect. Meanwhile, Lord Albemarle ordered a line of batteries to be erected along the

hill of the Cevannos, which commanded almost the whole eastern side of the city. Batteries were likewise erected on the western side of the town, which had hitherto been only guarded. When these preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, his lordship, by message, represented to the governor the irresistible force of the attack which he was ready to make on the place, but which, in order to prevent unnecessary effusion of blood, he was willing to suspend, that the Spaniards might have time to capitulate. This representation was made on the 10th of August, but to no purpose, the governor returning for answer, that he was determined to defend the place, committed to him, to the last extremity. Next morning at day-break, forty-five cannon and eight mortars, erected on the batteries at Cevannos, began to play against the town and the Puntal with such continued and irresistible fury, that this fortress was silenced before ten. In another hour the north bastion was almost disabled. About two in the afternoon, white flags were displayed from every quarter of the town, and, in a little time after, a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with proposals of capitulation. The established religion and the ancient laws were to be preserved, and private property was secured to the inhabitants. The garrison, which was reduced to seven hundred men, were to have the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Old Spain, together with the Spanish commodore, the governor of the Havannah, the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena. The Spaniards struggled hard to save twelve ships of the line which lay in the harbour; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmissible. They likewise made powerful attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war, but this would have destroyed, in a great measure, the importance of the conquest. It was debated for two days, when hostilities were on the point of being renewed: which made the enemy recede from their demand and



the English took possession of the place the 14th of August.

The acquisition of the Havannah united in itself all the advantages that can be obtained in war. The enemy lost a whole fleet, they were deprived of a wealthy establishment commanding a rich and extensive territory, and they ceded a port which commanded the only passage by which their ships could conveniently sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe. While this port is in the hands of an enemy, who are masters at sea, the court of Madrid can receive no supplies of treasure from the West Indies, except by beating up to windward from Carthagena, which would expose them to infinite trouble as well as danger from the English squadrons; or by surrounding Cape Herr, or passing through the Straits of Magellan from the South Sea, a voyage of intolerable length, and subject to equal inconveniences. The reduction of the Havannah, while it distressed the enemy in the most essential manner by stopping the sources of their wealth, opened an easy avenue to the conquerors for reaching their American treasures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired such immense sums at the expense of her enemies. Her success in the East Indies is said to have brought into England nearly six millions since the commencement of hostilities, and, in the conquest now made, she obtained, besides an immense quantity of artillery, small arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, about three millions sterling in silver, tobacco, and valuable merchandize, collected, on account of the king of Spain, in the magazines of the Havannah. In this calculation of national profit we must not omit the capture of the *Hermioné*, a register ship, the value of which fell little short of a million sterling. If it had not been for these extraordinary pecuniary supplies, with which the war was attended, it would have been difficult to carry it on to such an amazing extent. The money which was brought into the kingdom invigorated

commerce, and urged the hand of industry. The remittances for foreign subsidies were in a great measure paid by bills on merchants settled abroad, who had received the value of these draughts in the produce of British manufactures. The trade of England increased gradually every year, and such a scene of national prosperity, during the course of a long, expensive, and bloody war, was never exhibited by any people in the world.

In the expedition against the Havannah, the spirit, unanimity, and perseverance of the army and navy were eminently conspicuous. Never indeed was there a period of such cordial co-operation between the land and sea forces, or such a punctual attention to orders. One captain only, of the name of Campbell, having neglected to perform his duty in leading the squadron which attacked the Moro, was obliged to quit the service.

As it is our plan to give an account of the more important enterprises, which succeeded through the co-operation of the navy, before we proceed to relate the exploits purely naval, which distinguished the year 1762, we must now carry the reader's attention to the expedition against the Philippine islands, which is one of the best conducted, most splendid, and most important of all the successes which adorn the annals of this glorious war. The design of this expedition, which, if successful, would give as severe a wound to the interests of Spain in the East Indies, as she had received, by the taking of the Havannah, on the side of America, was suggested by the following accident. After the memorable defence of Madras in 1759, Colonel Dupleix's bad state of health obliged him to leave that country. He embarked in company with the honourable Captain Howe, then commander of the *Winchelsea*, for Canton in China, a place with which the inhabitants of the Philippines carry on a considerable traffic. Here the colonel employed himself in acquiring a minute knowledge of the present state of

the Spaniards in these islands, and discovered that, confiding in their remote distance from Europe, they were persuaded, that no attempt against them would ever be deemed practicable. This had lulled them into such a perfect security, that they had totally neglected the keeping up of a regular military force for their own defence.

Colonel Draper communicated his ideas on this subject to Lord Anson and Lord Egremont, upon the first rumours of a war with Spain. His information met with that attention which it deserved. He was desired to give a memorial in writing, explaining his plan at full length, and assured, that, if a Spanish war became unavoidable, the undertaking should be recommended to his majesty.

The motives to the execution of this enterprise were many and powerful. The Philippines or Manillas form a principal division of that immense Indian Archipelago, which consists of above one thousand two hundred islands, extending from the nineteenth degree of north latitude, almost in a continued chain, to the shores of New Guinea and the great southern continent. The Philippines, which form the northernmost cluster of these islands, are, some of them, among the largest, and all of them, naturally, among the richest islands in the world. They were added to the Spanish monarchy, in its meridian glory, under Philip II. and, being happily situated for commerce, they were used as the centre of communication for the Asiatic and American trade. They may receive European goods by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and connecting the traffic of China, Japan, and the Spice Islands with that of Europe and America, unite all the extensive dominions of Spain in one commercial chain with the richest countries upon earth.

The principal island of the Philippines is called Manilla or Luconia, extending three hundred miles in length, and ninety, at a medium, in breadth. The soil is cultivated

by the natives with uncommon industry for this part of the world the Chinese, who, after the Tartar conquest in the last century, fled here in great numbers, are the artificers, and the Spaniards enjoy the government, and best part of the commerce. The rest of the Philippine islands, as far as the Spanish power prevails in them, are under the government of *Luconia*, the capital of which is *Mamilla*, situated on the south-east of the island, and lying upon a very fair and spacious harbour. Here the large vessels or galleons annually arrive, and from this place they sail for *Acapulco* in America, loaded with money or goods to the value of nearly a million sterling. In the war of 1739, the taking one of these galleons was considered as the most brilliant success which attended the British squadrons. But now they were to aim at an higher object, not at a particular cargo, but at the principal mart of commerce which supplied this cargo and which, when put in our possession, would enable us to destroy the intercourse of any other European state with the empires of China and Japan, while it procured the highest respect for the British flag all over those wealthy and extensive regions.

The grandeur of this design was sufficient to rouse the most vigorous efforts of administration. But the additional weight of Spain, in the scale of the enemies of Great Britain, required all the exertions of her strength nearer home. It was impossible, therefore, to spare ships or troops for undertaking a conquest so distant and precarious, however advantageous and splendid. But, fortunately, the preceding events of this glorious war naturally paved the way for those which were to follow. The success of one expedition not only suggested the idea, but facilitated the execution of another. By the fortune of our arms in the east, we were become arbiters of the great peninsula of India: the French were expelled the Dutch humbled, and there was nothing in those parts to

resist the British force, or even to afford employment to all the troops that were kept on foot. Nothing, therefore, was demanded from Great Britain, but a light frigate to carry Colonel Draper to Madras, where alone suitable preparations might be made for this important enterprise. He arrived there the latter end of June, 1762, and was appointed Brigadier-general and commander in chief of the land forces to be employed in the expedition. The squadron commanded by Vice-admiral Cornish, a brave and able officer, consisted of several ships of the line,\* besides frigates. The troops allotted for this expedition consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery, reinforced with six hundred sepoy, one company of Carres, one of Topazes, one of pioneers, with several hundred of unarmed Lascars, for the use of the engineers and the park of artillery. The admiral supplied a fine Battalion of five hundred and fifty seamen, and two hundred and seventy marines. The whole force amounted to no more than two thousand three hundred effective men; an inconsiderable number, but of tried valour, enured to toil and hardship, and rendered equal by their disciplined bravery to the strength of a great army. The 79th regiment, which was the only regular body of troops employed on this service, had been the first who checked the progress of the French in India; their valour had given the happy turn to the war under Colonel Coote; they were enured to the climate, and accustomed to victory; and their arms were worthy to extend the glory of Great Britain to the remotest verge of Asia.

\* These were the Norfolk, Panther, America, Seaford frigate, Elizabeth, Crafton, Argo frigate, Lenox, Weymouth, Seahorse frigate. The Pالمouth was left at the request of the president and council of Madras, to convoy the Essex Indiaman, which had on board the treasure for the China cargoes; but she arrived time enough to have her share in the expedition.

The enterprise was no sooner resolved upon, than the admiral detached Captain Grant of the Seahorse to the entrance of the Chinese sea, with instructions to intercept all vessels bound for Manilla, that the enemy, who were even ignorant of the declaration of war, might receive no intelligence of any design formed against them. The success of the enterprise depended much upon expedition, not only in order to prevent the enemy from being roused from their security, but in order to take advantage of the wind; for if the north-west monsoon should set in with any violence before the fleet were well advanced on their voyage, the whole design would be defeated. Accordingly no time was lost. In the course of three weeks the troops were embodied and formed, and the stores got ready and shipped, notwithstanding a raging and perpetual surf, which in those climates is one of the greatest difficulties in any expedition, greatly embarrassing the embarkation, and rendering still more hazardous the disembarkation of troops, especially in the face of an enemy.

The fleet sailed in two divisions the beginning of August, and on the 19th arrived at Malacca: a place formerly considered as the key of the Indian commerce, and still the centre of a very considerable trade. The Dutch, to whom it now belonged, although they looked with no very favourable eye on the progress of the English in those eastern regions, were afraid to discover any symptom of jealousy. The English fleet used Malacca as a port of their own, and supplied themselves not only with refreshments, but with every necessary not already provided for the siege of Manilla. In thirty-nine days from Malacca they came in sight of Luconia: the weather having in general proved favourable, although the squadron was once separated in a storm.

The next in command to the vice-admiral was Commodore Tiddeman; and the battalion of seamen and

marines was under the captains Collins, Pitchford, and Curry, who behaved during the whole service with equal gallantry and conduct. The officers subordinate to Brigadier-general Draper were the Lieutenant-Colonels Monson and Scott, Major Barker, who commanded the artillery, and Major Moore. Mr. Drake, and some other gentlemen in the East India company's service, were appointed to take care of the interests of their constituents, according to a convention made with the president and council of Madras, by which the East India company were to have a third part of the booty or ransom, and to be invested with the government of the conquered country. The land and sea forces agreed by common consent to participate in the distribution of their several captures, according to the rules established in the navy. The character of the commanders, as well as these wise precautions, prevented the least disagreement from arising between the army and marine, either in the conduct of the enterprise, or in the division of the fruits of their success.

The admiral having sounded the coast, discovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the southward of Manilla. On the 24th of September, the proper dispositions being made, and the three frigates Argo, Seahorse and Seaford, moored very near the shore, to cover the descent; three divisions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the Captains Parker, Kempenfeldt, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata. This was not performed without great difficulty, on account of a violent surf, which dashed many of the boats to pieces. At the same time the enemy began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and infantry, to oppose the descent; but the Captains King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, maintained such a warm fire of cannon to the right and left that they soon dispersed, and the

general disembarked his troops without the loss of a single man. The days which immediately succeeded their landing were spent in seizing the most advantageous posts, in securing the communication with the navy, and in reconnoitring the roads and approaches to the town. They found it defended by some good works, constructed in a regular manner, and garrisoned by about eight hundred Spanish troops. The English forces were too few to invest the place, so as to prevent it from being supplied with provisions from the country, or from receiving assistance from the natives, a fierce and daring people, who, though unacquainted with the use of fire-arms and the regular discipline of war, were like all the inhabitants of the Indian isles, extremely formidable on account of their martial spirit, native intrepidity, and contempt of death. The governor of the place was a churchman and archbishop, who stiled himself captain-general of the Philippines and, however ill qualified by his profession for the defence of a town attacked, seemed well fitted for this task by his spirit and resolution.

The day after the troops landed, the enemy abandoned a small fort called the Pulverista, which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the stores and artillery. Colonel Monson, with an advanced party of two hundred men, occupied the church of the Hermita, about nine hundred yards from the city. The head quarters were fixed in the curate's house, and secured by the 79th regiment, as a post of the utmost importance, both from its strength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impossible to encamp. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Pulverista, to preserve the communication with the fleets, and guard the stores and artillery, which, on account of the surf, were not landed without great danger and fatigue. The battalion of seamen were stationed between the 79th



regiment and the marines; and a body of men was advanced within three hundred yards of the town, and possessed themselves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithstanding its being exposed to the fire of the enemy.

Before batteries could be erected, the enemy, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of September, attempted a sally with about four hundred men. They were commanded by the Chevalier de Fayette, and having two field-pieces, advanced to the right of the English advanced posts, and began to cannonade. But Colonel Monson, at the head of the piquets, reinforced by a small body of seamen, soon drove them back into the town. Their retreat was so precipitate that they left one of their field-pieces on the glacis.

It was imagined that the evidence of their inferiority in this slight encounter would be an inducement to the governor to endeavour at obtaining advantageous terms by an early surrender. A summons was sent to him for this purpose, to which he returned such an answer as shewed we had nothing to expect but what we were able to command. Indeed, had the valour of the garrison corresponded with the spirited declaration of the governor, the town would have nothing to apprehend from an enemy, whose numbers obliged them to confine their operations to one corner of the place, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of supplies. The front, to which the attack was directed, was defended by the bastions of St. Diego and St. Andrew; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way and glacis. The bastions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine brass cannon; but the ditch had never been completed, the covered way was out of repair, and the glacis was too low.

While the works were going forward with great rapidity, some straggling seamen were murdered by the savages, which induced the governor to send out a flag of truce to

apologize for this barbarity, and at the same time to request the release of his nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay by the boats of the fleet. His demand was complied with, and Lieutenant Fiyar was sent under a flag of truce, to conduct the prisoner to town. At that time a detachment of the garrison, intermixed with a body of Indians, sallied out to attack one of the posts of the besiegers, when the savages ignorant of the law of nations, and disregarding the sacred character of an officer under a safe conduct, assaulted Mr Fiyar with the most brutal fury, mangling his body in a most shocking manner, and mortally wounding the Spanish gentleman, who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack they were soon repelled by the British party who defended the post; their savage cruelty had exasperated the troops, and whenever they fell into the hands of the English soldiers, they found no mercy.

Meanwhile the indefatigable vigour and unconquerable spirit of our soldiers and seamen had raised three batteries for cannon and mortars, which played on the town with considerable effect. The navy which had hitherto assisted no otherwise than in covering the landing, and in furnishing men and stores, began now to take a direct part in the siege. On the 29th, the admiral ordered the *Elsabeth* and the *Falmouth* to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and to enfilade the enemy's front in order to second the operations of the army. Although the shallows kept them at too great a distance to have all the effect which could have been wished, their fire did not fail to produce great confusion and terror among the inhabitants, and to add very considerably to the fatigue of the garrison.

The operations of the besiegers were for some days retarded by an event which threatened to destroy at once all the effects of their industry and courage. During the first days of October a deluge of rain poured down, ac-

accompanied by a mighty storm of wind. The squadron was in the greatest danger, and all communication with it and the army entirely cut off. The South Sea Castle store-ship, which had lately arrived, and contained the greatest part of the tools and necessaries for prosecuting the siege, was driven on shore. The governor, or archbishop of the place, added to the advantage of these appearances in his favour, by calling in the aid of his ecclesiastical character. He gave out, that the angel of the Lord was gone forth to destroy the English, like the host of Sennacherib of old; and this miserable superstition did not fail to raise the spirits of a fearful and cowardly garrison.

The circumstances of this storm, by an extraordinary species of good fortune, became favourable to the besiegers. The South Sea Castle, by being driven on shore without any considerable damage, gave an easy and ready access to all the stores and provisions which she contained. In the situation in which she lay on shore, her cannon became a protection to the rear of the English camp; and, by enfilading the whole beach to the southward, she kept in awe a body of Indians who threatened an attack on the Pulverista and the magazine of the besiegers at the Malata. At the same time, the confidence which the enemy derived from the natural helps arising from the storm, and in the supernatural ones added by their superstition, rendered them more remiss and languid in their defence; while the roaring of the sea, occasioned by the great surf, prevented them from hearing the noise of the English workmen, who were busy in the night in completing the several batteries, in finishing a parallel and communication from these to the advanced post at the church, on the left of which they established a spacious place of arms. All this was accomplished on the 3d, and, the battery being opened against the left face of St. Diego's bastion, the fire was so well directed by the skill of Major Barker, that in a few

hours twelve pieces of cannon, mounted on the face of the bastion, were totally silenced, and the enemy obliged to retire. In less than two days all their other defences were greatly impaired.

The Spaniards, seeing their fortifications no longer tenable, projected a sally disposed in two attacks upon the two most important posts of the English. The first was to be made upon the cantonment of seamen, who were known to have had the most considerable part in the management of the artillery during the whole siege. The second was to be made on the church of St Jago, which had been of so much consequence in protecting the besiegers in their approaches, and which covered a flank of the army.

In the middle of the night preceding the 4th of October, one thousand Indians marched out upon the first attack. They were much encouraged by the incessant rains, which they hoped had rendered the fire-arms useless, while their own arms, consisting only of bows and lances, could suffer nothing from such accidents. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick bushes, growing on the side of a rivulet, through which they passed in the night, without being perceived by the patroles. When they arrived at the quarter of the seamen, they began the work of destruction with a more than hostile fury. The English, though surprised, maintained their ground with steadiness, and repelled the mad rage of the savages with manly persevering courage. Prudently satisfied with this advantage, they remained firm in their posts till day-break, when two piquets of the 79th regiment arrived to their assistance. The Indians, notwithstanding the weakness of their armour, advanced in the most resolute manner to the attack, fought with incredible ferocity, when repulsed, returned with redoubled fury to the muzzles of the English muskets, and died like wild beasts gnawing

their bayonets. At length, however, they were obliged to retreat before the disciplined valour of the English, having lost three hundred men in this daring and unequal attack.

The bad success of the first attempt did not discourage those who were ordered on the second. This began just as the former had been defeated, and appeared at first more favourable to the hopes of the Spaniards. The scopos, who defended the church of St. Jago, were far from possessing the firmness of the English sailors, and being dislodged without difficulty, retired in confusion from their post. The enemy, who consisted not only of Indians but of a strong detachment from the Spanish garrison, immediately seized the church, climbed to the top, and from thence poured down a violent fire on our people, who maintained themselves with patience and resolution, until a detachment with ten field-pieces came to their relief. Then the Spaniards were compelled to give way, leaving seventy of their number dead on the spot. Nor were we freed from these resolute attacks without considerable loss. This, with the former action, cost the besiegers above forty men, including Captain Strahan of the 79th regiment, and Lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers who fell universally regretted.

This was the last effort of the garrison in its own defence. The unruly spirit of the Indians, impatient of repulse, and discouraged by repeated defeats, led them to return home. The fire of the garrison grew faint, and all the outworks of the enemy were now in a ruinous condition. The operations of the besiegers, on the other hand, were so well directed, and carried on with such vigour, that on the 5th the breach appeared practicable. It was expected, that the garrison would demand a capitulation, when no law of honour, because there was no prospect of success, required a farther defence. But the besiegers had to do

with the sullen obstinacy of Spaniards who neglected all opportunities of obtaining favourable terms, and without taking proper measures for defending the breach.

The English general, not finding any desire of capitulation in the enemy, prepared without delay, and with the most judicious arrangements for the storm. On the 6th at four in the morning, the troops destined for this service, filed off from their quarters in small bodies to avoid suspicion, and gradually assembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themselves in the place of arms, and on the parallel between the church and the battery. Meanwhile, Major Barker maintained a close fire upon every part of the enemy's works, from which we might apprehend any molestation. At day-break a large body of Spaniards were seen formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended assault, and had resolved to annoy the assailants from the retired flanks of the bastion, where they had still two cannon fit for service. But the explosion of some shells thrown among them by the besiegers had so good an effect, that it made them disperse and retire in confusion.

The British troops took immediate advantage of this event, and directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault under cover of a thick smoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Russel, at the head of sixty volunteers from different corps, led the way. They were supported by the grenadiers of the 79th regiment. A body of pioneers, to clear the breach, and if necessary, to make lodgements, followed: a battalion of seamen advanced next, supported by two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; and the troops of the East India company formed the rear. Disposed in this excellent order, the assailants, to the number of two thousand men, mounted the breach with amazing spirit and activity. The Spaniards

retired so suddenly that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stevenson was ordered to examine the ground, which removed all apprehension from this danger; and the English troops penetrated into the town without meeting with any opposition until they came to the royal gate, where there was a guard-house defended by one hundred Spaniards and Indians. Here Major More was transfixed with an arrow, and about twenty of our men fell. The guard refused quarter, and were cut to pieces. In proceeding forward the troops were galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, surrounding the great square. But the Spanish soldiers every where gave way before them. Three hundred perished in endeavouring to escape by passing a deep and rapid river. The governor and principal magistrates imprudently retreated to the citadel, which was by no means a tenable post; and as the English general had no offer of capitulation either on the part of the garrison or inhabitants, it was impossible to prevent some of the calamities which usually happen to cities taken by storm, from the cruel rapacious license of the common soldiers. Those who had retired into the citadel dreading to be exposed to equal sufferings, surrendered at discretion. The marquis of Villa Medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. At the same time Admiral Cornish and General Draper, influenced by a generosity familiar to our commanders, though able to command every thing by force, admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by which they enjoyed their liberties, lives, properties, and the administration of their domestic government. In consequence of this agreement the town and port of Cavite, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty; and four millions of dollars were pro-

mised as a ransom for saving the houses and effects of the inhabitants \* The admiral took possession of several large ships, with a vast quantity of military and naval stores, and the English found here every refreshment to recruit the men, and every necessary to refit the squadron. The East India company were entitled to one third of the ransom, and the conquest according to agreement was delivered up to Dawson Drake, Esq and the other individuals appointed to receive them in behalf of that company

This important acquisition was rendered complete by another fortunate event. During the siege Admiral Cornish received intelligence by the capture of an advice-ship, that the galleon from Acapulco was arrived at the straits which form the entrance into the Archipelago of the Philippines. This intelligence was not to be neglected, as so rich a prize would greatly enhance the value of the conquest, and not a little compensate the disadvantage of a repulse. Two ships of war, the Panther a ship of the line, Captain Parker, and the Argo frigate, Captain King, were immediately despatched in quest of the galleon. After twenty-six days cruising they descried on the 30th of October, being off the island Capul, a sail standing northward. The Panther being driven by the current among the Narangoi, was obliged to anchor; but the Argo coming up with the chace, engaged her for nearly two hours, during which the English frigate was roughly handled, and even obliged to desist, until his damage could be repaired. The current slackening, Captain Parker was enabled to get under sail, and about nine next morning came up with the enemy, who after having been cannonaded nearly two hours, at a very small distance, struck her colours. The English captain was not a little surprised to learn when the Spanish officers came on board,

\* As this ransom was never paid, commanders in future will do well to take hostages.



that instead of the *Sancta Philippina* which was expected from Acapulco, he had taken the *Sanctissima Trinidad*, which was bound for that port. This vessel had left Manilla the 1st of August, and had sailed three hundred leagues to the eastward of the Embocadero; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, and being dismasted, was obliged to put back and refit. In the first engagement with the *Argo* this galleon mounted only six guns, though she was pierced for sixty. In her engagement with the *Panther*, she mounted but thirteen. The English captains had both been surprised to find so obstinate a resistance with so little activity of opposition. But their wonder ceased when they examined the galleon with attention. She was a huge vessel that lay like a mountain on the water, and her sides so excessively thick that the shot had made no impression upon any part, except her upper works. She had eight hundred men on board; and the value of her cargo was registered at one million and a half of dollars; that which was unregistered in order to be smuggled amounted to full as much; so that this capture was a valuable addition to the conquest, and a fresh wound to the enemy.

At no period of time had the Spanish monarchy suffered such mortifying disasters as in the course of this war, of which there was no conquest more advantageous in itself, or more honourably achieved than that of the Philippines. The British forces effected their landing before Manilla, on the 24th of September; their battery of cannon was not completed until the 3d of October, and on the 6th they were masters of the city. In this short time, notwithstanding the tempestuous season of the year which prevented the communication between the land and sea forces, a territory was acquired consisting of fourteen considerable islands, which from their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furnished the materials of a great kingdom. The conquest of the Ha-

vannah had in a great measure interrupted the communication between the wealthy American colonies of the Spaniards and Europe. The reduction of the Philippines now excluded them from Asia. The two together secured all the avenues of the Spanish trade, and cut off all intercourse between the parts of their vast but unconnected empire. Never indeed were any people more to be pitied than the Spaniards. They were plunged precipitately into a war against every principle of sound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of their sovereign, in favour of the interests of his family, which stood in direct opposition to those of his people. Unfortunately for the happiness of mankind the former interests will always be preferred under the government of an absolute prince. Whatever conclusions, therefore, may be drawn, at any future period, in favour of the pacific intentions of the Spaniards from the national advantages that would result from a pacific conduct, ought not to have great weight on the councils or measures of Great Britain. We ought in this case to distrust appearances. The advantage, at least the supposed advantage of a king of Spain and of his subjects, are not always the same. The national advantage is most obvious to strangers, but that of the king will prevail in the cabinet; and Spain will undertake another war against Great Britain, though more ruinous than the former, whenever the interests or honour of the house of Bourbon demand her assistance. We may be permitted another observation at this particular time.\* The success of the last war against Spain, than which none more brilliant is recorded in history, depended in a great measure on the rapidity with which all our measures were carried into execution. The garrison at the Havannah was in no state of defence; the inhabitants of Manilla were unacquainted with the declaration of war. The dominions of Spain from which she draws her prin-

\* October, 1778.

cipal resources, lying at an immense distance from the capital and one another, renders it more necessary for her than for any other power to temporize, until she can inspire with activity all the parts of her extensive but disjointed empire. For this reason, Great Britain cannot be too much on her guard to watch the first symptom of approaching hostility. To take the advantage of the first stroke, without waiting for the formal declaration of war, may expose her to the censure of minute politicians; but to wait patiently till she herself receives it, will render her the scorn of her enemies.

The reduction of the Manillas will be handed down as a memorable event to the latest posterity. Another expedition, which was much celebrated at the time, and which adorned the lustre of the British arms in the course of this autumn, was the recovery of the island of St. John, in Newfoundland. About the latter end of May, intelligence was received by the admiralty, that a French squadron under the command of M. de Ternay, had sailed from Brest under cover of a fog. The destination of this squadron being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York as rear-admiral, were immediately ordered from Spithead with seven ships of the line, and two frigates, in hopes that they might fall in with the enemy. They visited the coast of France; and after cruising some time in the chops of the channel for the protection of our trade, returned to Portsmouth, not having seen M. de Ternay's fleet. It was descried, however, on the 11th of May, about fifty leagues to the northward of the Lizard, by Captain Rowley, who had sailed with three ships of war, the *Superbe*, of seventy-four guns, the *Gosport*, of forty-four, and the *Danaé*, of thirty-eight, as convoy to a fleet of merchantmen bound to the East and West Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley no sooner perceived them than he made a disposition for battle, though greatly inferior in strength. The French ships

bore down upon him; when he hoisted British colours, and fired at the nearest, when she was within little more than random shot. The enemy immediately hoisted English colours, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chace till three in the afternoon, when they were scarcely in sight, and having no hope of bringing them to action, he discontinued the pursuit, and rejoined his convoy.

The French squadron consisted of the *Robuste*, of seventy-four guns, the *Eveille*, of sixty-four, the *Garonne*, of forty-four, and the *Licorne*, of thirty, carrying one thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of Count d'Hausonville. They steered their course for Newfoundland, and on the 24th of June entered the bay of Bulls, where the troops were landed without opposition. Having taken possession of an inconsiderable English settlement in this bay, they steered for the town of St. John, which being defended by no more than sixty-three men, surrendered upon capitulation. This little garrison were made prisoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majesty's sloop the *Giamont*, which was in the harbour. The French likewise took several merchant vessels, destroyed the stages erected for curing cod, and every thing else belonging to the fishery. They afterwards began to repair the fortifications of the town, of which they had determined to keep possession.

When the news of this loss reached England, the anti-ministerial party employed it as a subject of reproach against the king's servants. Their abuse, though mean, illiberal, and vulgar, was not altogether ill-founded. Mr. Pitt's advice for guarding Newfoundland from any such attempt, had been neglected by the ministry, who, while on this occasion they represented the loss of a place cold, barren, and inhospitable, as of very little consequence, did not delay to prepare an armament for regaining the possession of it.

But their preparations for this purpose were rendered unnecessary by the vigilant celerity of Lord Colville and Sir Jeffery Amherst, who commanded by sea and land in North America. The former, upon receiving advice of the progress of the French in Newfoundland, immediately sailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John, with one ship of the line and one frigate only, even while M. de Ternay lay at anchor in it, with a superiour squadron. On the 11th day of September, his lordship was joined by Colonel Amherst, whom his brother Sir Jeffery had detached from New York, with orders to touch at Louisbourg, and to take on board some troops, which, with those embarked at Halifax, amounted to about eight hundred men, chiefly Highlanders and light infantry. The light infantry landed, after a short resistance, at Torbay, about seven miles to the northward of St. John, it not being possible to land at Kittyvitty, where the enemy had stopped up the narrow entrance, by sinking shallows in the channel. The French had continued to annoy the boats, as the troops landed; until the light infantry obliged the enemy to retreat. The French afterwards took to the woods, through which the British had to march for four miles. They wounded several of our men with their bush fire, which was very troublesome, till Captain M'Donald's company of light infantry rushed in upon them, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest. The British forces advanced to the strong post of Kittyvitty, which they took sword in hand. This advantage secured their communication with the ships for landing the stores and artillery. The enemy posted on a hill on the other side of the river fired upon our men; but a detachment was sent to drive them from this eminence from which they retreated in precipitation, leaving several prisoners behind. The French were still in possession of two very high and steep hills, the one in the neighbourhood of our advanced posts, and the other in the

neighbourhood of St. John, and commanding all the intermediate space. It was necessary to dislodge them; which was performed by Captain M'Donald with great bravery and resolution, at the head of his own and the provincial light infantry. With this corps he passed the sentries and advanced guard unobserved, and was not discovered till the main body of the French saw him climbing up the rocks, and almost at the top which he gained; having received the enemy's fire, he poured in his own with such vivacity that the French gave way. The gallant captain received a mortal wound, his lieutenant, with four men, were killed, and eighteen wounded.

On the 16th, Colonel Amherst proceeded vigorously in his preparations to attack the town of St. John. The breast-work and unfinished battery which commanded the harbour being taken, the entrance of the channel was cleared, and the stores and artillery were landed without difficulty. This was fortunately performed before a violent gale of wind, which happened immediately after, and drove Lord Colville to a considerable distance from the coast. In his absence M. de Ternay took advantage of a thick fog, to slip his cables and to make his escape, leaving the garrison of St. John to defend itself. His ships were seen at a great distance by the British squadron; but his conduct was so unlike that of Englishmen in abandoning a place entrusted to his protection, that it was not imagined the ships which they descried could be those of M. Ternay.

On the 17th, at night, the colonel opened a battery, with one eight-inch mortar, seven cohorns, and six royals. The enemy, at the same time, began a brisk fire from the fort, and threw several shells. In the morning of the 18th, the count of Hausonville, who had declared two days before in a letter to Colonel Amherst, that he would not surrender the fort until it were totally destroyed, thought proper to alter his resolution, and to demand a

capitulation. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Brest with the first opportunity; which condition was immediately fulfilled by Lord Colville, who had, by this time, returned into the harbour. Thus the town and fort of St. John, with all the other places which the French had taken on this coast, were recovered by the indefatigable labour and persevering bravery of a handful of men, without the loss of above twenty soldiers in this important service.

In the retaking of St. John, as well as in the reduction of the Havannah and the Philippines, the fleet and army co-operated with singular harmony and success. As they underwent the same fatigue, and were exposed to similar dangers, they were entitled to an equal share of glory as well as of reward. But it is obvious that the vast superiority of the English seamen to the French and Spanish, and their firm hardiness in performing some branches of service which no land troops in the world would have dared to attempt, was the principal cause of that uniform and uninterrupted train of good fortune which crowned the British arms. The manly firmness and persevering resolution of our seamen, directed by the experienced valour and active vigilance of our naval commanders, overcame obstacles of art and nature which appeared at first sight unsurmountable. Every measure was taken at that critical moment which was most favourable to its success; no advantage was left unimproved, no error unrepaired. The whole plan of every expedition, as well as its subordinate parts, was conducted with heroic bravery, and guided by consummate wisdom.

Nor was the merit of the fleet less conspicuous in those attempts which were more immediately directed against the naval strength and resources of the enemy. In the course of the year "we meet with several actions at sea, which would adorn the annals of any country. We shall relate them in the order of time in which they happened.

Had the enemy's designs succeeded, we should have had few exploits to boast of near the coast of France. In the month of December, of the year 1761, they attempted to burn at once all the British ships of war that lay at anchor in the road of Basque. They prepared three fire-ships, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and set on fire with a strong breeze that blew directly on the English squadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation, and the wind luckily shifting drove them clear of the ships they were intended to destroy. They were consumed to no purpose, after blowing up with a terrible explosion, and every person on board perishing. On the 7th of March, his majesty's ship *Milford* fell in with a Spanish letter of marque in her passage to *St. Domingo*. She had been a privateer of *Bayonne*, and pierced for twenty guns, but carried at present only sixteen six-pounders, ten swivels, and ninety-four men, and had a valuable cargo on board. The engagement was hot and desperate. Captain *Man*, of the *Milford*, soon received a mortal wound. *Mr. Day*, the first lieutenant, taking the command of the ship, was immediately shot through the head. The defence of the king's ship devolving on Lieutenant *Nash*, this officer received several wounds in his hands and face. The engagement continued almost for twenty-four hours, when the enemy struck, both ships being miserably shattered.

About the same time, his majesty's ship *Fowey*, of twenty-four guns, nine-pounders, and one hundred and thirty-five men, commanded by Captain *Mead*, fell in with *La Ventura*, a Spanish frigate of twenty-six guns, twelve-pounders, and three hundred men, carrying money to pay the Spanish troops at *Porto Rico* and *St. Domingo*. These frigates engaged about seven leagues from *Cape Tiberone*. The fight continued an hour and a half, when their mutual damages obliged them both at the same time to sheer off and repair. This done, Captain *Mead*, at ten o'clock of



the night bore down a second time on the enemy; but after exchanging a broadside without any visible effect, it being too dark to form any satisfactory notion of the distance and motion of the Spanish vessel, he made sail to windward, keeping a proper look out, that he might not lose sight of her, but be able to renew the attack with advantage by day-light. Accordingly, in the dawn of the morning, the Fowey, keeping her men at their quarters, ran up as close to the Ventura as it was possible, without falling on board of her. The engagement, renewed for the third time, was more bloody and desperate than before. It lasted with extraordinary courage and conduct on both sides till half an hour past eight, when the Spanish frigate having received several shot between wind and water, and being reduced almost to a wreck, was compelled to strike her colours. She had nearly fifty men killed; and both ships were so much disabled that neither of them had tackles left to hoist out a boat, nor indeed a boat that could swim. Captain Mead, who is known by his useful invention for cleaning a ship's bottom at sea, had occasion for all his ingenuity on this occasion. He contrived by nailing tarpaulins over the shot holes of a small boat, to bring the Spanish officers on board the Fowey. His gallantry was the more conspicuous on this occasion, as the ship's master was drunk and unfit to give the least assistance during the action. The gunner, too, happened to be wounded in the beginning of the engagement; and a lieutenant, with twenty-four men, were on shore.

On the 3d of April, after this wreck was carried into Port Royal, in Jamaica, the Hussar frigate, Captain Carket, attacked four ships, lying under a fort in Tiberrone bay; one of which, carrying sixteen guns, she burnt, sunk another of fourteen guns, cut out one of sixteen, and another of twelve, and carried them into Jamaica. In this desperate enterprise the Hussar had but one man killed, and twelve wounded; whereas the French had

seventeen killed, and thirty-five wounded. But most of the crews of the enemy's ships escaped on shore in their boats, during the engagement.

On the 21st of May, two British frigates, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the *Hermione*, a Spanish register-ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with such a quantity of treasure and valuable effects as enriched all the captors. The *Hermione* had but twenty-eight guns, and surrendered with little or no resistance; she was indeed in no situation to make a proper defence, the officers on board not being acquainted with the declaration of war between the two kingdoms. This ship carried two million six hundred thousand hard dollars; and her whole cargo was valued at a million sterling, which is more than had ever been before taken in one bottom. The loss of such an immense treasure at the beginning of a war which required the greatest expense, must have been a heavy blow to the ambition of the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and silver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in procession to the Bank, amid the acclamations of the people, who considered this as an auspicious omen of success in the war against Spain.

In the beginning of April, Captain Ourry, of the *Acteon*, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spanish register-ship, bound for Laguera, laden with artillery, stores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of twenty-five sail of French merchant-ships, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, took their departure from Cape Francis for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of these vessels were surprised and taken in the night by some privateers of New York and Jamaica. Next day it was their misfortune to fall in with Commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port Royal, in Jamaica.

Nor were the British cruisers less successful on the coasts of Europe. In the beginning of April, Captain Gambier of the *Burford*, arrived at Plymouth with a large East Indiaman which had sailed from the isle of Bourbon with a valuable cargo, and been taken by one of Admiral Pocock's squadron in the chops of the channel. About the end of August, Captain Hotham of the *Æolus* chased two Spanish ships into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the 2d day of September, standing into the bay, came to an anchor in such a situation as to bring his guns to bear not only upon one of the ships, but also upon a small battery situated on an eminence. After a short but warm contest both the battery and ship were abandoned; but before Captain Hotham could take possession of his prize, she ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. On the 20th of September, he took a vessel of considerable value belonging to Bourdeaux. In the beginning of November, Captain Ruthven of the *Terpsichore*, took a French ship of twenty guns bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francis. The action, in which the captain was wounded, was sharp and obstinate. On the 9th of the same month the enemy lost the *Oiseau*, a frigate of twenty-six guns, commanded by the Chevalier de Modene, who fell in with Captain Tonyn of the king's ship the *Brune*, about seven leagues from Carthageña. The engagement was maintained with great spirit on both sides: but at length the chevalier was obliged to submit, having lost about thirty men, including all his officers, excepting three, who with himself were wounded in the action.

A continuation of success had inspired the English with an enthusiasm of valour as well as of magnanimity. Of the first we have an example in an exploit of the *Brilliant* and *Duke of York* privateers; and of the latter in the behaviour of Captain Clark of the *Sheerness* frigate. These privateers entered a small port near Cape Finisterre, de-

fended by a battery at the entrance. In two hours time they beat the Spaniards from the fort, hoisted English colours, and spiked up the cannon. They might have laid the town in ashes, but were satisfied with burning two ships, and bringing off four more which were loaded with wine for the use of the Spanish fleet at Ferrol. The *Minerva*, a French frigate, had, in company with four other ships of war, given chase to the *Sheerness*, commanded by Captain Clark, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing fresh. He was immediately followed by the captain of the *Minerva*, who, actuated by an idle spirit of vanity and insolence, resolved to lie between him and the shore, and ran his ship upon the rocks which bound the eastern side of the harbour. Being himself ignorant of the art of seamanship, and ill assisted by a crew little acquainted with such emergencies, his ship was in a short time dashed in pieces; and a considerable number of his people perished, notwithstanding all the assistance he could receive from his consorts. On this melancholy occasion, Captain Clark, forgetting they were enemies, and that this very calamity was occasioned by their resentment against him and his country, exerted himself vigorously for their relief. He could not have done more if his friends had been in danger. By this generous assistance the greatest part of the crew and all the officers were saved.

The same firm and resolute spirit, and the same enterprising gallantry, appeared in every branch of the English marine. Even the packets performed exploits which would have done honour to ships of war of any other country. The *Hampden*, of eight carriage guns and thirty men, sailing between Faro and Gibraltar, was attacked by eleven privateers, which bore down in order of battle. The commodore was a barcolongo of eight guns and sixty men; the second was a xebeque of the same number of guns and men; five of a lesser size fol-

lowed a little a-stern; the other four carrying thirty men each, with one gun in the prow, brought up the rear. The engagement began at eleven in the forenoon, in sight of Gibraltar, and continued till half-past one, when that mighty squadron were ordered by the commander in chief to haul their wind, and to return from whence they came. The Hampden proceeded to Gibraltar, with her sails and rigging greatly damaged, but without any other considerable loss. The Harriot packet, in her passage from New York to Falmouth, discovered equal gallantry, having twice repulsed a French privateer of more than double her force. The captain was rewarded with a purse of an hundred guineas, and promoted to the command of a Lisbon packet.

It would be tedious to relate every naval exploit of the year 1762, in the course of which our men-of-war and privateers fought and took one hundred and twenty considerable prizes, carrying eight hundred and forty-four guns and nearly six thousand men. Neither French nor Spaniards had force at sea which was fit to annoy our trade in any great degree, and they were deterred from risking their lives and properties on board of privateers, by the rough treatment which these commonly met with from the English frigates or armed merchant-men. Since the Spaniards, through the ambition of the court, had been precipitated into this fatal war, they had lost twelve ships of the line besides frigates; and the French had been deprived of a marine sufficient to constitute the strength of a great kingdom. Their whole loss amounted to eighteen ships of the line and thirty-six frigates taken; fourteen ships of the line and thirteen frigates destroyed. On the other hand, the French took two and destroyed three English frigates, and thirteen British ships of the line, with fourteen frigates, were lost by accident. But not one capital English ship fell into the hands of the enemy.

The prospect of rich plunder, which always attends a Spanish war, had revived the spirit of privateering, after it was in a great measure extinguished by the repeated disasters of the French, which had left them scarcely any thing more to lose by sea. Some attempts were made in this way, which seem bold and daring beyond the spirit and abilities of private persons. The expedition against Buenos Ayres in particular, though it ended unfortunately by a fatal accident against which human prudence is too weak to provide, deserves, on account of the boldness and magnitude of the design, to be recorded among the memorable naval exploits of the year. It was the last act of hostility between the English and Spaniards, and concluded in a manner the most proper for disposing brave and generous nations to a mutual forgiveness of injuries, and a sincere desire of accommodation.

The attempt against this Spanish settlement was undertaken by some private adventurers, after we had made ourselves masters of the Havannah, and taken measures for the conquest of the Philippines. Government thought proper to encourage their design, not so much from any lucrative motive as on account of the situation of Buenos Ayres, which of all the Spanish colonies lies the most conveniently for molesting the possessions of our Portuguese allies, and which, if we should be so fortunate as to get it into our power, would afford a station well adapted for enterprises against the trade and the dominions of Spain in the South Seas. The embarkation was made from the Tagus, and consisted of the Lord Clive and Ambuscade privateers, the former of which was equal in force to a ship of fifty guns. They were reinforced by a Portuguese frigate, and some small armed vessels and store-ships, and had on board five hundred soldiers, partly English, partly Portuguese. The expedition was under the command of Captain Macnamara, an adventurer of spirit and experience, who had been many years a captain in the East

India company's service, and had embarked his whole fortune in the present enterprise.

The armament sailed from Lishon the 30th of August, 1762, from which place to the mouth of the Plata the voyage proved favourable. But when they had entered that vast river the 2d of November, difficulties and obstructions began to encounter them on every side. A violent gale of wind, attended with thunder and lightning, attacked them at their entrance. When the tempest ceased, they found that the river was shoaly, and of so difficult navigation that they must meet with no small obstructions in making their way to Buenos Ayres. The Spaniards were not here, as in other places, unacquainted with the declaration of war. They were well prepared for making a vigorous resistance, and had begun, some weeks before, to act on the offensive by taking the Portuguese settlement of Nova Colonia.

This unexpected intelligence and the difficulties of the voyage to Buenos Ayres determined the adventurers to abandon for some time this first design, and to begin with the recovery of Nova Colonia. An English pilot who knew the place and river, and whom they accidentally met with on board a Portuguese vessel, encouraged them to the attempt, undertaking to carry the commodore's ship into the harbour, and within pistol-shot of the enemy's principal battery.

A.D. On the 1st of January, 1763, he made good his promise.  
1763. The English ships arrived before Nova Colonia in good order, and the men in high spirits. They adorned their vessels with all the pomp and parade of a naval triumph. Their colours were fully displayed; the soldiers dressed in new red uniforms, and disposed upon the poop and upon the tops, made a gallant appearance. In this manner they advanced to the attack the 6th of January, with horns sounding and drums beating, and every movement expressive of hope and victory.

The Lord Clive made the signal for engaging, and soon after anchored under the easternmost battery of the place, while the Ambuscade was exposed to a warm fire from the middle and west batteries, as well as from two Spanish frigates. But the plan of engagement was not exactly followed, the Portuguese frigate on which they had great dependence, having anchored at such a distance that none of her shot reached the shore. The Spaniards pointed their guns well, and stood to them with firmness. But the ships having rectified several mistakes in their first disposition, began a most fierce cannonading, which lasted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon, when the enemy's fire began visibly to abate, and their men to retire to the easternmost battery as the place of greatest security. Against this the fire of the English was directed with redoubled violence; and they had hopes every minute of seeing the Spanish colours struck. But when they were on the point of attaining the object of all their desires, the commodore's ship, by some accident which has never been accounted for, unfortunately took fire. In a moment she was all in a blaze, and the same instant discovered the flames and the impossibility of extinguishing them. There was to be seen a most dreadful spectacle. The sides of the vessel were immediately crowded with naked men, who but a few minutes before reckoned themselves in the assured prospect of wealth and conquest. Some clung to the sails and rigging until the violence of the flames obliged them to forego their hold; others precipitated themselves into the sea, many died by their own hands; and several of still more determined courage went to the lower guns in the midst of all this scene of confusion and horror, and kept up a constant fire on the enemy, till they were driven by the flames to perish in another element. The commodore perished; and of three hundred and forty men, only seventy-eight escaped.



None of the other vessels durst approach the Clive for fear of sharing her fate. The Ambuscade, which had suffered greatly from the enemy's fire, escaped to the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Janeiro. Such of the Lord Clive's crew as, by uncommon dexterity in swimming, reached the shore, were humanely received by the Spaniards, whose resentment was extinguished in the calamity of their enemies. The English came to them naked; they clothed them decently: they were destitute of every necessary; they supplied abundantly all their wants, received them into their houses, and treated them rather like their dearest friends than enemies come to expel them from their possessions.

The war thus closed with an action the fittest that can be imagined to dispose the minds of men to humanity, gentleness, and benevolence, and to prepare them for receiving with approbation the measures which had been taken for giving peace\* to the four quarters of the world.

\* Concluded at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

## CHAP. II.

The Naval History of Great Britain, from the End of the War in 1763,  
to the Year 1779.

As the war of 1755 had been undertaken in order to protect the British colonies in America against the encroachments of the French, so the security of these colonies seems to have been the principal object in the treaty of peace, of which the terms were, doubtless, more advantageous to the English settlements in America than to the island of Great Britain. The unexampled success of the war enabled England to dictate the conditions of peace. She had it in her option to retain the West India islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, and Desiderade, the possession of which would have brought the most important advantages to her commerce, or by ceding these islands, to secure the American settlements on the north by the acquisition of Canada. She preferred the interest of her colonies. It was no less in her power to retain the important conquests she had made from Spain, as to obtain an equivalent for these conquests by stipulating such commercial advantages as would have added immense wealth to Great Britain, or to defend her American colonies in the south by acquiring the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, and the extensive country of Florida. In this instance, also, the interest of America prevailed. The colonies were secured from every hostile attack, and, at the price of British blood and treasure, and every national advantage, were placed in such a situation as no longer required the protection of Great Britain. From that moment they may be said to

have obtained independence, when their condition enabled them to assume it.

It has long been observed, that England generally loses by negotiation the advantages which she has acquired by force of arms. If this observation be well founded, the circumstance, perhaps, does not so much arise from the unskilfulness of her ministers as from the nature of the English constitution. In a free country there are a great many little interests, all of which must be considered by a minister, and some of which may be allowed, at certain times, in consequence of a particular combination of circumstances, to prevail over the general interest of the community. At the time that the public attention was employed in considering the proposed terms of peace, the conduct of the West India interest in parliament was extremely remarkable. The popular lord-mayor of London assumed the lead among those colonists, who composed a powerful and complete body in the house of commons. These gentlemen, while peace was in agitation, spared neither pains nor expense to persuade the English nation, that it was far more eligible to retain Canada than the West India islands. The reason for their being so anxious to spread this opinion, was, because the possession of the French West Indies would have annihilated their own importance; whereas the possession of Canada could not detract any thing from the value of Jamaica, Antigua, and the other islands, in which their property consisted. It is said that the late minister had, against his own sentiments, purchased their friendship by complying with their desires in this particular; and their clamorous efforts to render their own voice that of the public, had, doubtless, a considerable influence with the ministers who negotiated the peace. But this was not all. The English had not yet learned to separate their own interests from those of America; and those who then held

the helm of affairs were foolishly dazzled with the notion of acquiring an extensive and undisturbed empire across the Atlantic. When the West India patriots observed them determined in this design, and that the retaining Canada and the cession of the islands was a point irrevocable in the negotiation, they joined heartily in opposing the whole system of the peace. The odium of this measure was thrown entirely on administration, but the clamour of pretended patriots and the ambition of courtiers had united in bringing about an event which has been one considerable source of the subsequent calamities which have befallen Great Britain.

The parliament which met in the year 1763 approved of the peace, and voted sixteen thousand men to be employed for the sea service for 1764, including four thousand two hundred and eighty-seven marines. The king in his speech had recommended keeping the fleet on a respectable footing; the ordinary of the navy amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-eight pounds, and two hundred thousand pounds was voted toward the building and repairs of his majesty's ships for 1764. Nothing could be more proper than these preparations, which insured the performance of the articles of the general peace on the part of France and Spain; all of which, excepting the liquidation of the Canada bills, and the Manilla ransom, were fulfilled with great punctuality.

Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of the French and Spanish courts, some occurrences unavoidably happened in distant parts which were employed as arguments by the opposers of the peace for again embroiling Great Britain with both these kingdoms. The first event of this kind was a misunderstanding between the English and French commanders in America. This afforded matter for popular declamation; but when the facts were fully explained, it appeared that the differences had entirely arisen from the

commander of an English frigate having, pursuant to his orders from England, obliged a French ship to keep within the bounds of navigation prescribed by treaty. This matter was hardly explained to the satisfaction of the public, when a sloop of war arrived at Portsmouth from Newfoundland, which represented the French fleet on that coast as extremely formidable. It was asserted that the French, in direct opposition to the treaty of peace, intended to fortify St. Peter, and that the British squadron in those parts commanded by Mr. Paliser, was by no means in a condition to prevent this measure. Upon this intelligence, the party in opposition pronounced a French war to be unavoidable, unless we were disposed to sacrifice all our late conquests. Meanwhile Mr. Paliser despatched a sloop to the French governor at St. Peter to inquire into the truth of the reports which prevailed, and to know if he had mounted cannon and erected works on that island. The governor answered by assurances that there was no more than one four-pounder mounted, without a platform, and with no other intention, than to make signals, and to answer those which were made by the fishermen; that the guard had never exceeded fifty men; and that no works or buildings whatever had been erected contrary to the treaty. The suspicions had arisen from the equivocal conduct of a captain of a French ship of fifty guns, which, as it appeared by the commodore's letters, was the only large vessel the French had in those parts. This ship, with one frigate of twenty-six guns, and another of inferior force, formed their whole strength, and Mr. Paliser was assured that none of those vessels had ever attempted, or would ever attempt to enter into any of the harbours on the coast of Newfoundland.

The clamour which was excited by the conduct of a French squadron at Turk's island, was supported on a better foundation. This place is the most considerable of a number of small islands which go under the same name

on the coast of Spanish Hispanibla. It is only four miles in length, has not any good harbour, and is so barren and uncomfortable a spot that it is impossible for any settlement to subsist upon it. But as the coast abounds with various kinds of fish, especially turtle, and affords great quantities of salt, the Bermudians and other British subjects resorted thither in order to fish, and to gather salt in the dry season. Two hundred of them were employed in this manner in the month of June, when a French ship of seventy-four guns, with a snow, sloop, and xebeque, arrived from Cape François. Having landed on Turk's island, they laid hold of the English, plundered and burnt their cabins, detained their persons for some days as prisoners, and when dismissed, ordered them never to return into those parts. Mr. Lyttleton the governor of Jamaica was no sooner informed of those hostilities than he sent notice of them to the ministry, who gave such instructions as the occasion required to Lord Hertford, then ambassador in France. Meanwhile an account of the whole transaction was laid before the public, and it was generally thought that the French intended to attempt a settlement on Turk's island. The opposition represented the attack upon the English salt-gatherers as a premeditated plan of the French politics, which was to be executed by the treacherous D'Estaing, then governor of St. Domingo, for expelling the British subjects not only from these wretched islands but from all their other possessions in the West Indies. They insisted that the past hostilities and present intentions of the French were a justifiable ground for a new war. But this clamour was effectually silenced by the declaration of the French court in answer to the demands of the British ambassador. It disavowed the proceedings of the French subjects in the West Indies; disclaimed all intention of acquiring or conquering Turk's island; ordered the Count d'Estaing to cause these islands to be immediately abandoned, and every thing therein to be

restored to the condition in which it was before the late violent proceedings. Full reparation also was ordered to be made to the British subjects for the loss of their property and other injuries, according to an estimation to be immediately settled by the governors of Jamaica and St. Domingo.

A. D.  
1764.

The usual remissness of the court of Spain in giving instructions to their governors in distant parts, concerning the observation of treaties negotiated in Europe, had almost occasioned a rupture betwixt England and that kingdom, which, however, terminated in a manner equally honourable for Great Britain. On the 22d of February, 1764, an order came from Don Joseph Rosado, governor of Baccabar, commanding the English settlers in the bay of Honduras to retire from every other place, and to confine themselves to the banks of the river Balis. The English in those parts are under the protection of the governor of Jamaica, to whom they formed a petition, setting forth, " That the Spanish orders had occasioned a  
 " total stagnation of business; that the commanders of  
 " ships who had hitherto supplied the petitioners with  
 " provisions, seeing no probability of being paid for what  
 " they had already furnished, declined being longer con-  
 " cerned in that commerce; and that having no plantations  
 " of their own, and being cut off from the only supply in  
 " which they could confide, they saw no possible means of  
 " preserving themselves and their families from famine." In consequence of this petition Governor Lyttleton sent an agent from Jamaica to inquire into the true state of the grievances complained of, and to use his best endeavours to redress them. Upon inquiry it was found, that the order of the Spanish governor of Baccabar was in consequence of a letter of the 29th of December, 1763, written by Mr. d'Estines, captain-general of Jucatan, who had arrived at Campeachy on the 7th of the same month. This letter enjoined the necessity of confining the logwood

cutters to particular districts, in order to prevent the Spaniards from being imposed on by pretenders to the rights of British subjects. Accordingly the English were limited to twenty leagues up the south side of the new river; in the river Balis, and four leagues to the southward of its mouth, they were not to be interrupted, but if discovered beyond these limits, their negroes were seized, their property confiscated, and their own persons arrested.

While proper measures were used in America for removing these grievances, and for keeping the Spaniards to the seventeenth article of the treaty, which ascertained the right of the English to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, the earl of Rochford, then ambassador at Madrid, had instructions to complain of the conduct of Mr d'Estimes. To his memorial, which was dictated in the most spirited terms, the Spanish minister replied, " That he had no  
" advices from that governor relative to the subject of the  
" complaint, but that it was certainly his catholic majesty's  
" intention to abide by the seventeenth article of the last  
" treaty of peace, that he had already given positive  
" orders to his governor of Jucatan for that purpose, that  
" these orders should be renewed, and the English no  
" longer interrupted in cutting logwood in the stipulated  
" places."

This answer, though in appearance sufficiently explicit, did not satisfy the anti-ministerial party in Great Britain. They affirmed that the reply of his catholic majesty's minister was disingenuous, because it stipulated no satisfaction to the sufferers, nor any punishment on the offending party; and they called out for an immediate declaration of war against Spain. Partly, perhaps, in order to quiet the violence of their clamours, the earl of Rochford was ordered to make fresh remonstrances. These occasioned the sending of new orders to the governor of Jucatan, in which his proceedings with regard to the British subjects



in the bay of Honduras are disapproved by his catholic majesty; he is commanded to repair their injuries, to give them no disquiet in future under any pretence whatever; it being the desire of the king of Spain to preserve peace with Great Britain, and to give the greatest proofs of his friendship to the British nation.

The pacific intentions of France and Spain, which had been sufficiently discovered in every transaction since the conclusion of the treaty, was entirely owing to the known strength of the British navy in those parts where the natural enemies of this kingdom are most vulnerable. The American seas were covered with English ships of war, which in a great measure interrupted the illicit commerce between the British colonies and the French and Spanish settlements. This occasioned affecting representations to be sent from across the atlantic. The colonists complained that all the British ships of war were now converted into guarda-costas, and their commanders into so many custom-house officers, who seized every foreign ship carrying gold and silver to be exchanged for British commodities; and they asserted that, if this resource by which they were supplied with specie from France and Spain was cut off, it would be impossible for them to make their remittances to England.

The universality of these complaints engaged the ministry to mitigate the rigour of the orders which they had sent out at the conclusion of the peace to the West India governors, and commanders of ships, for annoying the contraband trade of the colonies with France and Spain. The navy of Great Britain was thus delivered from a service, which was in some measure unworthy of that dignity and splendour by which it had been distinguished; and a few vessels were henceforth employed in an undertaking which was more suitable to the naval greatness of this island.

It had long been a question with the learned, whether

the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere contained another continent, or whether so great a part of the globe exhibited only an immense expanse of water. The former opinion seemed to be rendered probable by analogical reasoning concerning the geography of the earth, and received some additional strength from the various discoveries of new lands in those remote parts, by the several commercial powers who held possessions in America. The English, Portuguese, Dutch, and French navigators had distinguished themselves, for above two centuries, in this immense field of enterprise, and, although they failed in all their attempts to determine the main question, they met with such a variety of new objects as gave rise to other questions, and excited fresh curiosity. Soon after the accession of his present majesty to the throne, a design was formed of sending out vessels for examining with particular attention the wonders of the southern hemisphere, and for confirming what was true and detecting what was false in the various and contradictory accounts of former navigators. In the year 1764, the kingdom being then in a state of profound peace, the Dolphin and the Tamer, the former a ship of war of the sixth rate, and the latter a sloop mounting sixteen guns, were despatched for this purpose, under the command of Commodore Byron, whose instructions, dated the 17th of June in that year, explain the nature and object of the expedition.

“ Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of  
“ this nation as a maritime power, to the dignity of the  
“ crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of  
“ the trade and navigation thereof, than to make discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and whereas  
“ there is reason to believe that lands and islands of great  
“ extent, hitherto unvisited by any European power,  
“ may be found in the Atlantic ocean, between the Cape  
“ of Good Hope and the Magellanic straits, within the  
“ latitude convenient for navigation, and in climates

“ adapted to the produce of commodities useful in com-  
 merce ; and whereas his majesty’s islands called Pepy’s  
 island and Falkland islands, lying within the said  
 track, notwithstanding their having been first dis-  
 covered and visited by British navigators, have never  
 yet been so sufficiently surveyed, as that an accurate  
 judgment may be formed of their coasts and product,  
 his majesty taking the premises into consideration, and,  
 conceiving no conjuncture so proper for an enterprise  
 of this nature as a time of profound peace, which his  
 kingdoms at present happily enjoy, has thought fit that  
 it should now be undertaken.” Captain Byron, pur-  
 suant to these instructions, sailed from the Downs on the  
 21st of June ; and having visited the Falkland islands,  
 passed through the straits of Magellan into the Pacific  
 ocean, where he discovered the islands of Disappointment,  
 George, Prince of Wales, Danger, York island, and  
 Byron island. He returned to England in the month of  
 May in the year 1766—having determined in the course of  
 this long navigation many doubtful points, the result of  
 which is highly interesting to the public, and may be of  
 great importance to future navigators.

Commodore Byron came in sight of Cape Frio on the  
 coast of Brazil on the 11th of September, and anchored  
 the day following in the great road of Rio de Janeiro.  
 This city is governed by the viceroy of Brazil, who re-  
 ceived the English officers with a ceremonious politeness.  
 The people on board the commodore’s ship, having been  
 supplied with fresh provisions and greens every day, were  
 very healthy ; but there being many sick on board the  
 Tamer, a place was appointed for them on shore, where  
 they soon recovered. On the 16th of October, both ships  
 weighed anchor ; and the crews were impatient to get to  
 sea, in order to avoid the excessive heats which prevail on  
 that coast. They were obliged, however, to remain five  
 days above the bar, waiting for the land breeze ; nor was

it without much difficulty they got out at last, on account of the narrowness of the entrance between the two last forts, which renders the passage so dangerous that the ships must have been lost, had they followed the advice of the Portuguese pilot. During the delay at Rio de Janeiro several English sailors were decoyed by the Portuguese to leave their respective ships. This is a common practice on the coast of Brazil, especially at Rio de Janeiro, where the Portuguese, carrying on a great trade, spare no pains, nor labour, nor deceit to entice foreign seamen to enter into their service.

The commodore, having lost sight of the coast of Brazil on the 22d of October, called all hands upon deck, and informed them that he was not, as they imagined, bound immediately to the East Indies, but upon certain discoveries, which it was thought might be of great importance to our country, in consideration of which the lords commissioners of the admiralty had been pleased to promise them double pay, and several other advantages, if during the voyage they should behave themselves to his satisfaction. They all expressed the greatest joy upon the occasion; assured him they would undergo with cheerfulness every difficulty and danger in the service of their country, and obey his orders with the utmost zeal. The commodore continued to steer his course towards the south; and on the 11th November found himself in the latitude, 42 degrees 34 minutes south; longitude, 58 degrees 17 minutes west. While he was in the latitude of 35 degrees 50 minutes, he found the weather as cold as it is in the same season in England, although the month of November is a spring month in the southern hemisphere, answering to the month of May in Europe; and they were 20 degrees nearer the line than we are in Britain; so much colder is it toward the southern regions of the earth. The people on the fore-castle were frequently deceived with the appearance of land. On the 12th November

they called out at once, "Land right a-head." The commodore looked forward under the fore-sail, and saw what at first appeared to be an island, rising in two rude craggy hills. He sent officers to the mast-head who called out that they saw land a great way to the windward. As they continued their navigation, the land still kept the same appearance, and the hills looked blue, as they generally do at a distance. Many of the seamen said they saw the sea break upon the sandy beaches; but having steered for above an hour, what they had taken for land vanished at once, and, to their great astonishment, appeared to have been a fog bank. After this extraordinary disappointment the commodore shaped his course for Cape Blanco, which he discovered on the 17th, but after two days sailing was still at a loss for Port Desire, no description being more confused than that which Sir John Narborough had given of that harbour. On the 20th he discovered an island, which corresponded with Narborough's description of Penguin island; and in the evening saw a remarkable rock, rising from the water's edge like a steeple, on the south side of the entrance of Port Desire. This rock is an excellent land-mark for the harbour, which is otherwise very difficult to find. During his stay at this place, which was till the 5th of December, the commodore ordered every part of it to be sounded, and found that there is no danger but what may be seen at low water. He discovered several wells of fresh water at a small distance from the beach, and found great quantities of guanicoes and wild fowl. Here is also such plenty of excellent muscles, that a boat may be loaded with them every trip at low water; and in some parts of the coast there are bushes which might produce a tolerable supply of fuel. On the whole, Port Desire would be a very convenient place for ships to touch at, if it were not for the rapidity of the current.

Having unmoored on the 5th December, they proceeded

in search of Pepy's island, which is said in Cowley's voyage to lie in 47 degrees south latitude. But they sought for it during several days in vain, and were at length obliged by hard weather to steer for the Cape Virgin Mary, the north entrance of the straits of Magellan. On the 20th they ran close in shore to this cape, there being a long spit of sand running to the southward. In the evening they brought up close to this spit of sand, having seen many guanicoes feeding in the vallies, and a great smoke all the afternoon. At this place the Dolphin anchored, but the Tamer, not being able to fetch the anchoring ground, kept under weigh all night. However, both vessels anchored next morning two miles from the shore. This was the coast of Patagonia, which, according to very early accounts was said to be inhabited by a race of giants; but the veracity of these accounts had become doubtful, from the contradictory assertions of many later navigators who had been on that coast, and had never met with any men of an extraordinary stature. This circumstance naturally engaged the commodore's attention. When his ship, therefore, had come to an anchor, he saw exactly what had happened to the crew of the Wager, as mentioned in the account written by Mr. Bulkeley of her voyage. A great number of horsemen rode backwards and forwards directly abreast of the ship, waving in their hands something white as an invitation for them to come on shore. The commodore, being extremely desirous to know what these people were, ordered out his twelve-oared boat, and went towards the beach with Mr. Marshal his second lieutenant, and a party of men well armed, Mr. Cumming his first lieutenant following in the six-oared cutter. When they came within a short distance of the shore, they saw above five hundred people, some on foot, but the greater-part on horseback, who continued waving and hallooing, as invitations to land. They appeared to be entirely unarmed; but the commodore made signs to

them to remove to a little distance, with which they immediately complied. The English then landed, and were drawn up on the beach, where the commodore ordered them to continue, while he alone went forward toward the Indians, who retired as he approached. He therefore again made signals that one of them should come near, which one of them who appeared to be a chief immediately complied with. He was of a gigantic stature, and seemed to realise in part the tales of Polyphemus of old. He had the skin of a wild beast thrown over his shoulders, and his face was painted so as to make a most hideous appearance. The commodore did not measure him, but supposes his height to have been about seven feet. With this frightful Colossus he marched forward to join the rest, who still continued at a distance, as they had been desired. Mr. Byron made signs for them to sit down, which they readily obeyed. There were among them several women proportionably large, and few of the men seemed less than the chief who had first come forward. They received with much pleasure the trinkets which were distributed among them, and behaved in a most regular and orderly manner, no one testifying the least impatience or displeasure, that his neighbour was served before him, or that his present was better than his own. They made signs for the commodore to go along with them, and offered him one of their horses, but he made them understand that he must return to his ship, at which they expressed great concern. During the pantomimical conference, an old man often laid his head down upon the stones, and shutting his eyes for about half a minute, first pointed to his mouth, and afterwards to the hills, meaning probably, that if the strangers could stay all night, he would bring them some provisions. These people are not only tall, but well proportioned: except the skins which they wore with the hair inwards, most of them were naked, a few only having on their legs a kind of boot, with a short pointed stick

fastened to each heel, which served as a spur. When the commodore, and some of his people who had by this time come up, thought proper to leave them, not one of them offered to follow, but continued to remain in the same position in which they had been placed. They had a great number of dogs, with which they probably hunt the wild animals which serve them for food. Their horses were not large, nor in good case, yet they appeared to be nimble and well broken. The bridle was a leathern thong, with a small piece of wood that served for a bit, and the saddles resemble the pads which are used among the country people in England. The women rode astride, and both men and women without stirrups, yet they galloped fearlessly over the spit upon which the English landed, the stones of which were large, loose and slippery.

Mr. Byron, having quitted this part of the coast, and being in latitude 51 degrees south, and longitude 63 degrees 22 minutes west, observed on the 14th of January a low flat island, full of high tufts of grass resembling bushes. He continued his course along the shore of this island about six leagues, and then saw another island low and rocky. On the former he discovered one of the finest harbours in the world, which he named Port Egmont in honour of the earl, who presided at the board of admiralty. The mouth of this harbour is south-east, distant seven miles from the rocky island, which is a good mark to know it by. In every part of Port Egmont, where the whole navy of England might ride in perfect safety, there is great plenty of fresh water; and geese, ducks, snipes and other birds are so numerous, that the ship's company grew tired of them. Here are wild celery and wood sorrel in the greatest abundance, besides many other refreshments which are in the highest degree salutary to those who have contracted scorbutic disorders during a long voyage. Nor is there any want of muscles, clams, cockles and limpets; the seals and penguins are innumerable, and



it is impossible to walk on the beach without first driving them away. The coast, also, abounds with animals of a more dangerous kind. There are sea lions of an enormous size; and a very fierce quadruped resembling a wolf. The fangs of this creature are remarkably long and sharp; and it is so fierce as to run against every animal that it sees. It is not easy to guess how this quadruped should have gotten to these islands, which are distant at least one hundred leagues from the continent. The first navigator who visited those parts is supposed to be Captain Davies, the associate of Cavendish, in 1592. In 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins saw land, supposed to be the same, and, in honour of his mistress Queen Elisabeth, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. Long afterwards they were seen by some French ships from St. Malo; and Frezier, probably for that reason, called them the Malouins, a name which has since been adopted by the Spaniards. Commodore Byron thinks there is little reason to doubt they are the same called Pepy's Islands by Cowley; and he took possession of Port Egmont and all the neighbouring islands for his majesty King George the Third, by the name of Falkland Islands.

Commodore Byron having examined those parts with a degree of attention that had never been before bestowed on them, made sail for Port Désire, and on the 6th of February saw land, and stood in for the port. During the run from Falkland Islands to this place, the number of whales about the ship were so great as to render the navigation dangerous. On the 14th he put to sea, in order to go through the straits of Magellan, and to examine with attention the principal bays and harbours formed by the coast on each side. He entered the strait the 17th of February, and quitted it the 9th of April, having employed seven weeks and two days in the voyage, which was attended with incredible difficulties and dangers. These, however, were to be ascribed entirely to

his entering the strait near the time of the equinox, when the worst weather was to be expected · but at a proper season of the year, not only a single vessel but a whole squadron might pass the strait in less than three weeks. One great advantage of this passage above the doubling Cape Horn, is the facility with which fish is almost every where to be procured, with wild celery, scurvy grass, berries, and many other vegetables.

Having cleared the strait, he pursued his course to the westward, and on the 9th of May, being in latitude 26 degrees 46 minutes south, longitude 94 degrees 45 minutes west, determined to steer a north-west course until he got the trade wind, and then to stand to the westward till he should fall in with Solomon's islands, if any such there were, or make some new discovery. On the 31st, there was a great number of birds about the ship, which made him conclude that land was at no great distance. But none was discovered till the 7th of June, in latitude 14 degrees 5 minutes south, longitude 144 degrees 58 minutes west. Then a small island was observed at the distance of some leagues. In a very short time another island was discovered to windward, much larger than the first. The ship stood for the small island, which had a most beautiful appearance, being surrounded with a beach of the finest white sand, and within covered with tall trees, which extended their shade to a great distance. It seemed to be about five miles in circumference, and from each end of it a spit runs into the sea, upon which the surge broke with great violence. The natives appeared on the beach with spears in their hands, at least sixteen feet long. They made large fires, probably for signals, as the same appeared immediately after on the larger island. The commodore sailed round this island, but, to the great regret and disappointment of the ship's company, no anchoring place could be found within less than a cable's length of the shore, which was surrounded close to the beach with

a steep coral rock. The sailors, distressed with the scurvy, saw cocoa-nuts in great abundance, the milk of which is perhaps the best antiscorbutic in the world. They had reason to believe that there were limes, bananas, and other fruits which are generally found between the tropics, and, to increase their mortification, they saw the shells of many turtle scattered about the shore. Having viewed this forbidden paradise with sensations of inexpressible distress, they wrought up to the other island, which was discovered to be equally inaccessible. They perceived several other low islands, or rather peninsulas, most of them being joined one to the other by a neck of land very narrow, and almost level with the surface of the water. Here the cocoa trees are easily discovered, being higher than any other part of the surface. A boat being sent to sound the lee side of these islands for an anchoring place, the Indians ran down in great numbers to the shore, armed with long spears and clubs, and making use of many threatening gestures. A gun was fired over their heads, which made them fly to the woods; but the boat returned without being able to discover any soundings close in with the surf, which broke very high upon the shore. The commodore thus finding it impossible to obtain any refreshment here, named this cluster of isles the islands of Disappointment, and continued his voyage to the westward.

Land was again discovered in less than twenty-four hours, at the distance of six leagues. In the morning of the 10th of June, being within three miles of the shore, they perceived it to be a long low island, with a white beach, of a pleasant appearance; full of cocoa-nut and other trees. It was surrounded with a rock of red coral, and the natives behaved in the same hostile manner as those of the islands of Disappointment. No anchoring place was to be found, nor was it possible to establish any friendly intercourse with the Indians. When the vessel

came to the westernmost point of this island, the sailors observed another about four leagues distant. They visited every part of its coast, but could find no soundings. The boats having approached very near the shore, made signs to the natives, who appeared in great numbers, that they wanted water. The Indians readily understood them, and directed them to run down farther along the shore. Some of them swam off to our boats, carrying cocoa-nuts, and water in the shells. The principal object of the boats was to obtain some pearls; and the men, to assist them in explaining their meaning, had taken with them some of the pearl oyster shells, which they had found in great numbers upon the coast. But all their endeavours to make themselves understood by the Indians, were ineffectual; and, as no anchorage could be found for the ships, the commodore proceeded to the westward, having named these islands, which are situated in latitude 14 degrees 41 minutes south, longitude 149 degrees 15 minutes west, King George's islands.

On the day following, that is, on the 13th of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, land was again discovered, bearing S S W. distant about six leagues. The commodore stood for it, and found it to be a low and very narrow island, lying east and west, with a very green and pleasant appearance, but a dreadful surf breaking on every part of it. It abounds with inhabitants, is about twenty leagues in length, and lies in latitude 15 degrees south, and the westernmost point of it in longitude 151 degrees 53 minutes west. To this place, which was every where inaccessible, the commodore gave the name of the Prince of Wales island.

From the western extremity of this island he steered toward the north-west, and on the 16th saw vast flocks of birds, which always took their flight to the southward when evening came on. This appearance, as well as the observation that all the little islands which had been dis-

covered, were full of inhabitants, made it probable, that there was a continent, or at least some larger islands to the southward. But the sickness of the ship's crew made it impossible for them to pursue their discoveries in that direction. On the 21st of June, they were in latitude 12 degrees 33 minutes south, longitude 167 degrees 47 minutes west, and next morning discovered a most dangerous reef of breakers, at the distance of a league. Land was seen a little afterwards from the mast-head, having the appearance of three islands, with rocks and broken ground between them. The south-east of these islands is about three leagues in length between the extreme points, from both which a reef runs out, upon which the sea breaks to a tremendous height. The islands themselves had a more fertile and beautiful appearance than any before discovered, and, like the rest, swarmed with people, whose habitations were seen standing in clusters all along the coast, which is unfortunately surrounded in such a manner by rocks and breakers, that it cannot be approached without the most imminent danger. The commodore, therefore, named these the Islands of Danger. They lay in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes south, longitude 169 degrees 28 minutes west.

He steered from thence N. W. by W. and on the 24th discovered another island bearing S. S. W. distant about seven or eight leagues. It appeared, upon approaching nearer to it, to be low, and covered with wood, among which were cocoa-nut trees in great abundance. It is nearly thirty miles in circumference; a dreadful sea breaks upon almost every part of the coast, where no anchorage is to be found. The commodore sent out the boats with orders to land, if possible, and procure some refreshments for the sick. They brought off about two hundred cocoa nuts, which, to persons afflicted with the scurvy, were an inestimable treasure. They reported, that there was no sign of the island ever being inhabited. They found

thousands of sea-fowl sitting upon their nests, which were built in high trees, and these birds were so tame, that they suffered themselves to be knocked down, without taking to flight. The commodore was at first inclined to believe that this island was the same that in the Neptune François is called Maluita, and laid down about a degree to the eastward of the great island of St. Elizabeth, the principal of the Solomon's islands, but, being afterwards convinced of the contrary, he called it the Duke of York's island.

He continued his course till the 29th, in the track of Solomon's islands, but found no reason to believe that any such existed in the situation assigned them by the French. He discovered, however, on the 2d of July, an island bearing north, distant about six leagues. Next morning it was found to be low and flat, of a delightful appearance, and full of wood, among which the cocoa-nut tree was very conspicuous. It is extremely populous, and the natives, in more than sixty canoes, put off from the shore, and made toward the ship, which lay by to receive them. "After these Indians," says the commodore, "had gazed at us some time, one of them suddenly jumped out of his proa, swam to the ship, and ran up the side like a cat, as soon as he had stepped over the gunwale, he sat down upon it, and burst into a violent fit of laughter, then started up, and ran all over the ship, attempting to steal whatever he could lay his hands upon, but without success, for being stark naked it was impossible for him to conceal his booty for a moment. Our seamen put on him a jacket and trowsers, which produced great merriment, for he had all the gestures of a monkey newly dressed; we also gave him bread, which he eat with a voracious appetite, and after having played a thousand antic tricks, he leaped overboard, jacket and trowsers and all, and swam back to his proa. After this several others swam to the ship.

" ran up the side to the gun-room ports, and having crept  
 " in, snatched up whatever lay on their reach, and imme-  
 " diately leaped again into the sea, and swam away at a  
 " great rate, though some of them, having both hands  
 " full, held up their arms quite out of the water to pre-  
 " vent their plunder from being spoiled. These people  
 " are tall, well proportioned, and clean limbed, their  
 " skin is a bright copper colour, their features extremely  
 " good, and there is a mixture of intrepidity and cheer-  
 " fulness in their countenances that is very striking.  
 " They had long black hair, which some of them wore  
 " tied up behind in a great bunch, others in three knots;  
 " some of them had long beards, some only whiskers,  
 " and some nothing more than a small tuft at the point of  
 " the chin. They were all of them stark naked, except  
 " their ornaments, which consisted of shells, very prettily  
 " disposed and strung together, and were worn round  
 " their necks, wrists, and waists. One of these men,  
 " who appeared to be a person of some consequence, had  
 " a string of human teeth about his waist, which was  
 " probably a trophy of his military courage, for he would  
 " not part with it in exchange for any thing that I could  
 " offer him. Some of them were unarmed, but others  
 " had one of the most dangerous weapons I had ever  
 " seen. It was a kind of spear, very broad at the end,  
 " and stuck full of shark's teeth, which are as sharp as a  
 " lancet, at the sides, for about three feet of its length.  
 " We shewed them some cocoa-nuts, and made signs that  
 " we wanted more; but instead of giving any intimation  
 " that they could supply us, they endeavoured to take  
 " away those we had." The commodore sent out boats  
 to sound, and they reported that there was ground at the  
 depth of thirty fathoms within two cables length of the  
 shore; but as the bottom was coral rock, and the sound-  
 ings much too near the breakers for a ship to lie in safety,  
 he was obliged to make sail, without procuring any re-

freshments. This island, to which his officers gave the name of Byron's island, lies in latitude 1 degree 18 minutes south, longitude 173 degrees 46 minutes east. Here ended the discoveries made by the *Dolphin*. She afterwards shaped her course for the isle of Timor, which, to her great regret and disappointment, appeared to be no longer that delightful place of which the elegant author of Anson's voyage has given so luxuriant a description. From thence she proceeded to Batavia, and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, proceeded on her return to England. She came to anchor in the Downs on the 9th of May, 1766, having been just nine weeks in coming from the Cape, and somewhat more than two and twenty months upon the voyage round the world.

We have not interrupted the course of Commodore Byron's discoveries, by relating the transactions of the year 1765, which if not the ultimate cause, were the immediate occasion of those disturbances that gradually proceeded to such a degree of violence, as required the most vigorous exertions of the naval strength of this kingdom. The parliament, which assembled toward the close of the year 1764, voted sixteen thousand men to be employed in the sea service for the year 1765, including four thousand two hundred and eighty-seven marines; and a sum not exceeding four pounds *per man, per month*, for their maintenance. The ships stationed in the British seas had no call to exert their activity, but those on the coast of America were employed in the same service which had been attended with such bad effects the preceding year. The trade of America with Great Britain had increased, during the last years, and after the conclusion of the war, beyond the hopes and speculations of the most sanguine politicians. The Americans bought annually to the amount of three millions of British commodities. Their trade, however, was not confined to the mother country. It swelled out on every side, and having



filled all its proper channels to the brim, overflowed with a rich abundance. In short, the contraband trade kept pace with the regular, and was its most natural effect. This, doubtless, was an evil; but being connected with the cause of our prosperity, it was an evil that ought to have been treated with the greatest delicacy and address. Unfortunately for the interests of the British empire on both sides of the Atlantic, a gentleman now presided in the treasury, who had beheld with peculiar jealousy the increase of this contraband trade. Mr Grenville, when first lord of the admiralty, and not strictly called upon in his official line, had presented a very strong memorial to the lords of the treasury, heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit trade in America. We have already hinted at the bad consequences arising from the attempt to put an entire stop to the commerce between the British and Spanish colonies. These were seen and acknowledged even by administration. A law was made therefore, the 5th of April, 1764, which rendered legal, in some respects, the intercourse between the different establishments in the new world. But the same law loaded this commerce with very heavy impositions, and ordered the money arising from these to be paid in specie, into the British exchequer. While it was thought expedient to fit out armed cutters, under the command of sea officers, to prevent smuggling in the British seas, the naval commanders on the coasts of America were employed in rendering effectual the late commercial regulations. These gentlemen could not be supposed to become acquainted with all the forms which this business required. They were unacquainted with the cases in which ships were liable to penalties; nor did they better understand those cases in which they were even exempted from detention. Hurried on by the natural violence of their dispositions, and acting with that irregular vivacity and contempt of formal rules, which they had exerted with such advantage and glory in

defence of their country against the common enemy, they ruined the interests of trade, while they disappointed the expectations of the treasury. The commerce between British subjects was the first that suffered, notwithstanding that vast number and intricacy of bonds, clearances, cockets, registers, &c which had been established to protect it. The trade carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, which was so extremely advantageous to the former, was nearly annihilated. The new made custom house officers seized indiscriminately, all vessels carrying on that trade, whether belonging to fellow subjects or foreigners, which the ordinary custom house officers stationed on them, had always permitted to pass unnoticed. Besides the general traffic between the English, French, and Spanish Americans, there was a particular and most advantageous trade carried on between North America and the French West Indies. It consisted chiefly in an exchange of such commodities as must otherwise have remained a drug, if not an incumbrance, on the hands of the possessors. The balance was paid in specie to North America, which, together with the balance of the Spanish trade, enabled them to make their remittances to Great Britain. This intercourse between North America and the French West India islands, was considered as so necessary to the former, that it was permitted to be maintained during the first years of the war; directly, by means of flags of truce, indirectly, through the Dutch and Danish islands, and, at length, through the Spanish port of Monte Christi, in the island of Hispaniola. When the English, toward the conclusion of the war, had obtained the most distinguished advantages, and in a manner laid siege to all the French West India islands, government determined to put a stop to this intercourse, not so much in the light of a contraband trade, as in that of a treasonable practice, without which it would be impossible for these valuable islands to hold

out against our attempts to reduce them. When the war concluded, the arguments of treason ceased, and this intercourse again returned to its former flourishing condition. But, upon the establishment of the new revenue laws, it sunk under the same blow which destroyed the general commercial intercourse of the new world

Before the establishing of these laws produced any considerable effect in Great Britain, it was attended with very fatal consequences to the situation and circumstances, as well as to the temper and disposition of the colonists. Immediately on a stop being put to their trade, they came to a resolution not to buy any clothing they could possibly live without, that was not of their own manufacturing. Not having the usual returns to make to Great Britain, for the woollen goods which they usually purchased from her, they adopted a plan of retrenchment dictated by necessity, and gave up all hopes of being clothed in the finery of their mother country. The resolution taken with regard to this article, was rendered general by a vote of the house of commons, which followed the law imposing new duties upon their foreign trade: "That, towards farther defraying the necessary expenses of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties upon them." When this determination of the British legislature was known in America, the inhabitants entered into associations, not only to abide by their former resolution, taken in consequence of the interruption of their trade by the naval custom house officers, but to encourage as much as possible all kinds of manufacture within themselves. These measures were despised by the ministry, who concluded that because the wool of the colonies is not so good as that of Great Britain, it would be impossible for them not to depend upon her for that article; and because the other commodities which they purchased from this country, were such as it would be extremely inconvenient for them to

want, they must be soon disgusted with an agreement, entered into in a moment of resentment, which must be more distressing to themselves than injurious to the mother country. But the firm perseverance of the colonies, in adhering to the principles of their association, proved the weakness of this reasoning. They were ready to submit to every other hardship rather than yield to what they deemed an infringement of their liberties.

In consequence of this general disposition of persons of all ranks in these colonies, great evils began to be felt, and still greater to be apprehended. A temporary interruption of commercial intercourse between England and America immediately took place, which could not fail to be extremely prejudicial to the former. The numerous body employed in preparing, buying, or transporting goods to the American market, were deprived of employment. While individuals were reduced to beggary, the revenue suffered in proportion by the want of the export and import duties. Yet neither these evils, nor the fear of totally alienating America from the interests of Great Britain, deterred the ministry from passing that law, the bare suspicion of which had occasioned such disgust. The stamp act made its way through both houses, and received the royal assent by commission, the 22d of March, 1765.

A D  
1765.

The news of this unfortunate event first reached the province of New England, which of all the English colonies has ever had the strongest bent toward republican licentiousness. The sullen obstinacy and hatred which already possessed them, were converted, by this fresh instance of what their leaders taught them to deem little better than tyranny, into the most violent fury, which every where broke out into action. The ships in the harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the popu-

lace treated the act with the most licentious contempt; many of the better sort gradually mixed in these tumults, and the assemblies not only of New England, but of all the considerable provinces, which had by this time caught the flame, instead of barely conniving at the people's asserting their independence by tumultuous acts, proceeded to avow it themselves in the most expressive terms, grounding it on the same arguments which their friends on this side the water had already used to prove it. The history of what follows is that of the disgrace of Great Britain. The ministry, whether unwilling or unable to support by force of arms the law which they had thought proper to enact, resigned their places. Their successors yielded to the storm, instead of resisting it, while resistance could yet be effectual. They obtained a momentary popularity by repealing the stamp act, which had been so offensive to the colonies, and so hurtful to a considerable part of the trading interest of Great Britain. But the factious, turbulent spirit which had taken possession of the former, was far from being mollified by the lenient concessions in their favour, and the great consideration shewn to their circumstances by their legislature. The ministry, whose debility or moderation had tended to confirm them in their disregard to the authority of parliament, did not long continue in office. But the effects of their administration were permanent. The colonists were no longer satisfied in committing private acts of outrage; they did not content themselves with shewing disrespect to their governors and other servants of the crown; but openly set at defiance the power of the whole legislative body. Even the assembly of New York, a province where the ideas of legal subordination had been long and firmly established, voted in direct opposition to an act of last session, for providing the troops with necessaries in their quarters, and passed an act of assembly, by which these provinces were regulated in

mode totally inconsistent with that prescribed by parliament.

Administration combated this rebellious usurpation of power by another act of the legislature, incapacitating the assembly of New York for all legal functions, till they had in every respect complied with the British regulations respecting the troops. At the same time they opposed the licentious spirit of the other provinces by new revenue laws, which, as no vigorous means were used to enforce them, were as nugatory as the former. The Rockingham administration repealed the stamp act, but asserted the right of taxation, their successors, the duke of Grafton was now at the head of the treasury, exercised this right, by laying duties on the importation of glass, paper, and some other commodities, into the colonies. The officers appointed to collect this revenue were every where treated like criminals; and the authority of Great Britain was totally disregarded. Besides the tumultuous riots which happened in particular parts, the temper and general conduct of the whole people became every day more licentious. That republican spirit, which is as inconsistent with the genuine principles of the British constitution as it is agreeable to the wild doctrines and levelling principles in which the inhabitants of Boston had been nursed, began first openly to display itself in that capital. Having adopted resolutions of a nature the most violent and factious, the assembly there sent a circular letter, signed by the speaker, the 11th of February, 1768, to all the other assemblies of North America. In this they expatiated largely on the natural rights of men, and the tyranny of the British legislature, and they summoned the colonies to unite in one common cause for maintaining their privileges inviolate. This letter was answered by many of the provinces in a similar tone; and the flame of rebellion began to spread over the whole North American continent.

A D  
1766

A D  
1767.

A D.  
1768.

One vigorous measure gave it a considerable check in the place where it had first broke out. Two regiments were ordered from Ireland to support the authority of parliament over the inhabitants of Boston, and several detachments from different parts of the continent rendezvoused at Halifax for the same purpose. Upon the first rumour of these movements, the Bostonians were as much alarmed as if they had been on the point of suffering all the horrors of invasion from a cruel foreign enemy. The assembly, or convention, which on many occasions had treated not only their governor, but even the parliament of Great Britain with the most indecent asperity of expression, drew up a memorial in terms of great moderation, disclaiming all pretence to any authority whatever, and advising and recommending it to the people to pay the greatest deference to government, and to wait with patience the result of his majesty's wisdom and clemency for a redress of their grievances. If the most unhappy infatuation had not prevailed over the councils of Great Britain, the sudden change produced by this appearance of vigour might have opened the eyes of administration, and taught them that coercive measures alone could reduce the Americans to a sense of their duty. But instead of pushing the advantage which they had obtained, in order to destroy the very seeds of rebellion, the first deceitful appearance of tranquillity made them relax their severity; the Americans had time to recollect themselves and to recover from their panic; and the important moment was again lost of establishing, without great effusion of blood, the sovereignty of parliament over the whole British empire.

While so little attention was bestowed on preserving the dominions of which we were already in possession, continual efforts were made for extending the limits of our territories by fresh discoveries. In August, 1766, the

Dolphin, in which Commodore Byron had circumnavigated the world, was again sent out under the command of Captain Wallis, with the *Swallow*, commanded by Captain Carteret. They proceeded together to the west end of the straits of Magellan, and separated in the great southern ocean. Captain Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator before him had done in so high a latitude, but he met with no land till he came within the tropic, where he discovered the islands, *Whit-sunday*; *Queen Charlotte*, *Egmont*, *Duke of Gloucester*; *Duke of Cumberland*; *Maitoa*, *Otaheite*; *Eimeo*, *Tapanamou*, *Howe*; *Scilly*; *Boscawen*, *Keppel*, and *Wallis*, and returned to England in May, 1768. Captain Carteret kept a different route, in which he discovered the islands, *Osnaburgh*; *Gloucester*, *Queen Charlotte*, *Carteret*; *Gower*; and the strait between *New Britain* and *New Ireland*, and returned in March, 1769.

Captain Wallis having cleared the straits of Magellan the 12th of April, 1767, proceeded westward, but did not fall in with any undiscovered land till the 6th of June. A few days before the sailors had observed several gannets, which, with the uncertainty of the weather, inclined them to believe that land was not far distant. This belief was confirmed by their seeing a great many birds on the 5th: and the day after, being in latitude 19 degrees south, and longitude 157 west, they saw plainly from the deck a low island, at about five or six leagues distance. When they were within a few miles of this island they saw another, bearing south-west by west. The captain sent his boats manned and aimed to the shore of the former, which returned in a few hours, bringing with them several cocoa nuts and a considerable quantity of scurvy grass. The crews reported, that they had seen none of the inhabitants, but had visited several huts, or rather sheds, consisting only of a roof, neatly thatched with cocoa-nut and palm leaves, supported upon posts,



and open all around. They had found no anchorage, and the surf was so high that it was with difficulty they had gotten on shore, the whole island being surrounded with a reef of rocks, which rendered it extremely difficult of access. The captain, therefore, finding it answered no purpose to continue longer at this island, which, being discovered on Whitsun-eve, he called Whitsun island, stood away for the other, distant about four leagues. When the ship came under the lee of the latter, the boats were immediately despatched, but could find no soundings till within half a cable's length of the shore. They landed, however, and found the island sandy and level, full of trees, but without underwood, and abounding with scurvy grass, and wells of excellent water. As the boats approached the shore, the Indians thronged down toward the beach, and put themselves upon their defence with long pikes, as if to dispute the landing. The boats crew then lay upon their oars, and made signs of friendship, shewing at the same time several strings of beads, ribbands, knives, and other trinkets. The Indians still made signs for them to depart, but at the same time eyed the trinkets with such a wishful curiosity, as left room to expect that it might be possible to establish an intercourse. This, however, was not effected, but the boats landed, and the ship was supplied with water and other necessary refreshments. Captain Wallis took possession of the island in the name of George III. and named it Charlotte's island in honour of her majesty. It is about six miles long, and one broad, and lies in latitude 19 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude 133 degrees 4 minutes west. The same day that they left this place they discovered another island, bearing east by north, distant fifteen miles. Here the sea breaks over a reef of rock, running from east to west, and forms itself into a lagoon in the middle of the island, which is low, covered with trees, but without any huts or inhabitants. The Indians belonging to

Charlotte island had fled thither in their canoes when the English landed on their coast, and seeing their enemies, as they imagined, pursuing them to this place, they left their women and children on the beach, and advanced with pikes and fire-brands, making a great noise, and dancing in a strange manner. The soil of this island was sandy. there is no verdure under the trees, the shore every where rocky, and no anchorage. The captain therefore left a place where there was no prospect of obtaining any refreshment, having first named it Egmont island, in honour of the first lord of the admiralty. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 20 minutes south, longitude 138 degrees 30 minutes west.

On the 11th of June, about mid-day, they saw an island, bearing west south-west, and stood for it. At four in the afternoon they were within a quarter of a mile of the shore, but could find no soundings, the island being surrounded by rocks, on which the sea breaks very high. As to appearance, soil, and inhabitants, it differed little from the islands which they had just left. The captain named it Gloucester island, in honour of his royal highness the duke of that name. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 11 minutes south, longitude 140 degrees 4 minutes west.

In sailing westward the captain discovered two other small islands, the first of which he named after the duke of Cumberland, and the second after Prince William Henry. These, however, had nothing to recommend them above those already mentioned, so that he continued to proceed westward, in hopes of finding higher land, where the ship might come to an anchor, and such refreshments as they stood in need of be procured. On the 17th he discovered high land, with frequent fires, which proved it to be inhabited. This also was an island, nearly circular, about two miles in diameter. There was no anchorage to be found, but the inhabitants appeared

more numerous than the smallness of the place could support, which gave hopes that there were lands of greater extent not far distant, which might be less difficult of access. The captain having named this island, which lies in latitude 17 degrees 51 minutes south, longitude 147 degrees 30 minutes west, Osnaburgh, in honour of Prince Frederick, bore away to the south-west; and the same day discovered very high land in the west-south-west. This was the famous island of Otaheite, which Captain Wallis named King George III's island. It consists of two principal divisions, which are united by a narrow neck of land. The circumference of both is about forty leagues, lying in latitude 17 degrees 46 minutes south, and longitude 149 degrees 13 minutes west. The Dolphin happened to approach this coast the 18th of June, during a thick fog; and the crew were much surprised, when it cleared away, to find themselves in the middle of some hundreds of canoes. The Indians, who assembled to the number of many thousands, behaved at first in a friendly manner; one of them holding up a branch of the plantain tree as a token of peace. But afterwards having surrounded the ship with a number of canoes, loaded with stones, they began, on a signal given, to throw them with great violence, which obliged the captain to order some guns to be fired. The terror of the fire-arms soon made them desist from hostilities; and an intercourse was established by which the English procured hogs, fowls, bread, fruit, apples, bananas and cocoa-nuts, in exchange for nails, hatchets, and various trinkets, which the Indians held in great value. The Dolphin lay off this island from the 24th of June to the 27th of July; during which the English examined the interior parts as well as the coast, which they found to be luxuriantly fertile and extremely populous. The inhabitants are well lodged, and clothed with a stuff made of the macerated fibres of a shrub which grows in great abundance in their country. They are of

the ordinary European size, a tawny complexion, the men well made, and the women handsome. Captain Wallis could not discover what were their religious sentiments, or whether they entertained any ideas of superior and invisible powers. But having become somewhat acquainted with them, he found them not only just in their dealings, but generous and humane, and so extremely susceptible of attachment, that several of them, especially the queen of the island, were exceedingly afflicted when their visitants were obliged to depart.

After leaving this island, which has been examined with more attention in later voyages, the captain steered his course for Timian. In his way thither he fell in with several small islands, none of which afforded good anchorage. The principal of them is Boscawen's island, lying in latitude 15 degrees 50 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees west; Keppel's isle, in latitude 15 degrees 55 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees 3 minutes west; and Wallis's isle, in latitude 13 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude 177 degrees west. The boats, in examining the last, found that in two or three places there is anchorage in eighteen, fourteen, and twelve fathom, upon sand and coral, without a reef of rocks which surround the island. There is also a breach in this reef, about sixty fathom broad, and a ship, if pressed with necessity, might anchor here in eight fathom, but it is not safe to moor with a greater length than half a cable. The plans of all these islands were delivered by the captain on his return into the hands of the admiralty, with their longitudes and latitudes so accurately laid down, that succeeding navigators had no difficulty in finding them.

Captain Carteret, as we have already mentioned, separated from his companion after passing the straits of Magellan, and steered a course considerably nearer to the equator. On the 26th of July, 1767, being in latitude 10 degrees south, longitude 167 degrees west, he was

in hopes of falling in with some of the islands called Solomon's islands, this being the latitude in which the southernmost of them is laid down. What increased this expectation was the seeing a number of sea birds, which often hovered about the ship but the captain was not so fortunate as to meet with any land, and as he sailed over the southern limits of that part of the ocean in which Solomon's islands are said to lie, and Commodore Byron, in the voyage formerly described, had traversed the northern without finding them, there is reason to conclude, that, if there be any such islands, their situation in all our charts is erroneously laid down.

Captain Carteret continued his voyage nearly in the same parallel, toward the west; but did not discover land till the 12th of August, when he fell in with a cluster of islands, of which he counted seven. Having anchored at about three cables length from the shore, he soon observed some of the natives, who were black, with woolly heads, and stark naked. A boat was despatched in search of a watering place, at which the natives disappeared; and the boat returned with an account that there was a fine run of fresh water abreast of the ship, and close to the beach, but that the whole country in that part being almost an impenetrable forest, the watering would be very dangerous if the natives should endeavour to prevent it; that there were no esculent vegetables for the refreshment of the sick, nor any habitations as far as the country had been examined, which was wild, foresty and mountainous. The captain, therefore, tried some other places, where the sailors saw hogs, poultry, cocoa-nut trees, plantains, bananas, and a great variety of other vegetable productions, as they sailed along the shore. Unfortunately, however, an unhappy dispute arose between the boat's crew and the natives, who defended themselves bravely with bows and arrows, which they fired in regular platoons. This prevented all friendly intercourse; and the ship's company were so much

weakened by disease, that they could not hope to obtain what they wanted by force. The captain gave the general name of Queen Charlotte islands to the whole cluster, and assigned particular names to the most remarkable. That which he called Howe's, lies in latitude 11 degrees 10 minutes south, longitude 164 degrees 43 minutes east. Egmont island lies in latitude 10 degrees 40 minutes south, longitude 164 degrees 49 minutes east. The east sides of these two islands which lie exactly in a line with each other, including the passage between them of four miles, extend about eleven leagues, both of them appear to be fertile, and afford a very agreeable prospect, being covered with tall trees of a beautiful verdure. Lord Howe's island, though more flat and even than the other, is notwithstanding high land. At the distance of about thirteen leagues from the north-east point of Egmont island is another of a stupendous height and a conical figure, the top of which is shaped like a funnel, emitting smoke, though no flame. This he called Volcano island. To a low flat land, which, when Howe and Egmont islands were right a-head, bore north-west, he gave the name of Keppel's island. It lies in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes south, longitude 165 degrees 4 minutes east. The largest of two others to the south-east he called Lord Edgecumb's island, the small one Peiry's island; the other islands, of which there are several, he did not particularly name.

As all hopes of obtaining refreshment in those parts were at an end, and the ship was not in a condition of pursuing her voyage to the southward, the captain gave orders to steer north, hoping to refresh at the country which Dampier has named Nova Britannia. Accordingly he sailed from Egmont island the 18th of August, with a fresh trade wind, and on the 20th discovered a flat low land, in latitude 7 degrees 56 minutes south, longitude 158 degrees 56 minutes east, which he called Gower's

island. Here, to the great mortification of all on board, no anchorage could be found, but some cocoa-nuts were purchased from the natives, who approached the ship in their canoes. They were in every respect the same sort of people that had been met with in the neighbouring places. The night was exceedingly dark, and by day-break a current had set the ship considerably to the southward of the island, and in sight of two others, situated nearly east and west of each other. That to the east is much the smallest, and was named Simpson's island. The other is lofty, has a stately appearance, lies in latitude 8 degrees 26 minutes south, longitude 159 degrees 14 minutes east, and its length from east to west is above six leagues. It was named by the officers Carteret's island, in honour of their commander. A boat was sent on shore, which the natives endeavoured to cut off, and hostilities having thus commenced, the English seized their canoe, in which they found an hundred cocoa-nuts. The canoe was large enough to carry eight or ten men, neatly built, adorned with shell-work and figures rudely painted. The people were armed with bows and arrows, and spears pointed with flints. By some signs which they made, it appeared that they were not wholly unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. Like the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, they were quite naked, and equally dexterous at swimming and managing their canoes. In the following days the ship found no soundings at the small islands which she fell in with, and which the captain supposes to be those called Ohang Java, discovered by Tasman. They are nine in number, and to the north lie two others which are mentioned by no preceding navigator, and which the captain named Sir Charles Hardy and Winchelsea islands. The former lies in latitude 40 degrees 50 minutes south, longitude 154 degrees east; the latter is distant about ten leagues, in the direction of south by east.

On the 26th of August they saw another large island to the northward, which was supposed to be St John's island, discovered by Schouten, and soon after they saw high land to the westward, which proved to be Nova Britannia. The next day a north-westerly current sent them into a deep bay or gulf, which has been distinguished by Dampier by the name of St George's bay. From this place they sailed to a little cove at several miles distance, to which they gave the name of English Cove. Here they found wood and water in great plenty, also rock oysters and cockles of a very large size. Higher on the shore they procured cocoa-nuts, and the upper part of the tree that bears them, which is called the cabbage. This cabbage is a white, crisp, juicy substance, which, used raw, tastes somewhat like a chesnut, but, when boiled, is superiour to the best parsnip. For each of these cabbages they were obliged to cut down a tree, by which means they destroyed, in the parent stock, a great deal of cocoas, which are the most powerful antiscorbutic in the world. The ship's company, who were extremely afflicted with the disorder, recovered fast, and had an opportunity of examining the neighbourhood, where the country is high and mountainous, but covered with trees of various kinds, some of which are of an enormous growth, and probably would be useful for many purposes. Among others they found the nutmeg tree in great plenty, though the nuts were not then ripe, and appeared not to be of the best kind, owing, perhaps, to their growing wild, and being overshadowed by taller trees. The different kinds of palm, with the beetle nut tree, various species of the aloe, canes, bamboos, and rattans, grow with wild luxuriance. The woods abound with pigeons, doves, rooks, parrots, and a large bird with black plumage, that makes a noise somewhat like the barking of a dog. The people sent out to examine the country fell in with several habitations of the natives, which appeared by the



shells that were scattered about them, and the fires half consumed, to have been but very lately deserted. From the meanness of these hovels, it appeared that the inhabitants stood low even in the scale of savage life.

English Cove lies a few miles from Walrus island, which is distant about three leagues from Cape St George, the latitude of which is 5 degrees south, and its longitude 152 degrees 19 minutes east, about two thousand five hundred leagues due west from the continent of America. The captain weighed anchor the 7th of September, having taken possession of this country, with all its islands, bays, ports and harbours, for his majesty King George III. This was performed by nailing upon a high tree a piece of board, faced with lead, on which was engraved the English union flag, with the name of the ship and her commander, the name of the Cove, and the time of her coming in and sailing out of it. A boat had been sent out several times to examine the harbours of the coast, and from one of these expeditions returned with a load of cocoa-nuts, which she procured in a fine small harbour about four leagues west-north-west from English Cove. Of this harbour the captain received so agreeable accounts that he thought proper to visit it, and found that it was formed by two islands and the main. The largest, which is to the north-west, he called Cocoa-Nut island, and the smaller, which is to the south-east, he called Leigh's island. His officers named the harbour in honour of their captain; it is by far the best station they had fallen in with during their long run from the straits of Magellan. The captain would have continued here a sufficient time to give his people all the refreshments they wanted, if the lives of all on board, in their present unhealthy condition, the quantity of ship's provisions, and the shattered state of the vessel, had not depended upon their getting to Batavia while the monsoon continued to blow from the eastward.

He weighed anchor, the 9th, but was again driven by winds and currents into St. George's bay, which, contrary to what had been supposed, he found instead of a bay to be a channel between two islands. This channel he found to be divided by a pretty large island, which he named in honour of the duke of York, and several small ones lying scattered around it. The land of the Duke of York's island lies level, and has a delightful appearance, the centre is covered with lofty woods, and near the shore are the houses of the natives, extremely numerous, built among groves of cocoa-nut trees, the whole forming a prospect the most beautiful and romantic that can be imagined. The largest of the two islands that are divided by the channel or strait, which is about eight leagues broad, the captain left in possession of its ancient name of New Britain. It lies on the south side, and there is upon it some high land, and three remarkable hills close to each other, which he called the Mother and Daughters. To the northern island he gave the name of New Ireland, and to the strait that of St. George's channel. Continuing to steer along the coast of New Ireland, he discovered a large island, with a pleasant appearance, very populous, which he named in honour of the earl of Sandwich. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 53 minutes south, longitude 149 degrees 17 minutes east. All the time the ship lay off this island there was an incessant noise like the beating of a drum: and ten canoes put off from New Ireland, with about an hundred and fifty men on board. The people are black and woolly headed, but have not the flat noses and thick lips of the Africans. None of them would come on board, but conveyed such trifles as they exchanged for the nails and iron offered them by the English, upon the end of a long stick. The canoes were long, narrow, and neatly made: one of them could not be less than ninety feet; formed, however, of a single tree, rowed by three and thirty men, and without any appearance of

sails. These negroes, though stark naked, except a few ornaments of shells upon their arms and legs, had their heads and beards abundantly covered with white powder.

The western extremity of New Ireland the captain named Cape Byron. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 30 minutes south, longitude 149 degrees 2 minutes east. Over against the coast of New Ireland, to the westward of Cape Byron, lies a fine large island, covered with trees, to which he gave the name of New Hanover. To the westward of New Hanover he discovered, at the distance of eight leagues, seven small islands, which were named the Duke of Portland's islands; the middle of which lies in latitude 2 degrees 29 minutes south, longitude 148 degrees 27 minutes east. The ship was now clear of the strait, whose length from Cape St. George to Cape Byron is above eighty leagues. The necessity which pushed Captain Carteret on this discovery may be very advantageous to future navigators, as St. George's channel is a much better and shorter passage than round all the land and islands to the northward, and refreshments of various kinds may be procured from the natives inhabiting the opposite coasts of the channel, or the islands that lie near them, for beads, ribbands, looking-glasses, and especially iron tools and cutlery ware, of which they are immoderately fond.

The captain proceeded westward the 15th of September, and the same day discovered an island of considerable extent, with many others, lying to the southward. From these many canoes, crowded with Indians, paddled to the ship: they made various signs, which were repeated, to show that whatever they meant the same was meant to them. In order to invite them on board, the ship's company held up whatever trifles they thought would give them pleasure; but they had no sooner come within reach of the people on deck, than they threw their lances at

them with great force. It was necessary to repress their fury by firing small shot, with which one of them was killed, and the canoes rowed off with great expedition. In sailing along, many other canoes appeared, and behaved in the same hostile manner. From one, in which a man was killed by the shot of a musket, the rest precipitately leaped into the sea, which afforded an opportunity of seizing the canoe, which was full fifty feet long, though one of the smallest that had come out, and filled with fish, turtle, yams, and cocoa nuts. The ship being disengaged from this fierce and unfriendly people, pursued her course along the other islands, which are between twenty and thirty in number, and of considerable extent; one in particular would alone make a large kingdom. The captain, not having had an observation of the sun for several days, and there being strong currents, could not exactly ascertain their situation, but he judged the middle of the largest to lie in latitude 2 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude 146 degrees 44 minutes east, at the distance of five and thirty leagues from New Hanover. He called them Admiralty islands, and, if his ship had been in better condition, and provided with proper articles for the Indian trade, he would have examined them with particular attention, especially as their appearance is very inviting, being clothed with a beautiful verdure, the woods lofty and luxuriant, interspersed with spots cleared for plantation, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and houses of the natives, who seem to be very numerous. With these islands it would be easy to establish a commercial intercourse, as the superiority of our fire-arms would soon persuade the natives that all contest is vain; and the traffic would be advantageous on both sides, as the Indians might be supplied with many articles which they are greatly in want of, and the English might in all probability be supplied with the valuable spiceries produced in the Moluccas; for the Admiralty islands lie in the same degree of latitude,

and the nutmeg tree was found on the coast of New Ireland, a soil comparatively barren and rocky.

Having passed these islands the ship continued her course west by north with a fine eastern breeze, and on the 19th discovered two small islands, both low land, level and green. The nearest the captain called Duour's island. Its latitude is about 1 degree 14 minutes south, its longitude 143 degrees 21 minutes east. At no great distance is the other, which was called Matty's island, and two others, still smaller, lying to the south-west, were called Stephen's islands. All these have a beautiful green appearance, are covered with trees, and replenished with inhabitants. On the 25th of September the ship fell in again with land, which proved to be three islands, the largest lying fifty miles north of the line, and in longitude 137 degrees 51 minutes east. Several canoes soon came off, filled with the natives, who, after making signs of peace, came on board without the least appearance of fear or distrust. They sold their cocoa-nuts with great pleasure for small pieces of iron. They are of the Indian copper colour, their features pleasing, their teeth remarkably white and even, of the common stature, nimble, vigorous and active in a surprising degree. They are not, like the other people on all the islands that had been visited, quite naked, though they had only a slight covering for the waist, which consisted of a narrow piece of fine matting. They offered to leave a certain number of their people as pledges, if the sailors would go on shore, to which they strongly urged them: and one of them would by no means leave the ship when she pursued her course; the captain carried him to Celebes, where, being taken ill at sea, he unfortunately died. The islands from which he had been taken were remarkably small and low, the largest being no more than five miles in compass. The captain gave them the name of Freewill islands, from the sociable and benevolent disposition of the natives.

The remaining route of Captain Carteret to the coast of Mindanao, and from thence to the island of Celebes, had been explored by Dampier and other navigators. But the captain has rectified several mistakes which his predecessors had fallen into, particularly in the account of the strait of Macassar. He made the entrance of this strait the 14th of November, and anchored before the town of Macassar the 15th of December. In the neighbourhood of this place he obtained permission, after much altercation and many threats used with the Dutch governor, to continue a considerable time, until the crew were a little recovered from their languor and debility, and the ship put in a condition to undertake her voyage to Batavia. This voyage being successfully performed, the captain doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and had a pleasant passage to the island of St Helena. He left this place the 21th of January, 1769, to prosecute his voyage to England; and after a month's navigation discovered a ship to leeward, in the south-west quarter, which hoisted French colours. When this ship was near enough to haul the Swallow, Captain Carteret was surprised to hear the Frenchman mention his own name as well as that of his ship, inquiring after his health, and telling him, that after the return of the Dolphin to Europe, it was believed he had sailed shipwreck in the strait of Magellan, and that two ships had been sent out in quest of him. The captain asked in his turn who it was that was so well acquainted with all these particulars, and how this knowledge had been acquired. The Frenchman answered, that the ship was in the service of their East India company, commanded by Mr Bougainville, returning from the isle of France, who had got an account of the voyage of the Dolphin and Swallow from the French Gazette at the Cape of Good Hope. An offer was then made of supplying the Swallow with refreshments, which was a mere verbal civility, as the ship had immediately sailed from

the same places at which Mr. Bougainville himself had been supplied, and it was asked if Captain Carteret had any letters to send to France. As he happened to have several, which he had received from French gentlemen at the Cape, this furnished an occasion to Mr. Bougainville to send his boat on board, which was precisely what he desired. A young officer, dressed in a waistcoat and trowsets, but whose rank Captain Carteret soon found to be superior to his appearance, came down to the cabin, and being asked several questions by Captain Carteret, to which he replied with great readiness and ingenuity, contrived to introduce inquiries concerning the straits of Magellan, the hardships which the *Swallow* had suffered in her voyage, and other topics equally interesting. These questions the captain endeavoured to elude as long as it was possible; but the queries of the young Frenchman becoming too particular and troublesome, having desired to know on what side the equator the *Swallow* had crossed the South Seas, the captain rose up abruptly with some marks of displeasure. His visitor was going to make an apology, to prevent which Captain Carteret desired him to present his compliments to Mr. Bougainville, and in return for his obliging civilities, present him with one of the arrows with which the Indians had wounded some of the English.

When the captain came on deck he was asked by his lieutenant whether the Frenchman had entertained him with an account of his voyage. This led him to explain the general purport of their conversation, upon which the lieutenant observed, that the boat's crew had not kept their secret as well as their officer, but given sufficient intimation, that they had been round the world, mentioning the different places they had touched at, and many particulars of their voyage. This disingenuous artifice of Mr. Bougainville, to draw Captain Carteret into a breach of his obligation to secrecy, was unworthy of that spirit of enterprise, which led him to undertake so

dangerous a navigation, which he has related with so much elegance.

According to his own account, he sailed from France in November, 1766, in the frigate *La Boudeuse*; and having spent some time on the coast of Brazil, and at Falkland islands, got into the Southern ocean, by the straits of Magellan, in January, 1768. In this ocean he discovered the four Facardines, the isle of Lanciers, Harpe island, Thrum Cap, and Bow island. About twenty leagues farther to the west he discovered four other islands, and afterwards fell in with Otaheite, isles of Navigators, and Forlorn Hope, which to him were new discoveries. He then passed through between the Hebrides; discovered the shoal of Diana, the land of Cape Deliverance; several small islands to the north; passed the coast of New Ireland; touched at Batavia; and arrived in France in March, 1769, about the same time that Captain Carteret arrived in England.

The admiralty did not wait for his arrival to fit out another expedition, which was attended with circumstances peculiarly interesting. The brilliant discoveries of Captain Wallis, who returned to England, in May, 1768, inspired the most sanguine hopes of completing the great purpose for which all these voyages had been undertaken. Many southern lands were already discovered, which heightened the probability of finding at length the great *Terra Australis incognita*, which had been so long sought for in vain. Among the countries which Wallis had discovered and explored, was the island of Otaheite, the situation of which appeared extremely proper for answering a particular purpose, which the admiralty had in their view in the present expedition, besides the general design of discovering unknown lands. The year 1769 was rendered remarkable by the transit of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun; a phenomenon of the greatest importance to the sciences of astronomy, geo-



graphy and navigation; and which every where engaged the attention of the learned in those branches of knowledge. In the beginning of the year 1768, the royal society presented a memorial to his majesty, setting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate observations of this transit in different parts of the world; particularly from a set of such observations made in a southern latitude, between the 140th and 180th degrees of longitude, west from the royal observatory at Greenwich, but that the society were in no condition to defray the expense necessary for equipping vessels to convey the observers to their destined stations. In consequence of this memorial, the admiralty were directed by his majesty to provide proper vessels for the purpose. Accordingly, the *Endeavour* bark, which had been built for the coal trade, was purchased and fitted out for the southern voyage, and the command of her entrusted to Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, Cook, himself a distinguished member of the royal society, and appointed by his associates, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green, the astronomer, to make the requisite observations on the transit.

Captain Cook sailed from Deptford the 30th of July, 1768, with instructions to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the Pacific ocean, by proceeding southward to the latitude of 40 degrees, and if he did not find land to continue his voyage to the west, between the latitudes of 40 degrees and 35 degrees south, till he fell in with New Zealand, which he was directed to explore; and thence to return to England by such route as he should judge most convenient.

In executing these instructions, Mr. Cook endeavoured to make a direct course to Otaheite, and in part succeeded; but when he came within the tropic he fell in with several islands, which had not been before disco-

vered. He remained three months at Otaheite, and then visited many neighbouring islands, till then unknown. On the 6th of October, 1769, he fell in with the east side of New Zealand, and continued exploring the coast of this country till the 31st of March, 1770. He then proceeded to New Holland, and surveyed its eastern coasts, which had not been before visited; and passing between its northern extremity and New Guinea, afterwards touched at the island of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena, and arrived in England on the 19th of July, 1771.

Besides the astronomical purposes which were answered by this voyage, and the important discoveries of new lands, made in the course of the longest navigation hitherto undertaken, the expedition of Captain Cook was distinguished by another circumstance particularly interesting to the lovers of philosophy. The expedition was adorned by the presence of Mr. Banks, a man of letters as well as of fortune, who was accompanied by Dr. Solander, an accomplished disciple of Linnæus. Both these gentlemen were remarkable for an extensive and accurate knowledge of natural history, and being otherwise men of liberal education and principle, they were led to make various observations, not only on the natural curiosities and productions, but on the manners, policy, religion and language of the several countries which they visited. Seldom have men of such talents possessed that spirit of daring enterprize which prompts to the discovery and examination of unknown lands. Seldom have distant countries been visited and described by philosophers; for avarice and ambition, and not the thirst of knowledge, have generally excited to such undertakings men of a bold and hardy but of a narrow and illiberal spirit. The ingenious observations made during the course of the present voyage, tend to fill up the picture of which former navigators had only sketched the outlines.

The reception which Captain Cook and his companions met with from the Portuguese at Rio de Janeiro, where he put in, the 13th of November, in order to purchase provisions and necessaries, was most unworthy of the design in which they were engaged. That ignorant superstitious people could form no idea of the object of their voyage. The purpose of making philosophical discoveries they treated with the utmost contempt, and watched the persons of the English travellers with all the jealous severity of fear and ignorance. Mr. Cook continued his voyage to the straits of Le Maire, which separate Staten island from Terra del Fuego. He arrived at the entrance of the straits the 14th of January, which is near the middle of summer in those parts. As the weather was calm, Mr. Banks was desirous of examining the coast of the main land, and ascending a mountain which appeared at a little distance, in search of plants. This was effected; but so excessive is the cold in the southern hemisphere, that, at a degree of latitude which in the summer months is temperate in Europe, all those who undertook this expedition were in danger of being frozen to death; and several of Mr. Banks's attendants actually perished.

In this miserable climate the inhabitants appeared to be the most destitute and forlorn of all human beings. They have no dwelling but a wretched hovel of sticks and grass, which not only admits the wind, but the snow and the rain. They are destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art, having no implement even to dress their food. They have no other clothing than the skin of the guanicoe or seal, which is thrown over their shoulders, drawn over their feet, and worn round the waists of the women as a succedaneum for a fig-leaf. Shell fish seems to be their only food, which being in no great plenty in any particular place, obliges them to wander perpetually in small hordes, over those dreary and inhospitable regions, which appear so ill fitted to

to be the habitations of men. Yet these savage tribes are, perhaps, only miserable in the imaginations of those who survey them, and who, placing themselves in their situation, conceive what exquisite sufferings they would feel if reduced to the same manner of life. The wandering inhabitants of Terra del Fuego are contented with their lot. Though deprived of whatever is comfortable, they are studious to adorn their persons. Their faces are painted in various forms; the region of the eye generally white, and the rest of the face diversified with streaks of red and black.

The captain fell in with the island of Terra del Fuego about twenty leagues to the westward of the strait of Le Maire. The strait itself is about five leagues long and as many broad; and has a bay in the middle of it, which affords good anchorage, as well as excellent wood and water. The doubling of Cape Horn has been so much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to pass through the strait of Magellan; but Captain Cook's experience seems to prove the contrary; for he was no more than thirty-three days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, from the east entrance of the strait of Le Maire; whereas Captain Wallis employed above three months in getting through the straits of Magellan in the same season of the year.

Captain Cook, continuing his voyage in a north-westerly direction, observed the latitude, on the 24th of March, 1769, to be 22 degrees 11 minutes south, and longitude 127 degrees 55 minutes west. Some of the people, who were upon the watch in the night, reported that they saw a log of wood pass by the ship, and that the sea, which was rather rough, became suddenly as smooth as a mill-pool. However, they fell in with no land till the 4th of April, when an island of an oval form appeared at the distance of a few leagues. They approached it on the north side within a mile, but found no bottom with one

hundred and thirty fathom of line. The whole is covered with trees, especially palms and cocoa-nut trees; among the groves of which the natives were seen walking in great numbers. The captain named this Lagoon island. It is situated in latitude 18 degrees 47 minutes south, and longitude 139 degrees 29 minutes west. In pursuing his voyage westward he fell in with several other considerable islands at no great distance from the former. These were Thrumb Cap, the Groups, Bird island, and Maitea, to which Captain Wallis had given the name of Osnaburgh.

On the 11th of April land was seen a-head, which was known by its situation to be Otaheite, the same which is described in the voyage of Captain Wallis, to which he gave the name of King George III's island. When the ship came near to the shore, it was immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who offered cocoa-nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. Soon after arrived other canoes, in which were some of those Indians who had maintained a good deal of intercourse with the crew of Captain Wallis's ship, and who were immediately known to Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, who had gone round the world with that captain. One of these ancient acquaintance came on board, and as soon as the ship was properly secured, went on shore with the captain and the other gentlemen. They were all received with many marks of friendship by the hospitable Indians, and a treaty was ratified between them by exchanging the green branches of a tree, which was the symbol of peace among many ancient and powerful nations. The ship continued on the coast of Otaheite three months, trading with the natives, and examining the island. The ordinary rate of traffic was a spike nail for a small pig, and a smaller nail for a fowl; a hatchet for a hog; and twenty cocoa-nuts, or bread fruit, for a middling sized nail.

Looking-glasses, knives, and beads, are excellent articles of commerce, and for these every thing may be obtained which the natives can bestow. During the whole time that the English continued here, they lived in the most friendly intercourse with the Indians; and considered the island not as before in a cursory manner, but with a critical attention.

Though Otaheite lies within the tropic of Capricorn, it is one of the most healthy and delightful spots in the world. The heat is not troublesome, and the air is so pure that fresh meat will keep very well for two days, and fish one day. The winds generally blow from the divisions between east and south; the tide rises but little, and being governed by the winds is extremely uncertain. The coast is of a bold elevation, rises like an amphitheatre, and the mountains every where covered with wood, present to the view the most captivating prospect. The stones all over this island appear to have been burnt; and there are other marks of violent concussions and subterraneous fires, by which the face of nature has been altered in this and the neighbouring isles. The exterior ranges of hills are sometimes barren, and contain a great quantity of yellowish clay, mixed with iron ore; but this excepted, there are no other indications of metals, or valuable minerals of any kind.

The soil of Otaheite is a rich black mould, producing spontaneously a great variety of the most excellent fruits, sugar canes, which the inhabitants eat raw; ginger, turmeric, and a great number of other excellent roots, which are unknown in other climates. The trees are the greatest curiosity of Otaheite. The Chinese paper-mulberry tree is that of which the natives make their cloth. The trunk of the bread fruit tree, which furnishes nourishment to the whole island, is six feet in the girth, and about twenty feet to the branches. There is a species of the fig, the branches of which bending down, take fresh root in the

earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, united by a common vegetation, which have the appearance of one stock of astonishing magnitude. Another tree, covered with a dark green foliage, bears golden apples, which resemble the anana or pine-apple, in juiciness and flavour. The most beautiful tree in the world received the name of *Barringtonia*, the natives call it *Iuddoo*; it had a great abundance of flowers, larger than lilies, and perfectly white, excepting the tips of their numerous chives, which were of a bright crimson. The fruit, which is a large nut, has the property of various plants of tropical climates, of intoxicating fish, so that they come to the surface of the water, and suffer themselves to be taken by hand. There is a great variety of excellent fish, which, as they form the principal object of luxury, the catching of them is the main occupation of the natives. There are no venomous reptiles or troublesome insects, but ants and mosquitos. Besides poultry, exactly like those of Europe, there are wild ducks; beautiful green turtle doves; large pigeons of a deep blue plumage; parquets valued for their red falkers, and often seen tame in the houses of the natives. There are no quadrupeds in the island, but hogs, dogs, and rats; all which are extremely numerous.

The persons of the inhabitants being examined with particular attention, there was no occasion to alter the idea which Captain Wallis had given of them. Captain Cook rather seems to heighten the panegyric; and Mr. Bougainville affirms, that were a painter to delineate an Hercules or a Mars, it would be impossible to discover more advantageous models. The women of the lower ranks are of a smaller stature than the rest, which is attributed to their early and promiscuous intercourse with men; for the better sort, who do not gratify their passions in the same unbridled manner, are above the middle stature of the Europeans. The men of consequence in

the island wear the nails of their fingers long, which they consider as a very honourable distinction, since only such people as have no occasion to work can suffer them to grow to that length. The women always cut their hair short round their heads. Both men and women have the hinder part of their thighs and loins marked with black lines in various directions, by striking the teeth of an instrument somewhat like a comb through the skin, and rubbing into the punctures a kind of paste made of soot and oil, which leaves an indelible stain. This custom, which is called tattowing, is common to all persons beyond the age of twelve years; and the legs of people of superior rank and authority are checquered with the same decorations. Both sexes are not only decently but gracefully clothed with the stuff above-mentioned. The dress of the better sort of women consists of several pieces; one is wrapped round the waist, so as to hang down in the form of a petticoat, and being of a thin pliable texture, displays an elegant figure to the greatest advantage. "The women of Otaheite," says Mr. de Bougainville, "have features as agreeable as those of the Europeans; and are unrivalled in the symmetry and beautiful proportion of their limbs. The men who live much on the water are of a redder complexion than those who chiefly reside on shore. Some have their hair brown, red or flaxen, in which they are exceptions to all the natives of Asia, Africa, and America, who have their hair universally black."

Their houses are nothing more than a roof, scarcely four feet from the ground, raised on three rows of pillars, one row on each side, and one in the middle. The covering consists of palm leaves, the pillars of wood, and the floor is strewn with hay or covered with mats. These simple habitations contain no other furniture except a few blocks of wood, which serve them as pillows, and their ordinary apparel is made use of instead of blankets and



sheets. The size of the house is proportioned to the number which constitutes the family, and is seldom occupied except during the hours of repose. In these dormitories it is the established rule for the master and mistress to sleep in the middle, round them the married people, in the next circle the unmarried women, and the servants at the extremity of the shed, or in fair weather in the open air.

They are quite unacquainted with the method of boiling water, as they have no vessels among them that will bear the heat of the fire. Their meat is always broiled or roasted. They use shells for carving, but eat with their fingers. Some attempted the use of the knife and fork, in imitation of the English, but we are told by Mr. Hawkesworth, that they could not guide these implements; by the mere force of habit, the hand came always to the mouth, while the food at the end of the fork went to the ear. Their general drink is water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut. They have a plant called *ava ava*, of an intoxicating quality, which the men make use of sparingly; the women never; and they testified aversion for the strong liquors which were offered them. They eat alone, or at least only in company with a guest that happens to come in; and the men and women never sit down together to a meal. Persons of rank are constantly fed by their inferiours, frequently their women, and this custom is so strongly confirmed, that a chief who dined on board the Endeavour, would have returned without his meat, if one of the servants had not fed him. The origin of these singular customs has not been explained. The idea of cleanliness to which these people are so strongly attached, that they perform their ablutions several times every day, may perhaps account for the great men's requiring to be fed. But that a people remarkably fond of society, and particularly that of their women, should exclude its pleasures from the table, where, among all other nations,

whether civil or savage, they have been principally enjoyed, is truly inexplicable. Captain Cook imagined this strange singularity among the inhabitants of Otaheite, must have arisen from some superstitious opinion; but they constantly affirmed the contrary. They ate alone, they said, because it was right; but why it was right to eat alone they never attempted to explain.

These islanders, who lie on the ground, and inhabit huts exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, are remarkably healthy and vigorous, and generally attain to old age, without feeling the inconveniencies of this melancholy period of life. Mr. de Bougainville describes an old man, whom they saw on their landing, who had no other character of old age, than that remarkable one which is imprinted on a fine figure. His head was adorned with white hair, and a long white beard; all his body was nervous and fleshy; he had neither wrinkles, nor showed any other token of decrepitude. This venerable man seemed displeased at the arrival of these strangers, retired without making any return to the courtesies which they paid him, and instead of taking part in the raptures which the multitude expressed, his thoughtful and suspicious air seemed to indicate a fear, that the society of a new race of men might disturb the uninterrupted happiness which he had so long enjoyed. They are utterly destitute of medical knowledge, which they hold in contempt; but they are good proficient in surgery, the operations of which they often experience to be useful. One of the English seamen, when on shore, ran a large splinter into his foot, which his companion, after giving him exquisite pain, vainly attempted to extract with his pen-knife. An old Indian, who happened to be present, called a man from the other side of the river, who, having examined the lacerated foot, fetched a shell from the beach, which he broke to a point with his teeth; with which instrument he laid open the wound, and extracted the splinter: while

this operation was performing, the old man went a little way into the wood, and returned with some gum, which he applied to the wound, upon a piece of the cloth that was wrapped round him, and in two days time it was perfectly healed. This gum was produced by the apple tree; the surgeon of the ship procured some of it, and used it as a vulnerary balsam with great success.

The language of the inhabitants of Otaheite is soft and melodious, abounding with vowels, which renders its pronunciation easily acquired. It is almost totally without inflexion either of nouns or verbs; but a sufficient acquaintance with it has not been attained to determine whether it is copious or otherwise. It was impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce the English names of their guests, but they did not fail to come as near to it as possible, the giving of the name being an indispensable ceremony, which they never omitted when they introduced a new acquaintance. They converted the English names into words resembling Spanish or Italian; Cook they called Toote; Hicks, Hete; Mr. Gore, Toarro; Dr. Solander, Torano; Parkinson, Patini; Mr. Monkhouse, a midshipman, they called Matté, which signifies in their language dead, because he commanded a party that killed a man for stealing a musket. The nearest imitation they could reach of King George, was by calling him Kiliargo. They are not destitute of genius for the sciences, though they have no opportunity of cultivating them. A map of Otaheite, engraved for Captain Cook's first voyage, was taken out and laid before Tuahow the high admiral, without informing him any thing of what it was. He presently discovered its meaning, and was overjoyed to see a representation of his own country. These people have a remarkable sagacity in foretelling the weather, particularly the quarter from whence the wind will blow. In their long voyages they steer by the sun in the day, and in the night by the stars; all of which they distinguish separately

by names; and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months, during which they are visible in their horizon; nor are they less acquainted with the periods of their annual appearance. They reckon time by moons, thirteen of which compose the year. They divide the day and the night, each into six parts. They judge of the time of the day by the height of the sun. It is said, that the highest number for which they have names is two hundred. They express the distance from one place to another by the time it would take to run over it. They entertain no notion of the baneful influence of comets, but they consider those meteors which are called shooting stars, as evil genii.

The government of the inhabitants of Otaheite is compared by Dr. Hawkesworth to the early state of every nation in Europe under the feudal system. There is a king or sovereign in each of the two peninsulas into which the island is divided; with the lands of the different districts, whose possessions are cultivated by their vassals and villeins. The king possesses far less authority over the whole society, than each chieftain possesses in his own district, and the nobles are nearer on a footing with their sovereign than the lower ranks are with the nobles. Intermarriages are not permitted between the nobles and the vulgar; every advantage and honour is confined to the former; and even such articles of food as are reckoned delicacies, pork, fish and fowl, are only to be used by the nobility. Of these there are different orders, as in all the feudal kingdoms. There are different liveries, so to speak, to distinguish these orders; and the rank of every individual is ascertained by the height at which their servants wear their sashes. Like the ancient nobility of Europe, they enjoy the right of private war; and each nobleman at the head of his vassals, repels injuries, and maintains his rights, by the decision of arms. Their influence, indeed, over their followers is most powerful.

They have intelligence of every event; they receive notice of every crime that is committed; they bestow reward, inflict punishment, and their decisions are submitted to with the most passive and unreserved obedience. Otaheite, therefore, affords in miniature, the picture of two feudal kingdoms, for the whole inhabitants, including women and children, do not exceed six thousand. One circumstance alone, as it is related by Dr. Hawkesworth, is peculiar to this people. The child of the prince, or of the baron, succeeds to the titles and honours of his father as soon as it is born; so that a baron who was yesterday distinguished by epithets of honour, and approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments and uncovering the upper part of the body, is to-day, if his wife be delivered of a son, reduced to the rank of a private person; all marks of respect being transferred to the child, though the father still continues to possess and administer the estate. If this circumstance be authentic, it furnishes a remarkable distinction between the government of Otaheite and that of the feudal nations of Europe. In these, force generally prevailed over right. The weakness of age and sex often excluded from the succession those who were naturally entitled to it. The estate of a child or of a woman was often acquired by a distant collateral relation; even the destination of royalty proceeded not in a regular line, the uncle often usurping the rights of a son, the brother those of a daughter.

The religion of these islanders is not the circumstance which first attracts the attention of travellers. Captain Wallis, who first visited and described them, is inclined to believe, that they had not any religious worship or belief. But subsequent accounts inform us of their religious tenets, which are as superstitious and absurd as those of other pagan nations. They admit that great and primitive truth, that all is derived originally from one first cause. But they suppose the Supreme Being to have

impregnated a rock, which brought forth the year; which daughter, embraced by the father, produced the thirteen months; which, in conjunction with each other, produced the days. In the same manner were the stars and all the other objects of nature created, so that the idea of generation runs through the whole, an idea impressed with peculiar force on the imagination of these Indians, who of all men are particularly the most addicted to the sexual pleasures. They believe the existence of the soul after death, and of a greater or less degree of happiness to be then enjoyed; but they are said to have no conception of a state of punishment or reward hereafter. The share of happiness in a future life, they imagine, will be proportioned not to the merit but to the rank of individuals; the nobles enjoying the first distinction of felicity, while their vassals and villeins must be satisfied, even in the region of spirits, with a subordinate lot. This religious tenet is evidently derived from their political usages. The priesthood, as in many ancient countries, is hereditary. The priests are professedly the men of science, but their knowledge is altogether frivolous, consisting in being conversant in the names and rank of the subordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of the universe, handed down from one generation to another, by real tradition, in detached sentences, and in a phraseology unintelligible to those who do not belong to the sacred families.

The general manners and character of the people are such as naturally result from the limited state of society in which they live, and the faint gradations of improvement to which they have attained. Their passions, like those of children, are violent, but transitory. They pass suddenly, yet without any apparent cause, from an excess of grief to the transports of joy. Their propensity to particular friendships, like that of all rude people, is strong; and their fidelity inviolable. When the English visited

them for the second time, every Indian chose his friend. With a disposition naturally generous, they discovered a singular propensity to theft. Of this there are innumerable examples in all the accounts which are related of them. But perhaps it has not been sufficiently attended to, that their inclination to this vice might depend less on the depravity of their moral principles, than on their limited notions of property. Even after they had experienced the power of their new visitants, they continued to pilfer as assiduously as before; and persons who, in other respects, displayed no small elevation of character, had a particular predilection for riches acquired by stealth.

Another trait of their character, which had been in some measure mistaken by the first travellers into their country, is the licentiousness of their amours. Mr. de Bougainville and Dr. Hawkesworth assert, that there were no women in the island who had the smallest pretensions to chastity. This assertion, however, Captain Cooke discovered to be too general. The women of rank, that is, all the female noblesse, are not devoid of honour; although they do not imagine their inferiours ought to be condemned for yielding to promiscuous love. But, notwithstanding the exception which the captain has discovered, it must be acknowledged, that their manners in this particular are such as could scarcely escape observation and censure. When the Dolphin first appeared on the coast, a great number of women appeared on the beach, and were very importunate with the men in the boats to come on shore. They stripped themselves naked and endeavoured to allure them by many wanton gestures; and when they found, that notwithstanding all their endeavours to detain them, the boat was putting off, they pelted them with apples and bananas, shouting and showing every possible sign of derision and contempt. After this, canoes, with a number of women, came close by the side of the ship, where the same wanton gestures were re-

peated. A regular traffic being established on shore, it was settled that a river should separate the natives and the strangers, and a few only of the former should cross at a time, for the purpose of trading. Several young women were then permitted to cross the river, who, though they were not averse from the granting of personal favours, were tenacious of making the most of them. An iron nail was commonly the price of beauty; and in proportion to the charms of the damsel was the size of the nail which she received. The men scrupled not to promote this kind of dealing, for fathers and brothers would bring their daughters and sisters, for the purpose of prostitution to the sailors. When they presented the girl, they showed a stick of the size of the nail which was demanded for her, and he who came up to the price was entitled to the merchandize.

From the unbridled licentiousness of the inhabitants of this island, the French gave it the name of the new Cythera. When Mr. de Bougainville arrived on this shore, he was received with the same lascivious compliments which had been lavished on the English. "It was very difficult," says that officer, "with such seducing incitements, to keep at their work five hundred young French sailors, who had been deprived of the sight of women for six months." Notwithstanding the endeavours used to keep the crew in order, the captain's cook found means to escape on shore. He had no sooner singled out a fair one, than he was immediately encircled with a large party of natives, who stripped him of his clothes from head to foot, and with great tumult and violent exclamations, examined every part of his body very minutely. When their curiosity had been fully gratified they restored his clothes, and handing the girl to him, signified by signs sufficiently expressive, that she was very much at his service. But by this time the ardour of the Frenchman had subsided, and every tumultuous passion was absorbed



in that of fear. He intreated them, as the only favour they could bestow, to convey him on board, and he reached the ship more dead than alive.

When Captain Cook lay off this shore, the women of Otaheite had so totally divested themselves of all apprehensions of ill treatment from the English sailors, that great numbers of the lower class remained on board the ship, after the numerous tribe of visitants had returned on shore in the evening. They ventured, without scruple, to pass the night on board, having studied the disposition of British seamen so well as to know that they ran no risk by confiding in them, but, on the contrary, might make sure of every bead, nail and hatchet that their lovers could muster. The evening, therefore, was as completely dedicated to mirth and pleasure, as if the ship had been at Spithead instead of Otaheite. Before it was perfectly dark the women assembled on the forecastle, and one of them blowing a flute with her nostrils, all of them danced a variety of dances usual in their country, most of which were little consistent with European ideas of delicacy. Even the better sort are not entirely exempted from the national weakness. A chief named O-tai came on board, accompanied by his wife and two sisters; one of whom, named Morarai, was a most graceful figure, with the most delicate and beautiful *contours* of the hands and all above the zone; an ineffable smile sat on her countenance; her admiration at seeing the new objects on board the ship displayed itself in the liveliest expressions; nor was she satisfied with looking round the decks, but descended into the officers' cabins, attended by a gentleman of the ship. Having curiously examined every part, Morarai took a particular fancy to a pair of sheets which she saw spread on one of the beds, and made a number of fruitless attempts to obtain them from her conductor, to whom they belonged. He proposed a special favour as the condition. She hesitated some time, and at last, with seeming reluct-

ance, consented. But when the yielding nymph was about to surrender, the ship struck violently on the reef, and the affrighted lover, more sensible to danger than to his fair mistress, quitted her unrifled charms, and flew upon deck. Repeated shrieks made the condition of the ship more alarming; every person on board exerted himself to the utmost on this emergency; at length they brought her again to float. When the danger was over, the officer bethought himself of his abandoned fair one; but on visiting his cabin he found her gone, and his bed stripped of its sheets. Morarai, however, had conducted the theft with such dexterity, as would have rendered it not only excusable but praise-worthy among the Spartans; having appeared on deck, and continued a considerable time, without exciting any mistrust of her acquisition. Four days after this adventure, the same officer, accompanied by several others, strolling about the country, came to the spot where O-tai and his fair sister resided. He thought it to no purpose to inquire after his lost bed linen, but chose rather to renew his solicitations to the lady. Beads, nails, and various trifles were presented to her, which she readily accepted, but remained inflexible to the passionate addresses of her lover. She was already in possession of the sheets, which were the only wealth of sufficient value in her eyes to induce her to admit the transient embraces of a stranger; though she was accused by her countrywomen of admitting tow-taws, or men of the lowest rank, to her bed at night; and thus imposing on her brother, who would have been highly offended at the prostitution, not of her person, but of her dignity.

Though it be evident that the general character of the natives of Otaheite is extremely deficient in point of modesty, yet many of their customs, perhaps, are more immodest in appearance than in reality. The usual way of expressing their respect to strangers is by uncovering themselves to the middle; and a ceremony of a similar

kind, but expressive only of respect, was used by Oorattao, a woman of rank, who visited Mr. Banks. After laying down several plantain leaves, a man brought a large bundle of cloth, of the manufacture of that country, which having opened, he spread it piece by piece upon the ground, in the space between Mr. Banks and his visitants. There were in all nine pieces, but having spread three pieces one upon another, the lady came forward, and stepping upon them, took up her garments all round her to the waist; she then turned about three times with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, which having done, she dropped the veil: when other three pieces were spread, she repeated the same ceremony, and so the third time, when the last three pieces were laid out; after which the cloth was again rolled up. and delivered to Mr. Banks, as a present from the lady, who, with her attending friend came up, saluted him, and received such presents in return as he thought proper to offer them. Examples of this kind would lead us to believe, that the indecency of the natives of Otaheite, like that of most nations who have made small advancements in the arts of social life, proceeds less from a natural propensity to voluptuous excess, than from their imperfect notions of propriety. As what has appeared in them a strong inclination to the vice of stealing, arises, probably, in some degree from their limited ideas of property, to the apparent licentiousness of their manners, with regard to the fair sex, may proceed from a want of those cultivated notions of delicacy which prevail in polished countries. They see nothing indecent in the unreserved intercourse of the sexes; among them Venus is the goddess of hospitality; her worship is celebrated without mystery: and every passion is gratified before witnesses, without any more signs of shame, than appears in other countries when people associate at a meal. Yet it must not be dissembled, that some of their customs

discover a certain refinement in sensual pleasure, which is the characteristic of a degree of depravity that could hardly be expected in their simple state. \*

We return from this digression, in which we have endeavoured to reduce into a small compass the various accounts of Wallis, Cook, Foster, and Bougainville, concerning the manners and character of a people, whose discovery is one of the most brilliant that has been made by modern navigation. The island, indeed, is more interesting to the philosopher than to the merchant, as it produces nothing that can be converted into an article of distant traffic, and can be useful only in affording refreshments to shipping, in their voyages through those seas. Captain Cook took his leave of Otaheite the 13th of July, 1769, having carried with him Tupia, one of the natives, who informed him that four of the neighbouring islands lay at the distance of less than two days sail. The names of these were Ulietea, Hyaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola.. The first is about twenty-one leagues in circuit. Its productions are the same as those of Otaheite, nor is there any thing to distinguish the appearance and manners of its inhabitants from those of that island. The same may be said of the other three, as well as of the small islands of Tubai and Maurua; to all of which, as they lie contiguous to each other, Captain Cook gave the name of the Society Islands, but did not think it necessary to distinguish them separately by any other names. than those by which they are known to the natives. They are situated between the latitudes of 16 degrees 10 minutes, and 10 degrees 55 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 150 degree 17 minutes, and 152 degrees west, from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulietea and Otaha lie at the distance of two miles from each other, and are both inclosed within one reef of coral rocks, so that there is no

\* Hawkesw. II. 125. Bougainville, 230. &c.

passage for shipping between them. Ulietea affords a great many good harbours both on the east and west side; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow: but when a ship is once in, nothing can hurt her. The northernmost, on the west side, in which the ship lay, is called Ohamaneno; the channel leading into it is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low sandy islands. This harbour, though small, is preferable to the others, because it is situated in the most fertile part of the island, and where fresh water is easily to be got. Otaha also affords two good harbours, one on the east side and the other on the west. The island of Bolabola lies north-west and by west from Otaha, distant about four leagues. It is surrounded by a reef of rocks, and several small islands, in compass together about eight leagues. This island is rendered remarkable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almost perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two peaks, one higher than the other. The captain did not take time to examine the harbours, but understood that Bolabola is not deficient in this particular. The island of Housheine is situated in the latitude of 16 degrees 43 minutes south, and longitude 150 degrees 52 minutes west, distant from Otabeite about thirty-one leagues, and about seven leagues in compass. The harbour, which is called by the natives Owalle, lies on the west side, under the northernmost high land. The climate is more forward than that of Otabeite, and the country abounds with provisions. The inhabitants of all these islands treated the English with the most courteous hospitality; and testified great sorrow at the departure of their guests, which, however, did not take place till Captain Cook had, with the usual formality, taken possession of their territories in the name of his majesty King George.

The captain left these shores the 9th of August, 1769, and met with nothing remarkable in his course till the 13th

about noon, when he saw land bearing south-east, which Tupia told him was an island called Oheteroa. It is situated in the latitude of 22 degrees 27 minutes south, and in the longitude of 150 degrees 47 minutes west, about thirteen miles in circuit, and the land rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other islands which had been discovered in those seas. The chief produce seems to be a tree of which they make their weapons, called in their language Etoa; many plantations of it were seen along the shore, which is not surrounded, like the neighbouring islands, by a reef. The ship, or boats, made the whole circuit of Oheteroa, and found there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it; and the hostile disposition of the natives rendering it impossible to land without bloodshed, the captain determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could justify the risk of life.

Tupia mentioned several islands lying at different distances and in different directions from this, between the south and the north-west; and that, at the distance of three days sail, there was an island called Mancoa, or Bird island. But so many discoveries of this kind had already been made, that the captain purposed to spend no more time in search of islands, only in examining those which he happened to fall in with during his course, and to proceed southward in search of a continent. After a navigation of above six weeks, land was discovered, which became the subject of much eager conversation, it being generally believed to be the *Terra Australis Incognita*. It was indeed the coast of New Zealand, which, ever since it had been discovered by the Dutch navigator Tasman, in 1642, has passed with most geographers for a part of the great southern continent. But Captain Cook discovered that New Zealand consisted of two islands, divided by a strait which is called after his name, and situated between the latitudes of 34 degrees 22 minutes

and 47 degrees 25 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees and 180 degrees east. This indefatigable navigator employed almost six months in fully exploring the coasts of both islands, of which he distinguished the several bays, rivers, capes, &c. by particular names. The first place where he anchored, on the northernmost island, he called Poverty bay, because he found in it no refreshments, nor any thing except wood necessary for a ship. From hence he proceeded southward almost to the forty-first degree of latitude; and then reversing his course, sailed to the north-eastern point of land, and the broadest part of the whole island. He afterwards anchored in a port, situated in latitude 56 degrees 54 minutes south, and in longitude 184 degrees 4 minutes west, which, as he here made an observation of the transit of Mercury over the sun, he called Mercury bay. The river which empties itself into the head of this bay he called the Thames, on account of its resemblance to the English river of that name. The banks of this river are represented as the most eligible place in those islands for settling a colony. More to the north-west is the bay of Islands, so named from the great number of little islands that line its shores, forming several harbours equally safe and commodious, where there is depth and room for any number of shipping. Captain Cook, in doubling the northern extremity of New Zealand, met with a gale of wind, which, for its strength and continuance was such as he had never experienced before. He was three weeks in making ten leagues, and five weeks in making fifty. Having doubled this cape he proceeded along the western shore, which is extremely barren, consisting of banks of white sand, and which he therefore called the Desert Coast. The southern part of this coast bends toward the west, and is distinguished by a remarkably high peak of a most majestic appearance, covered with perennial snow. This peak, which received the name of Mount Egmont, is

surrounded by a flat country of a pleasant appearance, cloathed with wood and verdure. Having coasted this shore, the captain entered the strait which divides the northern from the southern island. The latter underwent a very accurate survey. On the eastern coast he discovered a small island of a circular form, in the latitude of 43 degrees 44 minutes south, which he called Banks's island. Proceeding southward he found the extremity of the land almost separated from the rest, it being joined by a long and narrow isthmus. The south-east side is of very dangerous navigation, on account of the ridges of rocks which rise for many leagues out of the sea. But the western extremity affords a commodious bay, with many harbours and coves scattered on different parts of it, where good anchorage may be found. On the shore, the soil is a deep black mould, formed of decayed vegetables. The trees gradually diminish in height and circumference, in receding from the shore, contrary to what is observed in other parts of the world. The captain having left the above mentioned bay, which he called Dusky bay, proceeded along the western coast, and entered Cook's straits by the south-west point of land, behind which he anchored in a fine harbour, which he named Admiralty bay. A little more to the eastward is Queen Charlotte's Sound, the entrance of which lies in latitude 41 degrees south, longitude 175 degrees 25 minutes east. This sound is three leagues broad at its mouth, and contains a collection of the finest harbours in the world. There are a great number of small islands lying at the entrance, and the land about it is so high as to be seen at the distance of twenty leagues. Here the sailors caught nearly three hundred weight of fish, and found wood and water in abundance. The captain ordered the water-casks to be filled in this neighbourhood, and prepared to leave New Zealand on the 30th of March, having circumnavigated the whole coast,



and made frequent excursions into the interior parts of the country.

These islands produce no quadrupeds but dogs and rats ; there are few species of birds, and of those none, except perhaps the gannet, is the same with those of Europe. For this scarcity of animals upon the land, the sea makes an abundant recompence ; every creek swarming with fish, equally wholesome and delicious. The ship seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, which did not afford enough of fish with hook and line to serve the whole ship's company, the seine seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply ; and the variety of species was equal to the plenty. There are mackarel of many kinds, one of which is exactly the same as we have in England ; and the other species of fish unknown to the European seas, were distinguished by the names of those kinds to which they bear the nearest resemblance, and they do honour to the comparison. Among the vegetable productions of New Zealand, the trees claim a principal place ; there being forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber, any where to be seen. The trees here, however, are too hard and too heavy to be made into masts ; but for every other purpose they seem to be exceedingly fit, on account of their size, their grain, and their apparent durability. There are few eatable vegetables in New Zealand, except wild celery, and a kind of cresses, which grow in great abundance upon all parts of the sea shore. Of the esculent plants raised by cultivation, there are only yams, sweet potatoes, and cocoas. Gourds are cultivated by the natives for the sake of the fruit, which furnishes them with vessels for various uses. There is a plant that serves the inhabitants instead of hemp and flax, which excels all that are put to the same purposes in other countries. Of this plant there are two sorts ; the leaves of both

resemble those of dogs, but their flowers are smaller, and their clusters more numerous; on one kind they are yellow, on the other a deep red. Of the leaves of these plants, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel, as well as their strings, lines and cordage for every purpose, which are so much stronger than any thing we can make with hemp, that they will not bear a comparison. Of the leaves of this plant, without any other preparation than that of splitting them into proper breadths, and tying the stripes together, they make their fishing nets, some of which are of an enormous size.

From the populousness of the sea coasts, it was at first imagined, that the natives of New Zealand were extremely numerous. But it was afterwards found, that the interior parts were entirely destitute of inhabitants, or very thinly peopled: for the principal food of the New Zealanders consisting in fish, they are afraid to remove to a great distance from the chief source of their subsistence. The flesh of dogs, and the few vegetables above mentioned are the only succedaneum they have to support life: so that when the dry stock fails in the season when few fish are caught, the distress is dreadful; and this calamity, which too often happens, accounts for a practice prevalent in New Zealand of fortifying every village with the utmost care, and the horrid custom of eating those who are killed in battle. The New Zealanders rather exceed the European size; are stout, well limbed and fleshy; exceedingly active and vigorous: and discover great manual dexterity in all the arts to which they apply. Their colour resembles the brown hue of the Spaniards; the women have not a feminine delicacy in their appearance, but their voice is remarkably soft; and by this they are principally distinguished, the dress of both sexes being the same. This dress is to a stranger the most uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of the hemp plant, split into three or four slips, interwoven with

each other into a kind of stuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper side. Of this singular cloth two pieces serve for a complete dress; one of them is tied over their shoulders with a string, and reaches as low as the knees; to the end of this string is fastened a bodkin of bone, which is easily fastened through any two parts of this upper garment to keep them together. The other piece of cloth, or lower garment, is wrapped round the waist, and reaches nearly to the ground. When they have only the upper garment on, for the lower is not so constantly worn, and sit upon their hams, they bear a resemblance to a thatched house; but however ugly their dress, it is a proper defence against the inclemencies of the weather to men who often sleep in the open air.

These people being enured to war, and accustomed to consider every stranger as an enemy, were always disposed to attack the English until they were intimidated by their manifest superiority. But when they were convinced of the power of fire-arms, and observed the clemency of their enemies in forbearing to make use of these dreadful weapons, except in their own defence, they became at once friendly and affectionate; and when an intercourse was established, were rarely detected in any act of dishonesty. They excel the inhabitants of Otaheite as much in modesty, as they fall short of them in the cleanliness of their persons, and the convenience of their habitations. The women, however, were not impregnable: but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as those in marriage among us, and according to their notions, the agrément was as innocent. The consent of friends was necessary to obtain the personal favours of a young woman, and by the influence of a proper present this consent might generally be obtained.

The ingenuity of these people appears principally in the construction and management of their canoes; and in

whatever relates to war or fishing. The larger canoes are sixty-eight feet long, five feet broad, and three and a half feet deep; each side consisting of one entire plank sixty-three feet long, fitted and lashed to the bottom with great dexterity and strength. They have no defensive armour; although they have a great variety of those which are fitted for destruction. The principal of these are spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists by a strong strap, lest it should be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear sticking to their girdles, considering it as a military ornament, and part of their dress, like the poniard of the Asiatic, and the sword of the European. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace seem to be best known and most practised in the northern part of this country. They have an instrument which serves at once for spade and plough. The ground is rendered as smooth as in a garden, and every root has its small hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which were seen with the pegs remaining in the ground. The religion, government and language of the New Zealanders, bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the natives of Otaheite. Tupia understood their discourse, and was perfectly understood by them. This similarity of dialogue proves a common origin; but which of the two countries was first peopled; whether they were peopled by one another, or both from some more ancient mother-land, and what this land is, are questions which in all probability will never be resolved.

Captain Cook sailed from New Zealand the 31st of March, 1770, and made the coast of New Holland the 19th of April. It was in latitude 37 degrees 58 minutes south, and longitude 210 degrees 39 minutes west, when he first discovered land. The southernmost point of land in sight at this time was judged to lie in latitude 38 degrees, longitude 211 degrees 7 minutes, beyond which,

although the weather was very clear, nothing could be observed. The great body of Van Diemen's land, however, ought, according to the maps, to have borne due south; but the captain not having seen it, does not determine whether it joins the point now discovered or not. Standing to the northward he observed a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which he determined to go with the ship. There he anchored in the afternoon under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing south-east, and the north point east. This place was a-breast of a small village consisting of about six or eight houses; and while the sailors were preparing to hoist out the boat, they saw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of a wood. She was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had also its little burden. She often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear nor surprise. Some canoes returned from the fishing; the men landed, and the old woman having kindled a fire, they began to dress their dinner, to all appearance wholly unconcerned about the ship. They were all stark naked, the woman herself being destitute even of a fig-leaf. It was natural to imagine that these savages, who seemed to pay no regard to the ship's coming into the bay, would have paid as little attention to the people's coming on shore. But as soon as the boat approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to defend their coast, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in throwing his lance. They called out in a loud harsh tone, and in a language which none of those in the boat, although Tupia was of the party, understood a single word. The courage of these Indians was remarkable, as they were but two against forty in the boat; which the captain ordered to lie

on her oars, while he endeavoured to obtain the good will of his opponents by throwing them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. When he made signs to them that the ship wanted water, they waved with their hands, which he interpreted as an invitation to land. But this was not their meaning, for when the boat began to advance they renewed their opposition. One appeared to be a youth of nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; both of such determined obstinacy that it was necessary to fire a musket between them. Upon the report the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again with great haste, and threw a stone at the boat. A second musket was fired, which struck the oldest on the legs, who immediately ran to one of the houses distant about an hundred yards, and returned with a shield or target for his defence. A third musket was fired before they betook themselves to flight, and left the boat master of the shore. Here there was abundance of water, and such a variety of plants, that the captain gave it the name of Botany bay. It lies : latitude 34 degrees south, and longitude 152 degrees 37 minutes east. The country in general is level, low and woody. There are two kinds of trees, larger than the English oak; one of them yields a reddish gum like *sanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark coloured. The woods abound with birds of an exquisite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind; and crows exactly the same with those in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large flats of sand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl; and on the banks themselves are vast quantities of oysters, muscles and cockles, which seem to be the principal subsistence of the inhabitants.

The captain having left this place, where he could establish no intercourse with the natives, proceeded north-

wards in order to examine the eastern coast of New Holland, and to distinguish by name the more remarkable places that he met with in his voyage. Having passed what he called Hervey's bay, distinguished by mangrove trees, he anchored in Bustard bay, in latitude 24 degrees 4 minutes south, longitude 151 degrees 42 minutes east. He gave it that name from the great numbers of birds of the bustard species, as large as turkeys, one of which weighed seventeen pounds and a half, and was the most delicate bird that had been met with during the whole voyage. Here are oysters in great numbers, and of various kinds; among others the hammer oyster, and an abundance of small pearl oysters. And Captain Cook says, that if in deep water there is equal plenty of such oysters at their full growth, a pearl fishery might be established to very great advantage. Proceeding about two degrees farther north, he anchored again in Thirsty sound. From the great variation in the needle, when brought on shore, and from several other observations at this place, it seems probable that iron ore abounds in the hills. Along the whole coast the sea conceals shoals, which suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom.

Off Cape Tribulation, which lies in latitude 16 degrees 6 minutes south, and longitude 146 degrees 39 minutes east, our intrepid and hitherto successful adventurers were exposed to the most imminent danger. On the 10th of June, at eleven o'clock at night, the ship suddenly struck against a coral rock, and became immoveable, except by the heaving of the surge, which beating her against the crags of the rock on which she lay, caused so violent a concussion that it was with the utmost difficulty any one on board could stand on his legs. At the dawn of day land appeared at eight leagues distance, without any island in the intermediate space upon which they might be set on shore by the boats, and afterwards proceed to

the main, if the ship should go to pieces; the wind, however, died away, till it became a dead calm, by which the ship escaped instant, and otherwise inevitable, destruction. At eleven in the forenoon it was high water, but so much shorter was the day tide than that of the night, that notwithstanding the ship had been lightened near fifty tons, she did not float by a foot and a half. Thus disappointed, they proceeded to lighten her still more, by throwing overboard every thing that could possibly be spared. The water now began to rush in so fast, that two pumps could scarcely keep her free. At five in the afternoon the tide again began to rise, and with it the leak increased so fast that it was necessary to man two more pumps, of which one only could be wrought. Three of the pumps, however, being kept going, the ship righted at nine; but by this time the leak had gained so considerably, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. The floating of the ship therefore was anticipated, not as an earnest of deliverance, but as a forerunner of destruction. The boats were not capable of carrying all on shore, where, should any of the crew be able to arrive, their fate would be still more melancholy than that of those who perished in the shipwreck. Banished on a coast where even nets and fire-arms could scarcely furnish the means of subsistence, and possessing the means of no effectual defence against the natives, they must speedily fall a prey to indigence or ferocity, or languish during the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the hope of any domestic comfort, and cut off from the society of men. To those only who have waited in such a suspense, death has approached in his wildest terrors. While every one was reading his own sensation in the countenance of his companions, the ship floated, and was heaved into deep water. It was no small consolation to find that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock. By



the gaining of the leak upon the pumps, there were no less than three feet nine inches water in the hold; and the men having endured excessive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind, for more than twenty-four hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, began to flag, when this favourite circumstance again animated their vigour, and made them exert the most extraordinary efforts. But none of them could work at the pumps above five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from the pumps several inches deep. When those who succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others starting up renewed their labour. At eleven o'clock a breeze from the sea springing up, the ship was got under sail, and stood for the land. The exact situation of the leak could not be discovered, and therefore it was impossible to stop it within, and it was as impossible to continue that degree of labour, by which the pumps had been made to work. In this situation a happy expedient was adopted. It is called fothering the ship, and is done by taking a large studding-sail, on which a quantity of oakum and wool chopped small and mixed together, was stitched down in handfuls as lightly as possible; over this the dung of sheep and other filth was spread; and the sail, thus prepared, was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended. When it came under the leak, the suction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which in other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. This contrivance succeeded so happily, that one pump was able to reduce the water from the leak; and so susceptible are mankind of sudden joy whenever so partially relieved from imminent danger, that scarcely greater transport could have been felt, if they had been

arrived into a safe harbour, than this favourable alteration occasioned. At six in the evening the ship was brought to an anchor for the night in seventeen fathom water, at the distance of seven leagues from the shore, and one from the ledge of rocks upon which she had struck. The next morning she came to an anchor within two miles of the shore, no harbour having been discovered. But the day following was most propitious, by the discovery of a harbour to leeward, most excellently adapted to the purpose for which it was wanted; and what was no less fortunate than remarkable, in the whole course of the voyage no place had been seen which would have afforded the same relief to the ship in the situation she then was. Three whole days intervened before a favourable wind arose to carry them into their destined haven, in which time they found leisure and inclination to reflect, that there was nothing but a lock of wool, between them and destruction. At length these buffeted adventurers set their impatient feet on land, after giving the strongest proof of a manly, inflexible firmness; for, says Captain Cook, "Upon this occasion I must observe, both in justice and gratitude to the ship's company and the gentlemen on board, that, although in the midst of our distress, every one seemed to have a just sense of his danger, yet no passionate exclamations or frantic gestures were heard or seen; every one appeared to have the most perfect possession of his mind, and every one exerted himself to the utmost with a quiet and patient perseverance, equally distant from the tumultuous voice of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of despair." Their change of situation was now visible in every countenance, for it was most sensibly felt in every breast. They had sailed three hundred and sixty leagues, with a man continually in the chains heaving the lead, which

\* Hawkesworth, vol. iii.

perhaps never happened to any other vessel. They had been three months entangled among shoals and rocks that every moment threatened them with destruction; frequently passing the night at anchor, within hearing of the surge that broke over them; sometimes driving toward it even while their anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almost continual tempest exposed them, they should not hold, every person on board must inevitably perish.

The harbour which afforded them relief in this extreme emergency, they named after their vessel, Endeavour river. It lies in latitude 15 degrees 26 minutes south, and its longitude by observation is 214 degrees 42 minutes 30 seconds west. It is only a small bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a small brook of fresh water. There is not depth of water for shipping above a mile within the bar, and at this distance only on the north side, where the bank is so steep for near a quarter of a mile, that a ship may lie afloat at low water, so near the shore as to reach it with a step, and the situation is extremely convenient for heaving down; but at low water the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more than seventeen or eighteen at the height of the tide; the difference between high and low water at spring tides, being about nine feet. At the time of new and full moon it is high water between nine and ten o'clock. This part of the coast is so barricaded with shoals as to make the harbour exceedingly difficult of access; the safest approach is from the southward, keeping the main land close upon the board all the way; and the situation of the harbour may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down.

The captain having refitted at this place, where the principal refreshment to be procured was turtle, and a plant called in the West Indies, Indian kale, set sail the

beginning of August, to examine the northern extremity of the country. The rocks and shoals off this coast are more dangerous, perhaps, than in any part of the globe; for here are reefs of coral rising like an immense wall, almost perpendicularly out of the sea; always overflowed at high water, and at low water in many places dry. The enormous waves of the vast southern ocean meeting with so abrupt a resistance, break with inconceivable violence, in a surf which no rocks or storms in the northern hemisphere can produce. The danger of navigating the unknown parts of this ocean was greatly increased to our adventurers, by their having a crazy ship, and being short of provisions and every other necessary. "Yet," says Captain Cook, "the distinction of the first discoverers made us cheerfully encounter every danger, and submit to every inconvenience; and we chose rather to incur the censure of imprudence and temerity, which the idle and voluptuous so liberally bestow upon unsuccessful fortitude and perseverance, than leave a country which we had discovered, unexplored, and give colour to a charge of timidity and irresolution." \*

The captain resolved to keep the main land on board in his future route to the northward; because, if he had gone without the reef, it might have carried him so far from the coast as to prevent his being able to determine whether this country joined to New Guinea. This was a question which former navigators had left undecided, and which Captain Cook was determined to decide. In the execution of this enterprise, he braved such dangers as would have appalled the resolution of any man whose spirit for discovery had not extinguished all regard to personal safety. He found the two countries to be divided by a narrow sea or strait, the north-east entrance of which lies in the latitude of 10 degrees 39 minutes south,

\* Hawkesworth, vol. iii.

and in the longitude of 218 degrees 36 minutes west. It is formed by the northern extremity of New Holland, and a congeries of islands, which, it is probable, extend all the way to New Guinea. These islands differ very much in height and circuit, and many of them seem to be well clothed with herbage and wood, and well peopled with inhabitants.

To this channel or passage the captain gave the name of Endeavour straits. Its length from north-east to south-west is ten leagues, and its breadth five leagues, except at the north-east entrance, where it is less than two miles, being contracted by the islands which lie there. On one of these islands the captain took possession of the eastern coast of New Holland, from the latitude of 38 degrees to 10 degrees 30 minutes south, in the name of his majesty King George III. and distinguished that immense extent of country by the appellation of New South Wales. The ascertaining of the division between New Holland and New Guinea, was the last discovery made by Captain Cook in this voyage. He was now arrived in seas which had been already navigated, and where every coast had been laid down by Dutch or Spanish navigators. Instead, therefore, of following this judicious and enterprising adventurer in his navigation to the isle of Java, and his voyage homeward, it is proper to look back, and consider the information that may be derived from his discoveries relative to New Holland.

This immense island, for such is the title by which it seems to be improperly distinguished, exceeds in magnitude the habitable parts of the continent of Europe; extending from 10 degrees to 44 degrees south, between 110 degrees and 154 degrees east. It received the name of Holland from its having been chiefly explored by Dutch navigators. The land first discovered in those parts was called Eeendragt, or Concord Land, from the name of the ship which made the discovery, in 1716.

Two years after, another part of this coast was discovered by Zeachen, who gave it the name of Arnheim and Diemen, though a different part from what received the name of Diemen's Land from Tasman; the latter being the southern extremity of the island, whereas the former lies in fifteen degrees south. Van Meitz, Carpenter, and Dampier discovered different parts of the coast; but our information derived from all these adventures was nothing in comparison of what we have received from Captain Cook.

The whole eastern coast of New Holland is well watered by brooks and springs, but there are no great rivers. The face of the country, every where bleak and barren, is considerably less so toward the south, where the trees are taller, and the herbage richer; but no underwood is any where to be seen. There are but two sorts of timber trees, the gum tree and the pine; the esculent plants are few, but there are a variety of such as gratify the curiosity of the botanist. The species of birds are numerous, and many of exquisite beauty. Venemous serpents abound, and great variety of reptiles, most of which are harmless. The greatest natural curiosity in this country is the ant, of which there are several sorts. One is green, and builds its nest upon trees, by bending down the leaves, and gluing the points of them together, so as to form a purse. The viscus used for this purpose is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. Thousands of these busy insects were seen using all their strength to hold the leaves in a proper position, while other industrious multitudes were employed within, in applying the gluten. "To satisfy ourselves," says Captain Cook, "that the leaves were bent and held down by these diminutive artificers, we disturbed them in their work, and as soon as they were driven from their station, the leaves in which they were employed sprung up with a force much greater than we could have thought

“ them able to conquer by any combination of their  
“ strength. But though we gratified our curiosity at  
“ their expense, the injury did not pass unrevenged, for  
“ thousands immediately threw themselves upon us, and  
“ gave us intolerable pain with their stings, especially  
“ those which took possession of our necks and our hair,  
“ from which they were not easily driven.” There is  
another species, possessing no power of tormenting, and  
resembling the white ants of the East Indies. These con-  
struct nests upon the branches of trees three or four times  
as big as a man’s head ; the materials of which are formed  
of small parts of vegetables kneaded together with a  
glutinous matter, with which nature has furnished them.  
Upon breaking the outside crust of this dwelling, innu-  
merable cells, furnished with inhabitants, appear in a  
great variety of winding directions, all communicating  
with each other, and with several apertures which lead  
to other nests upon the same tree. They have also  
another house built upon the ground, generally at the  
root of a tree, and formed like an irregularly sided cone,  
sometimes more than six feet high, and nearly as much in  
diameter. The outside of these is composed of well tem-  
pered clay, about two inches thick, and within are the  
cells, which have no opening outward. Between these  
two dwellings, one of which is their summer, and the  
other their winter residence, there is a communication by  
a large avenue, or covered way leading to the ground by  
a subterraneous passage. The fish here are of kinds  
unknown to Europe, except the shell-fish and the mullet.  
Upon the shoals and reef are the finest green turtle in the  
world, and oysters of various kinds, particularly the rock  
oyster, and the pearl oyster. In the rivulets and salt  
creeks are alligators.

This extensive country is very thinly inhabited, and that  
by men in the lowest stage of savage life. On the coast  
the natives never appeared in larger companies than thirty

together, and the ground being entirely uncultivated, they drew their principal subsistence from the sea. It is probable that the inland parts of the country are totally destitute of inhabitants. The only tribe with which any intercourse was established, consisted of twenty-one persons, twelve men, seven women, a boy and a girl. The men are middle sized, clean limbed, and remarkably vigorous and nimble. Their countenances are expressive; their voice soft and effeminate; their bodies encrusted with dirt, which makes them appear almost as black as negroes. They crop their black hair, and keep their beards short by singing them. The women were never seen but at a distance, for when the men crossed the river to the ship they left them behind. Neither sex have any conscious sense of indecency in discovering the whole body. They received the things that were given them, but were insensible to all the signs that were made that something was expected in return. Many of the trinkets that had been given them was afterwards found thrown negligently away in the woods, like the play-things of children, which please only when they are new. The bodies of many were marked with large scars, inflicted with some blunt instrument, and which they signified by signs to have been memorials of griefs for the dead. There was no appearance of a town or village in the whole island; their houses were framed without art or industry; some of them only sufficient for a man to stand upright in, but not large enough for him to extend his length in any direction. They are built with pliable rods, about the thickness of a man's finger, in the form of an oven, and covered with palm leaves and bark. The door is a large hole. Under these houses or sheds they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, in which position one of the houses will hold three or four persons. Towards the north of the island these houses were made still slighter; one side being entirely open, and none of them above four feet



deep. These hovels were set up occasionally by a wandering horde, in any place that would furnish them for a time with subsistence, and left behind them when they removed to another spot. When they mean to continue only a night or two at a place, they sleep without any shelter except the bushes and grass, the latter of which is here nearly two feet high. They have a small bag, about the size of a moderate cabbage net, which the men carry upon their back by a string that passes over their heads. It generally contains a lump of paint and rosin, some fish-hooks and lines, shells of which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and ornaments of shells and bones, with which they adorn their wrists and noses. This is the whole inventory of the richest man among them. They are unacquainted with the use of nets in fishing. Their fish-hooks are neatly made, and some of them extremely small. For striking turtle they have a peg of wood, about a foot long, and well bearded; this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, as thick as a man's wrist, and eight feet long. To the staff is tied one end of a loose line, about four fathoms long, the other end of which is fastened to the peg. To strike the turtle the peg is fixed into the socket; and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves for a float to chase their victim in the water. It assists also to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him ashore. Their lines are made of the fibres of a vegetable, and are from the thickness of half an inch to the fineness of an hair. They bake their provisions by the help of hot stones, like the inhabitants of the South Sea islands. They produce fire with great facility, and spread it in a wonderful manner. For this purpose they take two pieces of dry soft wood. The one is flat, the other a stick with an obtuse point at one end. This they press upon the other, and turn it nimbly by holding it between

both hands as we do a chocolate mill. By this method they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark increase it with great speed and dexterity. "We have often seen," says Captain Cook, one of them "run along the shore, to all appearance with nothing in his hand, who stooping down for a moment, at the distance of every fifty or an hundred yards, left fire behind him, as we could see, first by the smoke, and then by the flame among the drift wood, and other litter that was scattered along the place. We had the curiosity to examine one of the planters of fire when he set off, and we saw him wrap up a small spark in dry grass, which, when he had run a little way, having been fanned by the air which his motion produced, began to blaze. He then\* laid it down in a place convenient for his purpose, inclosing a spark of it in another quantity of grass, and so continued his course." Their weapons are spears or lances; some have four prongs pointed with bone and barbed. To the northward the lance has but one point; the shaft is made of cane, straight and light, from eight to fourteen feet long, consisting of several joints, where the pieces are let into each other and bound together. The points of these darts are either of hard heavy wood, or bones of fish: those of wood are sometimes armed with sharp pieces of broken shells stuck in, and at the junctures covered with rosin. The canoes to the northward are not made of bark, but of the trunk of a tree hollowed by fire; and none of them carry more than four people. The only tools seen among them are the adze, wretchedly made of stone; some small pieces of stone in the shape of a wedge; a wooden mallet, and some aukward instruments, or rather fragments of shells and coral. The uncultivated state of the inhabitants of New Holland; their total ignorance of agriculture, and the arts most necessary to human life, accounts for their being found in very small numbers together. They could

not live in large societies without being exposed to perish for want of the necessaries of life. But it is hard to say how there comes to be so very few of these little wandering communities in a country of such amazing extent; and whether they are thinned by civil broils, excited by the horrid appetite of devouring each other, that prevails in New Zealand, or that their population is prevented by any other causes, cannot be ascertained. Though their country is at so little distance from New Guinea, they have never in all probability visited that island. If they had, the cocoa nuts, bread fruits, plantains and other vegetables which abound there, would naturally have been transplanted to New Holland. But no traces of them are to be found; and the miserable inhabitants, destitute of all necessaries but what they procure by fishing, unacquainted with the use of clothes to defend them against the rigour of the elements, and unprepared to live in such numbers together, as might enable them to obtain the smallest degree of knowledge even in the rude arts of uncultivated life, are reduced to the lowest condition in which the human species have ever been discovered in any part of the globe. Yet men sunk in this humiliating state, present us with the rudiments of all the arts and passions which distinguish the greatest and most polished nations. Their contrivances for fishing prove them capable to attain the highest pitch of mechanical ingenuity. Their regard to separate property shows them as susceptible of avarice as they are sensible to the dictates of justice; and their attempts, however awkward, to adorn their persons, indicate a desire to please, and to render themselves mutually agreeable. One advantage of these voyages into distant lands is to furnish materials for the history of man. They prove, beyond the possibility of dispute, the elevation and dignity of his nature; for how unfortunate soever his external circumstances, he discovers himself, by the plainest marks, to possess the seeds of all those various attainments

which distinguish the heroes and sages of the most enlightened periods.

It is equally agreeable to the writer and reader to dwell on the brilliant and useful discoveries of British navigators in distant parts; and it is extremely mortifying to be obliged to return from this pleasing theme, to record the unhappy measures of the British administration, which have involved the navy, the army, and the whole empire in circumstances not less disgraceful than calamitous and afflicting. It would not, however, be agreeable to the truth of history entirely to ascribe the distressing scenes which followed, to the negligence and incapacity of ministers. Notorious as these have appeared, the situation and behaviour of the nation at large, seemed to forebode some fatal calamity. Intoxicated with more than expected prosperity, the people, at the close of the late war, were seized with an extravagant degree of giddy insolence, which made them despise the rest of mankind. In an overgrown and wealthy capital, where every capricious absurdity is apt to be carried to the most vicious excess, the vulgar were taught to spurn at regularity, subordination and law. From resentment, envy, and the worst passions incident to the human frame, the meanest of mankind were capable of throwing the nation into confusion; of heaping an oppressive weight of popular odium on the servants of the crown; and, however defective their dexterity, yet working with such sturdy engines as the ignorant prejudices of a licentious rabble, they were able to divide the one half of the island against the other. Our enemies saw with pleasure the effect of their wretched cabals, which were not more despicable in themselves than destructive in their consequences: France and Spain learned with inexpressible joy the respectable employment of the British parliament in the never-ending debates concerning the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes; in which, in their opinion, the question was, to decide whether an outlaw,

a bankrupt, and an impious blasphemer, should be appointed to defend the laws, the property and religion of England. They were charmed with the petitions and remonstrances of the city of London; and were glad to find the English ministers too much employed in an altercation with the magistrates of the metropolis, and in quieting the unhappy riots which clamorous incendiaries had excited among the people at home, to engage in vigorous measures for re-establishing their authority in America.

The conduct of administration, with regard to this country, was beyond any thing that their most sanguine wishes could have hoped. Contradictory instructions given to the governors; taxes imposed and repealed again and again; assemblies called and dissolved, and allowed to sit again without disavowing the measures which had occasioned their former dissolution; troops sent, driven out, with many alternate proposals of violence and submission; treasons charged, adopted by parliament, not proved, nor attempted to be proved, neither detected nor punished. The administration of Lord North, who, already chancellor of the exchequer, was in the beginning of 1770 appointed first lord of the treasury, did not announce any alteration in the hesitating, ambiguous conduct which had been hitherto maintained. The first measure which he adopted relative to America was to bring in a bill for a repeal of part of an act passed in the seventh of his present majesty, establishing duties on paper, painters' colours, glass, and tea. The duties on the other articles were abolished, that on tea only was continued. The motives assigned for the bringing in this bill, were the dangerous combinations which these duties had given birth to beyond the Atlantic, and the dissatisfaction which they had created at home, among the merchants trading to the colonies. It did not fail to be remarked on this occasion, that while the minister condemned these duties

in the gross, and the law upon which they were founded as so absurd and preposterous that it was astonishing how it could originate in a British house of commons, he, yet, notwithstanding this decisive declaration, proposed a repeal of but part of the law, and still continued the duty on tea; lest he should be thought to give way to American ideas, and to take away the impositions, as having been contrary to the rights of the colonies. Another inconsistency, not less glaring, and of still more importance, was the declaring the law of taxation, while no vigorous step was taken to enforce it.

Great Britain, disturbed by factious riots at home, and threatened with a rebellion in America, was to be insulted by the unprovoked hostility of foreign powers. Our unhappy intestine divisions, which had gradually spread from the convulsions in the capital to the remotest parts of the empire, had so filled the hands and engaged the thoughts of government, that little attention either had or could for some time past have been given to our foreign interests. Thus convulsed at home, and in a state of contention with our colonies, already productive of the most alarming appearances, it was not to be supposed, from the known systems of policy established and practised among rival states, that such evident opportunities of advantage would be overlooked by the natural and ever watchful enemies of Great Britain. The state of France, indeed, being nearly as unfortunate as our own, prevented that kingdom from expressing her secret animosity. But the principles of the family compact actuated every member of the house of Bourbon; and a stroke was at this time aimed by Spain which affected the honour of the British flag, and tarnished the recent glory of the nation.

The first discovery, the situation and the importance of Falkland islands, have already been described. Gold and silver being almost the only objects which excited the attention of the first discoverers and conquerors of the

new world, these islands producing nothing of this kind were neglected for almost two centuries. Experience, and the extension of commerce, have at length shewn the probability that the southern parts of the new world afford other commodities, which may be turned to as great advantage by industrious nations, as mines of gold and silver. In particular it is thought, that the greatest and most advantageous fishery in the world might be established there; and navigators say, that an hundred whales are to be met with in the high southern latitudes, for one that is to be found on the coast of Greenland. Besides this motive, which was alone sufficient to excite the enterprise of a commercial nation, Lord Anson's voyage fully explained the advantages that would result to England in time of war, from having a friendly port and place of refreshment considerably more to the south, and much nearer Cape Horn than the Brazils. The jealous and disagreeable character of the American Portuguese, which rendered it desirable to avoid all dependence on such insidious and contemptible allies; the great length of the voyage, by which the vigour and health of the men, as well as water and other provisions, were exhausted before they arrived at the place of action; were the principal inducements mentioned by Lord Anson for carrying this measure into execution. He pointed out the place most proper for forming the establishment, and, when at the head of the admiralty, made preparations for sending frigates to make discoveries in those seas, and particularly to examine the condition and circumstances of the above-mentioned islands. But this project was not so cautiously conducted as to escape the vigilance of the court of Spain, who made such representations on this subject to the British ministry that the scheme was for the present laid aside, and continued dormant till the conclusion of the last war, when it was again revived by the earl of Egmont, who then presided in the admiralty. Accordingly, Commo-

dore Byron was sent out in the year 1764, the success of whose expedition we have already related. About the same time Mr. Bougainville sailed into those seas to make discoveries for the crown of France, and touched at Falkland's islands. But, in a requisition of the court of Spain, the French easily sold or ceded all right to any property in what is called the Magellanica regions; with which sale or disposition it appears that Great Britain was not acquainted, nor even with any settlements ever formed there by the French.

In the year 1769, there was an English frigate and a sloop upon that station; and Captain Hunt of the *Tamer* sloop cruising off Falkland's islands, fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Solidad taking a survey of them. The English captain, according to the orders which he had received, desired the Spaniard to depart from that coast as belonging to his Britannic majesty. The schooner departed, but returned in two days after, and brought on board an officer with letters and a present from Don Philip Ruez Puenta, the Spanish governor of Port Solidad. These letters were couched in terms of apparent civility. Don Ruez affected to disbelieve the report of the captain of the schooner, and attributed Captain Hunt's being in those seas to chance or stress of weather. He offered him upon that presumption every refreshment, and all acts of kindness in his power; but if the improbable account which he had received should happen to be true, he warned the English captain of his danger, reminded him of the violation of treaties, and the sole dominion of the king of Spain in those seas; and at the same time authorised the Spanish officer to order the English subjects immediately to depart.

Captain Hunt, in answer to the Spanish officer with whom the governor had desired him to correspond, asserted the sole dominion of his Britannic majesty, as well as by right of discovery as settlement, and warned the Spaniards.



in his name, and by his orders, to depart the islands, and allowed them six months from the date of the letter to prepare for their departure. The Spanish officer made a formal protest, as well upon the grounds already mentioned as upon Captain Hunt's refusing to allow him to visit the settlement, and his threatening to fire into the Spanish schooner upon her attempting to enter the harbour; he also protested against the captain's going to *Solidad* which he had proposed in an amicable manner, and declared that it should be considered as an insult.

About two months after this transaction, two Spanish frigates of considerable force, with troops on board for the new settlement, arrived at Port Egmont, the principal place in Falkland's islands, under pretence of wanting water. The commander-in-chief wrote a letter to Captain Hunt, in which he expressed great astonishment at seeing an English flag flying, and a kind of settlement formed; charged him with a violation of the last peace, and protested against the measure in all its parts, at the same time declaring he would abstain from any other manner of disagreeable transaction. Captain Hunt, as before, founded his possession on the claim of right, justified his conduct by the orders of his sovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart totally from those islands.

The Spanish frigates having continued eight days at Port Egmont, during which time they were supplied with water, and treated with great civility by our people, departed seemingly without any hostile intention. But Captain Hunt, dreading the consequences which soon followed, thought proper to return as soon as possible to England, to give an account of what had passed to the admiralty. He was succeeded at Port Egmont by the *Favourite* sloop, Captain Maltby, which, with the *Swift*, Captain Farmer, each of sixteen guns, formed the whole force upon that station. Even this was unfortunately lessened, the *Swift* being overset in the Straits of Magellan

where she had gone to make discoveries. The people, except three, were happily saved, by the fortitude and constancy of a few of their number, who, in an open cutter, undertook a voyage of three weeks in the most boisterous seas in the world. They arrived at Port Egmont, and brought the Favourite to the relief of their distressed companions.

It was not long after this dreadful danger and unexpected deliverance, when a Spanish frigate came into the same port, under pretence that she had been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, and was distressed for water: but three days after, her consorts, consisting of four other frigates, also arrived, and it soon appeared that they had been only twenty-six days at sea, had parted from the first in a gale of wind, and, instead of being in their way to Port Solidad, were now arrived at their place of destination. These five frigates carried one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, and had on board between sixteen and seventeen hundred men, including soldiers and marines; besides which, they had brought with them a train of artillery, and other materials sufficient to have invested a regular fortification.

A Spanish broad pendant was immediately hoisted on the arrival of the four last frigates, and as no doubt of their intentions now remained, Captain Farmer ordered most of the officers and men who had belonged to the Swift to come on shore to the defence of the settlement, while Captain Maltby began to bring the Favourite nearer to the Cove. Upon the first motion of the Favourite, one of the Spanish frigates sent an officer on board to acquaint the captain that if he weighed they would fire into his vessel. He, however, got under sail, regardless of this menace: the frigate fired two shot, which fell to leeward of him; and three of the Spanish vessels got under weigh, and worked to windward as he did.

The whole strength of the English in the island consisted in a wooden block-house, which had not even a port-hole in it, and only four pieces of cannon, which were sunk in the mud, to defend it. From the first appearance of the Spanish force, Captain Farmer had been active in clearing the stores out of the block-house, and in endeavouring to make it as defensible as its nature would permit. He raised the cannon, cleared the platform, and cut out port-holes. In the mean time, letters were sent from the Spanish commodore to both the captains separately, requesting them in the politest terms to consider his great power, and their own defenceless situation; and that they would, by quitting the place, prevent his being under the disagreeable necessity to proceed to hostilities. These were followed by another the next day, in which he offered, if they would quietly, and with good will, abandon Port Egmont, he would peaceably put his troops on shore, and treat them with all the consideration which the harmony subsisting between the two powers required; that he would allow them to carry away all their property, and give them a receipt for any part of it they might chuse to leave behind, in order that the matter might be amicably adjusted between their respective courts. If, contrary to expectation, they should endeavour to maintain the settlement, he would then proceed to the accomplishment of his orders; and in that case threatened them with an attack by sea and land, expatiating in a pompous style on the spirit and brilliancy which they would experience in his military and naval forces. He concluded by requiring a categorical answer in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter.

To this arbitrary summons the British officers replied, that words are not always deemed hostilities, and that it was impossible for them to believe he should venture in a time of profound peace, and when by his own acknowlege-

ment the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two courts, to commit an act of the most fatal tendency. That the king of Great Britain was able to defend the honour of his flag, and to protect the security of his dominions in all parts of the world : and, had even a shorter time than fifteen minutes been allowed them to deliberate, it could not alter their determined resolution to defend the charge entrusted to them to the utmost of their abilities.

Previous to the designed attack, the Spanish commodore desired that some of our officers might be sent to view the number and condition of the troops and artillery which he intended to land, in order to persuade the English captains of the inefficacy of their obstinate resistance to his commands. This was complied with ; but without shaking the British resolution. The Spanish frigates then warped in close to the shore, and moored head and stern opposite to the block-house and battery. The same evening, the 9th of June, Captain Maltby came on shore with fifty of the Favourite's men, who brought with them two six-pounders, ten swivels, and a quantity of small arms and ammunition. The next morning a part of the Spanish troops and artillery landed, about half a mile to the northward of our people ; and when they had advanced half way from the place of their landing, the rest of the boats, with the remainder of the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spanish frigates, and rowed right in for the Cove, being covered by the fire of the frigates, whose shot went over the block-house.

The English fired some shot ; but seeing the impossibility of defending the settlement, and the Spaniards having now broken through all the limits of peace and amity, so that their hostility could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers with great address having brought the affair to that point which they desired. determined with equal propriety to save the valuable lives of their people, who must have been unavoidably cut off in

this unequal contest. Accordingly they hung out a flag of truce, and demanded articles of capitulation.

The substance of these articles, concluded between the English captains on one hand, and Don John Ignatio Madariaga, major-general of the royal navy of Spain, on the other, was, that the British subjects should be allowed to depart in the *Favourite*, and to take with them such of their stores as they thought proper; that an inventory should be made of the remainder, which were to be deposited in the hands of the governor of *Solidad*, who became answerable for them; that the English flag should continue flying on shore and on board the sloop; but that they were to exercise no jurisdiction except over their own people; nor to appear under arms until the time of embarkation, to which they were to march out with drums beating and colours flying. There was a restriction with regard to the time of their departure, until the governor of *Solidad*, or his deputy, should arrive to make the inventories, and to take charge of the stores. For the better security of this limitation a new and wanton insult was offered to the British flag, the *Favourite's* rudder being forcibly taken away, and kept on shore during the time of their detention. The account of the violent transactions of the Spaniards at Falkland's islands, previous to this open and unprovoked hostility, was brought to England by Captain Hunt early in the month of June. The nation heard the news with indignation and resentment; especially as they had already much reason to complain of the ungenerous conduct of the Spaniards in detaining some thousands of English prisoners, seized under pretence of carrying on an illicit trade by the Spanish *guarda costas*. The necessity of putting ourselves in a respectable condition of defence was insisted on by the most popular members in both houses. Their partizans clamoured against the tameness of administration, and maintained the necessity of an immediate declaration of

war, in order to disappoint the perfidious designs of our ancient and inveterate enemies.

The malignant nature of these designs, it was said, appeared too evidently in a dreadful national calamity, which happened about this time, in the conflagration at Portsmouth. An event so prejudicial to our maritime strength, attended with such critical circumstances, was considered as a part of a great and settled plan for the reduction of our power and opulence. The fire which happened about the same time in Petersburg, and which was also accompanied by some alarming particulars, did not lessen the suspicion on this occasion; and the reward of a thousand pounds offered by government, in the Gazette, for the discovery of those who had occasioned the fire in the dock-yard at Portsmouth, added a new cause of jealousy and distrust.

The loss sustained by the fire was supposed, according to the first loose calculations, to amount to half a million, but by later and more accurate estimates, is made to be only one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which is comparatively nothing to the dreadful consequences that must have ensued, without a speedy and effectual assistance. The quantity of stores consumed was supplied with great expedition from the other docks; the public buildings and work-houses were soon restored; and the loss thus rendered of very little consequence to our marine in general.

Notwithstanding the alarm occasioned by these transactions in the nation, the ministry made little preparation for war. Some ships indeed were put into commission, and there was greater bustle in the dock-yards than in the time of profound tranquillity. It was not, however, till the latter end of August, that houses were opened at the ports for manning sixteen sail of the line, and press warrants were not issued till nearly a month after. Much about this time the Favourite returned with our people

from Falkland's islands; but notwithstanding the melancholy story which they told, to the disgrace of the English name, such was the licentiousness and depravity of the times, that even the manning of the navy met with great difficulties. The legality of press warrants was publicly called in question, and the opinions of counsel applied to on the subject. In the city of London, upon the election of alderman Crosby to the mayoralty, that magistrate totally refused to back the press warrants, and asserted, that the considerable bounty granted by the city was intended to prevent such violences. Alderman Wilkes had before discharged an impressed man. Such transactions will transmit in proper colours to posterity the names of those patriotic magistrates, who did their utmost to impede the public service, when the security of the British dominions and the dignity of the crown were at stake.

When the parliament assembled the 13th of November, 1770, the speech from the throne took notice that an immediate demand had been made from the court of Spain of such satisfaction as there was a right to expect for the injury received; and at the same time declared, that the preparations for war should not be discontinued, until full reparation should be obtained. The addresses of both houses of parliament were spirited, and the strongest and most unreserved assurances were given, that every degree of requisite support should be cheerfully granted. At the same time that the blessings of peace were acknowledged, the fullest confidence was placed in his majesty, that he would never be induced, by a mistaken tenderness for the present ease of the people, to sacrifice their more essential and more lasting interests. So early as the 29th of November forty thousand men were voted for the sea service; extensive grants were afterwards passed for the ordinary and support of the navy; the land forces for home service were augmented from about seventeen thou-

sand to above twenty-three thousand effective men; a new battalion was added to the ordnance, and a small addition made to the pay of the subaltern officers belonging to that corps.

As the session advanced, the prospect of peace seemed gradually to diminish. The negotiation and the tranquil intentions of Spain, which had been alledged by the ministry in answer to the clamours for immediate war, were no longer heard of, and a state of hostility with that country seemed to be considered as the probable issue of this affair. In fact, the negotiation was for a considerable time interrupted, and only renewed through the mediation of France, and finally concluded at the earnest desire of that court, and the terror inspired into the Spaniards by the vigour of the British preparations.

About a fortnight before the arrival of our people from Falkland's islands a letter was received at the office of Lord Weymouth, secretary of state for the southern department, from Mr. Harris our minister at Madrid, acquainting government, that a ship had arrived from Buenos Ayres, with an account of the intended expedition, its force, and the time fixed for its sailing. At the same time Prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador, acquainted his lordship, that he had good reason to believe the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken it upon him to make use of force, in dispossessing our people of Port Egmont; and that he was directed to make this communication to prevent the bad consequences of its coming through other hands; at the same time expressing his wishes, that whatever the transactions at Port Egmont may have been, in consequence of a step taken by the governor, without any particular instruction from his Catholic majesty, they might not be productive of measures dangerous to the good understanding between the two crowns.

Lord Weymouth replied, that if force had been used it



was difficult to see how the fatal consequences could be avoided; that the instructions given to the British officers at Falkland's islands were of the most pacific nature; but that still the circumstance of Mr. Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, having acted without orders, left an opening for conciliation, provided the ambassador would disavow the conduct of that gentleman. Prince Masserano, however, declared, that he had no instructions to that purpose, but deprecated all resolutions and measures that might involve the two crowns in a war.

Upon a second conference with the ambassador, Lord Weymouth demanded, in his majesty's name, as a specific condition of preserving the harmony between the courts, a disavowal of the proceedings at Port Egmont, and that the affairs of that settlement should be restored to the precise state in which they were previous to these proceedings. He at the same time sent instructions to Mr. Harris, to inform Mr. Grimaldi the Spanish minister of state of what had passed here, and of the proposed satisfaction, which alone could put it in his majesty's power to suspend his preparations for hostility. Mr. Grimaldi at first expressed himself in very vague terms. He had reason to foresee that some disagreeable event would happen in the south seas, from the notorious disapprobation of the court of Spain to any British establishments in those parts. He could not blame the conduct of Mr. Buccarelli, as it was founded upon the laws of America. At the same time he wished to have prevented this conduct, and had actually, upon the first surmise of the design, despatched a vessel from the Groyne, to hinder it from being put in execution; that the Spanish nation had so little to get and so much to lose by a war, that nothing but the last extremity could reduce them to so violent a measure; and that the king his master wished only to act consistently with his own honour and the welfare of his people, and that so far as our demand was compatible

with those two points, there was no doubt of its being agreed to. In a subsequent meeting he assured the British envoy, that his Catholic majesty was determined to do every thing in his power to terminate this affair in an amicable manner: that instructions for this purpose had been transmitted to Prince Masserano at the court of London, differing from the requisition of that court in terms only, and not essentially, so that he had no doubt the proposals which they contained would readily be adopted.

Prince Masserano, accordingly, proposed a convention to Lord Weymouth, in which the king of Spain disavowed any particular orders given to Mr. Buccarelli, at the same time that his majesty allowed that governor had acted agreeably to his general instructions, and to the oath which his office obliged him to take. He farther stipulated the restitution of Falkland's islands without prejudice to his Catholic majesty's right; and he expected that the king of Great Britain would disavow Captain Hunt's menace, which, he said, gave immediate occasion to the steps taken by Mr. Buccarelli. To this it was answered, that when his Britannic majesty's moderation condescended to demand redress for the injury which his crown had received, he could not possibly accept as a convention that satisfaction to which he had so just a title without entering into any engagement in order to procure it. That the idea of his majesty's becoming a contracting party upon this occasion, is entirely foreign to the case, for having received an injury, and demanded the most moderate reparation of that injury his honour can permit him to accept, that reparation loses its value if it is to be conditional, and to be obtained by any stipulation whatsoever on the part of his majesty.

Upon this answer, Prince Masserano told Lord Weymouth that he had no power to proceed in this affair, except by convention, without farther instructions from

Madrid. While the ambassador sent for these, Lord Weymouth despatched an express to Mr. Harris, to lay before the Spanish minister the unexpected obstacles that had arisen in this affair, and to demand a direct answer to the object of his first requisition. For several days, however, no answer was returned; but at length Mr. Grimaldi intimated, that the king his master had sent instructions to Prince Masserano, by which he was empowered to treat again, and to grant every reasonable satisfaction for the supposed insult; that his Catholic majesty was willing to come into any method regarding the manner of giving the satisfaction that should appear the most eligible to the king of Great Britain, expecting, however, that, as he went such a great length to save his honour, his own should also be considered, so far as it did not interfere with the satisfaction that was to be offered.

Nothing could appear to be more satisfactory than these pretended instructions given to Prince Masserano. Mr. Grimaldi's answer was given the 7th November, and was received in London the 19th; but it soon appeared that the conduct of Prince Masserano did not at all accord with the pacific intentions and conciliatory sentiments professed at Madrid. The earl of Rochford, who succeeded Lord Weymouth in office, wrote a letter to Mr. Harris, dated the 21st December, in which he informed him, that all negotiations with the Spanish ambassador had for some time been at an end, the answer to the king's demand being totally inadmissible; and that, it being inconsistent with his majesty's honour to make any farther proposal to the court of Spain, he was desired to withdraw from Madrid with all convenient speed.

Thus was the negotiation entirely broken off. How it came again to be renewed seems to have been better known in all the coffee-houses of Europe than to the English secretaries of state. No document relative to its renewal has ever been laid before parliament or the

public, but it is reasonable, from the duplicity and design discovered by Spain in the whole transaction, to look for the motives of conciliation in every other quarter, rather than in the pacific or friendly dispositions of the court of Madrid.

The family compact, by which the different branches of the house of Bourbon engaged to employ their whole force in the mutual support and assistance of each other, was proposed, and carried into execution by the wisdom and address of the duke of Choiseul. That able minister little imagined a compliance with the terms of this formidable union might become extremely inconvenient to France, for the interest of which it had principally been formed. It did not occur to him, that the haughty spirit of Spain, exasperated by the disgraceful wounds received in the war with Great Britain, would prompt her to take the first opportunity of seeking revenge; while France, exhausted in her resources; without money or credit; convulsed by the most violent dissensions between the first orders of the state, while the people were ripe for sedition from the want of the first necessaries of life, might be in no condition to afford Spain that assistance which had been stipulated between them. The credit of the duke who had contrived the family compact, long considered as a masterpiece of policy, but now found to be attended with consequences in every view disgraceful to France, began to decline: he was soon after removed from his employment, and obliged to retire. Other councils prevailed, more agreeable to the pacific dispositions of an aged prince, who had nothing farther in view but to end his days in the bosom of ease and tranquillity.

The interval that passed between the breaking off of the negotiation between Great Britain and Spain, with the transactions of which the public has never been informed by authority, was probably filled up by listening

to the mediation of France, which disarmed the ardent hostility of her southern ally, and persuaded her, much against her own inclination, to propose an accommodation, in form at least, less offensive to the dignity of Great Britain. It was not till the first day of the meeting of parliament, January 22d, 1771, after the Christmas recess, that, instead of a convention, a declaration was proposed and signed by Prince Masserano, and accepted by the earl of Rochford. By the former the ambassador, in name of his master, disavows the violence used at Port Egmont, and stipulates that every thing shall be restored there precisely to the same state in which it was before the reduction; but at the same time declares, that this restoration is not in any wise to affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of those islands; and, by the acceptance, the performance of these stipulations is to be considered as a satisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great Britain. This transaction was immediately announced to both houses. While the friends of administration proposed an address of thanks to his majesty for having supported the honour of the crown of Great Britain by a firm and unvaried adherence to his just demand of satisfaction, and for not having too hastily engaged the nation in the hazards and burdens of war, the gentlemen in opposition affirmed, that the whole transaction was equally unsafe and disgraceful; that instead of having provided a reparation for former hostilities, or a security against future, it contained in itself the genuine seeds of perpetual hostility and war: that it is as dishonourable to the crown itself as to the nation, and admitting the fashionable language, that the dignity of the former, and the reparation to it, are the only objects of consideration, it will be found as shamefully deficient in this respect as in every other. Thus, by this infamous accommodation, the honour of the crown of England had

not been put on the same footing with that of inferiour kingdoms. The French king, for a small violation of territorial right in the pursuit of an outlawed smuggler, had thought it necessary to send an ambassador extraordinary to the king of Sardinia to apologize for it in the most solemn and public manner. When the English fleet under Admiral Boscawen destroyed some French ships on the coast of Portugal, Great Britain sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of Lisbon, to make reparation in honour; but when the Spaniards insult the British flag, and commit the most outrageous acts of hostility on British subjects, they propose a declaration, in which the right to employ the same violence again is maintained and defended; for, though the court of Spain had disavowed the act of hostility as proceeding from particular instructions, she continued to justify it under her general instructions to her governors, under the oath by them taken, and under the established laws of America; and that this justification of an act of violence under general orders, established laws and oaths of office, is far more dangerous and injurious to this kingdom than the particular enterprize which has been disavowed, as it most evidently supposes, that the governors of the Spanish American provinces are not only authorized, but required, to raise forces by sea and land, and to invade our possessions in those parts, in the midst of profound peace. Many other objections of equal weight were urged against the acceptance of the Spanish declaration, in a strong, animated, eloquent, and argumentative protest of the house of peers, which will remain to all posterity to their immortal honour.

The tame measures of government, however, were adopted by a great majority. During the recess of parliament, September 16, 1771, Spain fulfilled her engagements contained in the declaration, by the restoration of

Port Egmont, which was delivered up to Captain Scott, who was sent thither with a small squadron for that purpose. Ministry seemed to think all was secured by an amicable termination of this dispute; and parliament was not called till after the Christmas holidays, 21st January, 1772. The late meeting of this assembly, which indicated that no urgent business required an early attendance, and the pacific declaration from the throne, were sufficient to lull the nation into the most perfect security. What, therefore, must have been their surprize and indignation, when a motion was made so early as the 29th of January, that twenty-five thousand seamen should be voted for the service of the ensuing year. It was urged, in support of this motion, that, the French having sent a considerable fleet to the East Indies, we were obliged upon that account to augment our naval force there, as the propriety of our being always superiour to them in that part of the world was so evident as not to admit of an argument: that a larger squadron was now employed for the protection of Jamaica and our other West India islands, than in former years of peace; as the importance of our valuable possessions in that quarter, the probability of the Spaniards making their first attempt upon them in case of a war, and the considerable fleet which they kept in those seas, rendered an augmentation of our maritime strength on that station a matter of the most evident necessity: that the war between the Turks and Russians made it also necessary to employ a greater number of ships for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and Archipelago than had been customary in times of general peace. Besides these general reasons for augmentation, much stress was laid upon the great reform with regard to the guard-ships, it being acknowledged, that for several years past these ships had been exceedingly neglected, and considered merely as jobs; so that at the

time of the late expected war there were neither ships nor men fit for service: but that now things were so much altered for the better, that twenty of the best ships in the navy were kept upon that duty, and were in such complete condition, and so nearly manned, that a slight press would at any time enable them in a very few days to put to sea: That the rest of the fleet was also in good condition, and in about a year we should have nearly eighty ships of the line at home fit for service, besides those that were upon foreign duty. Many pointed and severe sarcasms were levelled at the ministry for accompanying a speech, which breathed nothing but effusions of peace, with all the actual preparations for war. Some gentlemen in opposition declared for the motion, upon the avowed principle that the supplies demanded were not in any degree to be considered as a peace establishment; while the greater part of these gentlemen arraigned the adding to the burdens of a nation already sinking under the weight of an overgrown and monstrous public debt. They observed that our peace establishment was every year increasing, and that arguments similar to those at present alleged could never be wanting to oppose any diminution of it: that already it was nearly double to what it had been at the accession of George I.; last year we had sustained all the inconveniencies of a war without any of its advantages; and it seemed to be the intention of government to persist for ever in the same ruinous measures. These observations were at present regarded as the clamours of party; and the events which followed fully justified the necessity of keeping the navy on a respectable footing.

The progress of the Russians in the Mediterranean rendered it necessary for both France and Spain to stand on their guard, and to watch the growing greatness of these new and formidable allies of Great Britain. But, in the beginning of the year 1773, there were more extraordinary

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preparations in the French and Spanish ports than any apprehension of this kind could account for. Those preparations were carried on with the utmost vigour and industry, not only in the ports of the Mediterranean, but in those of the ocean, and afforded room for suspecting the most hostile intentions. Strong remonstrances on this subject were made on the part of Great Britain at the courts of Paris and Madrid, accompanied with a declaration, that, if such measures were continued, his Britannic majesty would be under a necessity of sending such a fleet of observation into the Mediterranean, as should effectually frustrate any attempts that might be made against the Russians. In the mean time a powerful fleet was equipped, and ordered to rendezvous at Spithead, and those warlike preparations were for some time continued on all sides. The rapidity with which Great Britain assembled such a naval force as was sufficient to contend with that of all her enemies united, and the magnificence and military pomp with which her mighty preparations were displayed, restrained the hostile dispositions which had begun to prevail at Paris and Madrid, and prevented the prosecution of measures which must have involved all Europe in their consequences. The vigorous exertions on this occasion were like a flash of lightning, which for a moment brightened the gloom of night that sat so thick and heavy on the British councils. But after this transient flash the darkness returned more intense and horrible than before.

The conduct of administration will be an enigma to posterity. Possessed of a naval force that made the greatest princes of Europe tremble, they have been so far from quieting the dissensions which prevailed in America, that they have totally alienated from Great Britain those flourishing and wealthy provinces, and reduced their country to the utmost state of despair. Two roads were open before them, either of which might

have been followed, if not with equal glory, yet with an equally assured prospect of success. By disregarding the clamours of an interested opposition, and making use of the power in their hands, they might, while all Europe were silent in our presence, have inflicted whatever punishment became necessary to reduce the rebellious provinces to a humble sense of their duty. But this method was so far from being adopted, that a first lord of the treasury talked of compelling the Americans to submit to taxes without bloodshed; and a first lord of the admiralty, upon the appearance of measures which indicated vigour, voted a reduction of four thousand seamen; assuring the house, that the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for conquering the Americans; of whose power and courage he spoke with the utmost contempt, affirming that they were not disciplined nor capable of discipline, and that formed of such materials, and so indisposed to action, the numbers of which such boasts had been made, would only facilitate their defeat.

Another road, which might have been pursued with universal applause, would have been to abandon that odious measure of taxing a free people without their own consent. Had that been done, the weight of opposition would have been removed at once, and the Americans, if they still continued refractory, might have been compelled by force of arms to acknowledge the supremacy of the mother country, without one sympathising voice in Europe to condole with them for the rigours of a punishment which they had justly drawn on their own heads. But neither of these methods being adopted, the ministry hesitated between peace and war; and their tame, equivocal, temporising conduct brought the Americans to a maturity of resistance and rebellion, the effects of which we should now proceed to describe and deplore, if, in deducing a chronological account of the naval transactions of Great

Britain, there were not some intervening events, which deserve to be particularly related.

These are the discoveries which continued to be made by our navigators in the years 1773, 1774, and 1775. They were not, as of late years, confined entirely to the southern ocean. While Captain Cook was employed in exploring this part of the globe, the honourable Constantine Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, was sent to examine how far navigation was practicable toward the north pole. This was done in consequence of an application to Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, from the Royal Society. His lordship laid the request of the Society before the king, who ordered the *Racehorse*, and *Carcass*, bombs, to be fitted out for the expedition. The command of the former was given to Captain Phipps, and of the latter to Captain Lutwidge. The idea of a passage to the East Indies by the north pole, was suggested as early as the year 1527, by Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, who addressed a paper to Henry VIII. on that subject; but Henry, as usual, was involved in a multiplicity of affairs, which prevented him from giving any attention to this application. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Hugh Willoughby made the attempt with three ships, *anno* 1553. He proceeded to the latitude of 75 degrees north, but being obliged to winter in Lapland, he and all his company perished miserably. Three years afterwards, Captain Burroughs sailed on the same design, and advanced to 78 degrees north. To him succeeded Captains Jackman and Pell in 1580, in two ships; the latter of whom, with his ship, was lost. The Dutch began to pursue the same discovery in 1595, and successive voyages were made, which tended rather to prove the impracticability of sailing to high northern latitudes, than the probability of finding the passage, which was the object of these daring enterprises. In 1607, Henry

Hudson was equipped by a company of London merchants, to discover a passage by the north pole to Japan and China. He penetrated to 80 degrees 23 minutes north, and was then stopped by the ice. Two years after another ship was sent out by the Russia company of merchants in London; the ship was commanded by Jonas Poole, who could not with his utmost endeavours advance farther than 79 degrees 5 minutes north. In the year 1614, another voyage was undertaken, in which Baffin and Fotherby were employed, but without success; and next year Fotherby, in a pinnace of twenty tons, with ten men, was equally unsuccessful. John Wood, with a frigate and a pink, sailed in 1676, but returned without effecting any thing. Most of these voyages having been fitted out by private adventurers, for the double purpose of discovery and present advantage, it was natural to suppose that the attention of the navigators had been diverted from the more remote and less profitable object of the two, and that they had not prosecuted the chief purpose of discovery with all the care that could have been wished. "But," says Captain Pripps, "I am happy in an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of these men, which, without having traced their steps, and experienced their difficulties, it would have been impossible to have done. They appear to have encountered dangers, which at that period must have been particularly alarming from their novelty, with the greatest fortitude and perseverance, as well as to have shewn a degree of diligence and skill, not only in the ordinary and practical, but in the more scientific parts of their profession, which might have done honour to modern seamen, with all their advantages of later improvements. This, when compared with the state of navigation, even within these fifty years, by the most eminent foreign authors, affords the most flattering and satisfactory proof of the very early existence of that

“ decided superiority in naval affairs, which has carried  
 “ the power of this country to the height it has now  
 “ attained.”

The captain sailed in February, 1773, and after passing the islands of Shetland, the first land he made was Spitzbergen, in latitude 77 degrees 59 minutes 11 seconds north, and longitude 9 degrees 13 minutes east. The coast appeared to be neither habitable nor accessible, but formed of high black rocks, without the least marks of vegetation, mostly bare and pointed, in some places covered with snow, and towering above the clouds. The vallies between the high cliffs were filled with snow or ice. “ This prospect,” says Captain Phipps, “ would  
 “ have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not  
 “ the mildness of the weather, the smooth water, bright  
 “ sun-shine, and constant day-light, given a cheerful-  
 “ ness and a novelty to the whole of this striking and  
 “ romantic scene. The height of one mountain seen  
 “ here was found to be one thousand five hundred and  
 “ three yards. The harbour of Smeerenberg, lying in  
 “ latitude 79 degrees 44 minutes north, longitude 9 de-  
 “ grees 50 minutes 45 seconds east, has good anchorage  
 “ in fifteen fathoms. Close to this harbour is an island,  
 “ called Amsterdam island, where the Dutch used formerly  
 “ to boil their whale-blubber, and the remains of some  
 “ conveniencies erected by them for that purpose are still  
 “ visible. They attempted once to form an establishment  
 “ here, and left some people, who all perished in the  
 “ winter. The Dutch ships still resort to this place for  
 “ the latter season of the whale-fishery. The most re-  
 “ markable views which these dreary regions present, are  
 “ what are called the ice-bergs. These are large bodies  
 “ of ice, filling the vallies between the high mountains.  
 “ Their face towards the sea is nearly perpendicular, and  
 “ of a very lively green colour. One was about three  
 “ hundred feet high, with a cascade of water issuing out

“ of it. Large pieces frequently break off from the ice-bergs, and fall with great noise into the water.”

Captain Phipps has been very accurate in describing the few animals which these inhospitable regions produce, and was at pains to examine the vegetable and mineral productions. He proceeded afterwards to Messén island in latitude 80 degrees north, longitude 12 degrees 20 minutes east, which is of a round form, about two miles in diameter, with a lake in the middle, frozen with eternal ice. At the Seven islands which lie in latitude 81 degrees 21 minutes north, the two ships became suddenly fast in the ice on the 31st of July. These islands and north-east land, with the frozen sea formed almost a basin, having but about four points open for the ice to drift out in case of a change of wind. The passage by which the ships had come in to the westward became close, and a strong current set in to the east, by which they were carried still farther from their course. The labour of the whole ship's company to cut away the ice proved ineffectual; their utmost efforts for a whole day could not move the ships above three hundred yards to the westward through the ice, whilst the current had at the same time driven them far to the north-east and eastward. Appearances remained thus threatening for four or five days, the safety of the crew seemed all that could possibly be effected. As it had been foreseen that one or both of the ships might be sacrificed in the prosecution of the voyage, the boats for each ship were calculated, in number and size, to be fit in any emergency to transport the whole crew. Driven to this state of danger and suspense, on the 6th of August the boats were hoisted out, and every possible method taken to render them secure and comfortable; but the next day the wind blew eastwardly, and the ships were moved about a mile to the westward. But still they run not so far west by a great way as when they were first beset with the ice; however, on the 9th of August, the current had visibly

changed, and run to the westward, by which both the ships had been carried considerably in that direction. On the 10th a brisk wind at north-north-east accomplished their deliverance, and freed them from the dreadful prospect of perishing, as many former adventurers had done in those polar regions. Having found it impracticable to penetrate any farther toward the north, they returned to the harbour of Smeerenberg; having, in the prosecution of this voyage, reached 81 degrees 36 minutes north latitude, and between the latitudes of 79 degrees 50 minutes, and 81 degrees, traversed 17 degrees and a half of longitude; that is, from 2 degrees east to 19 degrees 30 minutes east.

While Lord Mulgrave was employed in ascertaining the limits of navigation toward the north, Captain Cook was indefatigable in examining the respective dominions of land and ocean in the southern hemisphere. Notwithstanding the various voyages, in which this part of the globe had been traversed in the many different directions, all tending to render the existence of a southern continent more improbable, the fact was not yet brought to a clear and demonstrative evidence. To determine this point was the main object of the present voyage, on which Captain Cook sailed in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Captain Furneaux in the *Adventure*, the 2d of April, 1772. The ships in which they embarked were the most proper that could be contrived for such a dangerous undertaking; Captain Cook in the clear, simple, and manly narrative which he has published of his proceedings, having proved beyond the possibility of doubt, that north-country vessels, or such as are built for the coal trade, are the fittest for pursuing with success the discovery of remote countries. To the nature of his ships, which were of this safe and commodious construction, rather than to his own nautical skill and abilities, he modestly ascribes the singular felicity of his voyage,

which was far beyond the experience or hopes of former navigators.

Besides the advantages arising from the form of the vessels, and the skill of the commander, the provision of every fort exceeded all that had been known on any former occasion. Every circumstance and situation that could be foreseen or apprehended was provided for with unexampled liberality. A considerable sum of money was allotted by parliament to encourage two gentlemen, eminent in natural history, to sacrifice their time, and encounter the toils and dangers of such a voyage. With the same generous spirit for the improvement of knowledge, a landscape-painter of merit, and two able astronomers, were also engaged. Nor was any attention omitted which could be deemed necessary for the subsistence, security, health, or comfort of all the voyagers.

Having sailed with so many circumstances in their favour, they reached the Cape of Good Hope without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, and departed from thence the 22d of November, 1772. They returned to the same place the 22d of March, 1775, having sailed no less than twenty thousand leagues in two years and four months; an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which, it is highly probable, never was traversed by any other ship in an equal period of time. When we take into computation the voyage to and from the Cape to England, the whole time consumed is above three years, during which they experienced every variety of climate from 52 degrees north latitude to 71 degrees south, and were continually exposed to all the hardships and fatigue inseparable from a seafaring life; and yet what is most extraordinary, the numerous ship's company on board the *Resolution* preserved a more uninterrupted state of good health, than perhaps they could have enjoyed on shore in the most temperate climate of the earth. In that long



and various course, of one hundred and eighteen persons, only four were lost; and of that four only one fell a victim to sickness: a fact unparalleled in the history of navigation.

In the most healthy climates no bills of mortality have produced such an instance among an equal number of men during a like period. When, therefore, we consider the numbers of brave seamen who perished by marine diseases under Anson and other navigators, the greatest praise is due to Captain Cook for his judicious management in preserving the health of the men under his command. The chief preservative against the scurvy, used by this judicious commander, was sweet wort, which was given not only to those who were afflicted with that distemper, but likewise to those who were thought likely to take it. Portable soup and sour krout were also used with success in preserving the health of the seamen. The ship's company were kept in constant exercise, and their cleanliness contributed not a little to their health. The ship was frequently purified by fires, a practice much recommended by Captain Cook. Fresh water was also an object of particular attention. Not satisfied with having plenty of that necessary article, he would always have the purest, and therefore, whenever an opportunity offered, he emptied what he had taken in a few days before, and filled his casks anew. As a testimony of regard for these important improvements for preserving the health of seamen, the Royal Society was pleased to bestow Sir Godfrey Copley's medal upon Captain Cook.

The first cruise from the Cape of Good Hope, November 22, 1772, was employed in ascertaining the great question concerning the *Terra Australis incognita*. The two ships sailed in company, and the 10th of December following, being in latitude 50 degrees 40 minutes south, saw the first ice. The mass was about 50 feet high, and

half a mile in circuit, flat at top, and its sides rose in a perpendicular direction, against which the sea broke exceedingly high. From this time the icy mountains began to be very frequent, exhibiting a view as pleasing to the eye as terrible to reflection; "for," says the captain, "were a ship to get against the weather-side of one of these masses of ice, when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment." On the 14th, being in latitude 54 degrees 50 minutes south, 21 degrees 34 minutes east, they were stopped, in their route to the southward, by an immense field of low ice, to which no end could be seen to the south, east, or west. In different parts were hills of ice, like those that had been before found floating in the sea; and the ship's company were often amused with the flattering prospect of land, which turned out to be fog-banks. A boat was here hoisted out to try the direction of the current, and Mr. Wales, the astronomer, accompanied by Mr. Foster, the naturalist, took the opportunity of going in her to make experiments on the temperature of the sea at different depths. A thick fog came on, which blackened into such a degree of obscurity, that they entirely lost sight of both the ships. In a four-oared boat, in an immense ocean, far from any hospitable shore, surrounded with ice, and destitute of provisions, their situation was as frightful as any that can well be imagined. In this dreadful suspense, they determined to lie still, hoping that, provided they preserved their place, the sloops would not abandon them. The most delightful music they ever heard was the jingling of the bell of the Adventure, which took them on board. The ships then changed their course to the eastward, where the large islands of ice were hourly seen in all directions; so that they became as familiar to those on board as the clouds and the sea. A strong reflection of white on the skirts of the sky was a certain indication of these islands; although

the ice itself is not entirely white, but often tinged, especially near the surface of the sea, with a beautiful beryl-line blue. This colour sometimes appeared twenty or thirty feet above the surface, and was most probably produced by some particles of sea water dashed against the mass in tempestuous weather. Different shades of white were frequently observed in the larger islands, lying above each other in strata of a foot high, which confirms Captain Cook's opinion concerning the formation and increase of these masses by heavy falls of snow at different intervals. The 26<sup>th</sup> the islands still surrounded them, behind one of which, in the evening, the setting sun tinged its edges with gold, and brought upon the whole mass a beautiful suffusion of purple. "Although," says Captain Cook, "this was the middle of summer  
"with us, I much question if the day was colder in any  
"part of England. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer constantly kept below the freezing point. The  
"shooting at penguins afforded great sport but little  
"profit, the birds diving so frequently in the water, and  
"continuing so long under it, that the fowlers were  
"generally obliged to give over the pursuit. Their thick  
"glossy plumage turned off the small shot, and it was  
"necessary to attack them with ball."

Having hitherto met with no land, Captain Cook determined, January 2, 1773, to go in search of Cape Circumcision, which is laid down by Bouvet in 58 degrees 53 minutes south, 10 degrees 6 minutes east; but as he saw no appearance of it in that situation, although the weather was very clear, he supposed it to have been nothing but fields and mountains of ice. January 9, three boats were hoisted out, and in a few hours took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good fresh water. The salt which adhered to the ice was so trifling as not to be tasted, and entirely drained off by lying a short time on the deck. Cranzt some years ago advanced in his history of Green-

land, that those great masses of ice in the northern seas dissolved into fresh water, from which he inferred, that they owed their origin to the vast rivers of those hyperborean regions; but it was reserved to Captain Cook to establish the doctrine, that the freezing of sea water into ice, not only deprives it of all its salt particles, but that it will thaw into soft, potable, and most wholesome water. He has also proved by experience that the bad qualities which for so many ages have been attributed to melted snow and ice water are destitute of all foundation. This happy discovery of deriving the greatest advantage from the ice mountains, which seem to threaten our navigators with nothing less than destruction, enabled them to persevere in their voyage for a length of time that would have been otherwise impossible, and contributed to that unparalleled degree of health, which they so fortunately enjoyed.

January 17, they crossed the Antarctic circle in longitude 39 degrees 35 minutes east, which had till then remained impenetrable to all former navigators. The ice islands became more and more numerous; and in longitude 67 degrees 15 minutes south, an immense field of congelation extended to the southward as far as the eye could reach, which obliged Captain Cook to put about, and stand north-east by north. Here were seen many whales playing about the ice, and various flocks of brown and white pintadoes, which were named Antarctic petrels, because they seemed to be natives of that region. January 31, two islands of ice were seen in latitude 50 degrees 50 minutes south, one of which appeared to be falling to pieces by the crackling noise it made; and this was the last ice seen, until they returned again to the southward. In the neighbourhood of this latitude they fell in with the islands discovered by Messrs. Turguelen, St. Allouard, and Marion, French navigators, all of which were islands of inconsiderable extent, high, rocky, des-

titute of trees, and almost entirely barren. It was supposed that the French had discovered the north cape of a great southern continent; but though that land was not found by Captain Cook, his long navigation proves, that their discovery, if not an ice field, could only be a small island.

The Resolution lost sight of the Adventure the 8th of February, and the two sloops continued separate for the rest of the cruise, but afterwards met in Queen Charlotte's sound, in New Zealand. They proceeded together to Otaheite, and other islands within the tropics, and again separated near to Cook's straits, and never more joined during the voyage. Captain Furneaux returned a second time to the place of rendezvous at Queen Charlotte's sound, but his consort having left that place a considerable time before his arrival, he, after refreshing his crew, set sail for England, which he reached in July, 1774.

The Resolution continuing her voyage in 58 degrees south, Captain Cook observed for the first time, on February 17, the *Aurora Australis*, a phenomenon which had never before been taken notice of by any navigator in the southern hemisphere. It consisted of long columns of a clear white light, shooting up from the horizon to the eastward, almost to the zenith, and spreading gradually over the whole southern part of the sky. These columns differed from the southern lights in being always of a whitish colour. The sky was generally clear when they appeared, and the air sharp and cold, the thermometer standing at the freezing point. On March 26, Captain Cook made the coast of New Zealand, and anchored in Dusky bay, after having been one hundred and seventeen days at sea, without having once seen any land, in which time they had sailed three thousand six hundred and sixty leagues.

The captain continued during the following months, which are the winter season in that climate, to visit his

old friends at Otaheite, the Society and Friendly islands; and after examining a space of more than 40 degrees of longitude between the tropics, he returned to Queen Charlotte's sound. There he changed the fair weather rigging of his ship for such as might resist the storms and rigours of the high southern latitudes, and set sail the 27th of November, to explore the unknown parts of the Pacific ocean. On December 6, he reached the 51st degree 32 minutes south latitude, and the 180th degree east longitude, consequently the point of the Antipodes of London. December 15, in 66 degrees south, and 159 degrees west, the farther course to the southward was interrupted by the ice islands, among which they were almost embayed, which obliged them to tack to the north, and soon after they got clear of all the ice, but not without receiving several knocks from the larger pieces, which would have destroyed any vessel less carefully prepared to resist those repeated shocks. They crossed the Antarctic circle a second time on December the 20th, in the longitude of 147 degrees 46 minutes west. The next morning they saw innumerable ice islands, high and rugged, their tops formed into various peaks, which distinguished them from those hitherto observed, which were commonly flat at the top. Many of those now seen were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides, astonishing to behold. Most of their winged companions had now left them, except the grey albatrosses, and instead of the other birds, they were visited by a few Antarctic peterels, two of which were shot. From the appearance of the former, Captain Cook says, "we may with reason conjecture that there is land to the south." December the 22d, they had penetrated to 67 degrees 31 minutes south, being the highest latitude they had yet reached. The longitude was 142 degrees 54 minutes west. They celebrated Christmas

day, the 25th, with great festivity, the sailors feasting on a double portion of pudding, and regaling themselves with the brandy which they had saved from their allowance several months before, being solicitous to get very drunk. The sight of an immense number of ice islands, among which the ship drifted at the mercy of the current, every moment in danger of being dashed in pieces, could not deter them from indulging in their favourite amusement; as long as they had brandy left, they would persist to keep Christmas, though the elements had conspired together for their destruction.

A.D.  
1774.

January 3, 1774, being in latitude 56 degrees south, and longitude 140 degrees 31 minutes west, the wind obliged them to steer more to the north-east than they would have chosen, by which they left unexamined a space of 40 degrees of longitude, and 20 degrees of latitude; which, however, was afterwards explored on the return of the Resolution next year, and likewise by Captain Furneaux in the Adventure, much about this time. The wind increased so much on January the 15th, that it was very doubtful whether our navigators would return to give an account of their voyage. At nine at night, a huge mountainous wave struck the ship on the beam and filled the deck with a deluge of water, which poured into the cabin, extinguished the lights, and left the gentlemen there in doubt whether they were not entirely overwhelmed, and sinking into the abyss. They passed for a third time the Antarctic circle, on January 26, in longitude 109 degrees west, when they found the mildest sun-shine that had been experienced in the frigid zone. This led them to entertain hopes of penetrating as far toward the south pole as other navigators had done toward the north; but the next day they discovered a solid ice field before them of immense extent, bearing from east to west. A bed of fragments floated all round this field, which seemed to be raised several feet high

above the level of the water. While in this situation, they observed the southern part of the horizon illuminated by the rays of light reflected from the ice to an amazing height. Ninety-seven ice islands were counted within the field, beside those on the outside; many of them were large, and looked like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together; so that it was not possible for any thing to enter it. Captain Cook, however, is of opinion, that there must be land to the south behind this ice; but adds, "It can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be entirely covered. I who was ambitious not only of going farther than any body had gone before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption; as it in some measure relieved us, and shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since then we could not proceed farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north, being at this time in the latitude of 71 degrees 10 minutes south, and longitude 106 degrees 54 minutes west."

Captain Cook then went in search of the land, said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez about a century ago, in latitude 38 degrees, and laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in 90 degrees west, but no such land was found in this situation: if there be any land in the neighbourhood, it can be nothing but a small island. The captain then proceeded to the Marquesas islands discovered by Mendana in 1595, and visited a second time during this voyage the queen of tropical islands, Otaheite; where, having refreshed, he sailed for the new Hebrides, which though discovered as early as 1606 by that great navigator Quiros,



had never been sufficiently explored. Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of the islands of this archipelago, which had been barely seen by others, added the knowledge of several before unknown, which entitled him to give the whole the appellation which they now bear. They are situated in the direction of north-west and south-south east, between the latitudes of 14 degrees, 29 minutes, and 20 degrees, 4 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees, 41 minutes, and 170 degrees, 21 minutes east, extending 125 leagues. Of all these islands *Tierra del Espiritu Santo* is the most westerly and the largest, being twenty-two leagues in length, and twelve in breadth. The lands, especially on the west side, are exceedingly high and mountainous, generally covered with wood, and the vallies uncommonly luxuriant, watered by streams and chequered with plantations. On the west side is a large and safe bay, the two points which form its entrance lying at the distance of ten leagues from each other. The inhabitants are of a stout make, dark colour, with woolly hair; though almost naked, their persons are adorned with shells and feathers; round their middle they wear a narrow belt, from which is hung a matted belt which covers them behind and before as low as the knees. They had no other arms but spears with two or three prongs, which seemed rather intended for attacking fish than men. The second day after the ship arrived on their coast they were with much difficulty prevailed on to approach near enough to receive some presents, of which nails were accepted with the greatest pleasure. They fastened a branch of the pepper plant to the rope by which the nails were let down, which was the only return they made for the generosity of the strangers. Their language bears some resemblance to that of the *Friendly* islands.

*Mallicollo* is the most considerable island next to *Espritu Santo*, being 18 leagues in length, and 8 at its greatest breadth. It is not only fertile, but appears to

have been very anciently inhabited, as the natives called it by nearly the same name which Quiros had received one hundred and sixty years ago. The people here are described as the most ugly and ill-proportioned that can well be imagined, and differing in almost every respect from the other islanders in the South Sea. They are of a dark colour, and diminutive size, long heads, monkey faces, their hair black and curly, but not so soft or woolly as that of a negro. The men go quite naked: and what increases their natural deformity is a rope as thick as a man's finger tied round the belly, cutting a deep notch across the body, which seems divided into two parts by this tight and unnatural ligature. Most other nations invent some kind of covering from motives of shame, but here a roll of cloth, continually fastened to the belt, rather displays than conceals, and is the opposite of modesty. They are armed with spears, bows and arrows; but are of a more pacific disposition than most other savages, having ventured to the ship without much invitation, and received with much complacence the presents offered them, for which they made a suitable return. When they returned on shore the sound of singing and beating their drums was heard all night. Mr. Foster supposes there may be fifty thousand inhabitants on this extensive island, which contains more than sixty square miles, covered for the most part with a continued forest, of which a few insulated spots only are cleared, which are lost in the extensive wild like small islands in the Pacific Ocean.

Very few women were seen, but those few were no less ugly than the men; of a small stature, their heads, faces, and shoulders painted red. Their food consists principally of vegetables, which they cultivate with much care; hogs and fowls abound, and by means of their canoes they draw a considerable supply of fish from the ocean. When the Resolution was about to depart, Captain Cook says, "the natives came off in canoes, making exchanges with

“ still greater confidence than before, and giving such extraordinary proofs of their honesty, as surprised us. As the ship at first had fresh way through the water, several of the canoes dropped astern after they had received goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs in return; instead of taking advantage of this, as our friends at the Society islands would have done, they used their utmost efforts to get up with us, and deliver what they had already been paid for; one man in particular followed us a considerable time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the thing was forgotten; as soon as he came along-side he held up the article, which several on board were ready to buy, but he refused to part with it till he saw the person to whom he had before sold it; this person not knowing the man again, offered him something in return, which he constantly refused, and showing him what had been given before, at length made him sensible of the nice point of honour by which he was actuated.” Besides excelling all their neighbours in probity, they appeared the most intelligent of any nation that had been seen in the South Sea. They readily understood the meaning conveyed by signs and gestures, and in a few minutes taught the gentlemen of the ship several words in their language, which is wholly distinct from that general tongue of which so many dialects are spoken at the Society islands, the Marquesas, Friendly isles, Easter island and New Zealand. They were not only assiduous in teaching, but had great curiosity to learn the language of the strangers, which they pronounced with such accuracy, and retained with such force of recollection, as led their instructors to admire their extensive faculties and quick apprehension; so that what they wanted in person or beauty was amply compensated to them in acuteness of understanding and probity of heart.

Captain Cook continued sixteen days at another island

called Tanna, distinguished by a furious volcano, which was seen burning at a great distance at sea. The soil of this island is composed of decayed vegetables, intermixed with the ashes of the volcano, and the country is in general so covered with trees, shrubs, and plants, as to choak up the bread-fruit and cocoa nuts. The natives are not numerous, but stronger and better proportioned than the Mallicollese. Not one single corpulent man was seen here; all are active and full of spirit. Their features are large, the nose broad, but the eyes full and generally agreeable. They seem to excel in the use of arms, yet they are not fond of labour; they never would put a hand to assist in any work the ship's company was carrying on, which the Indians of other islands used to delight in: here they throw all the laborious drudgery on the women, many of whom were seen carrying a child on their backs, and a bundle under their arm, and a fellow strutting before them with only a club or a spear. The plantations consist of yams, bunanas, eddoes and sugar canes, all which being very low, permit the eye to take in a great extent of country. There are plenty of hogs, but very few domestic fowls. Rats of the same species common in the other islands were seen running about in great numbers. They particularly frequent the fields of sugar canes, where they make destructive depredations.

Captain Cook continued surveying these islands during the month of August, 1774; from which he set sail the 1st of September, and having stood to south-west all night, next day no more land was to be seen. On the 4th of September, being in the latitude of 19 degrees 14 minutes south, and the longitude of 165 degrees east, land was discovered bearing south-south-west, for which he continued to steer till five in the evening. The ship had hardly got to an anchor on the 5th before it was surrounded by a great number of canoes, carrying the natives, most of whom were unarmed. They were prevailed on to receive

some presents, lowered down to them by a rope, in return for which they tied two fish that stunk intolerably. These mutual exchanges brought on a degree of confidence; several came on board, and stayed dinner, but could not be persuaded to eat of any thing but yams. They were curious in examining every part of the ship, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They were fond of spike nails, and pieces of coloured cloth, especially red. After dinner the captain went on shore, with two armed boats, carrying with him one of the natives, who had conceived an attachment for him. They landed on a sandy beach before a vast number of people, who had assembled merely from curiosity. The captain made presents to all those his friend pointed out, who were either old men, or such as seemed to be persons of some note: he offered to make presents to some women who stood behind the crowd, but his friend restrained him from this act of complaisance. A chief, named Teabooma, then made a speech consisting of short sentences, to each of which two or three old men answered by nodding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, significant of approbation. The speech was made on account of the strangers, to whom it seemed to be very favourable. The captain having then inquired by signs for fresh water, some pointed to the east, and others to the west. His friend undertook to conduct him to it in the boats; and having rowed about two miles up the coast to the east, where the shore was mostly covered with mangrove trees, they entered by a narrow creek, which led to a little straggling village, near which was abundance of fresh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of sugar cane, plantains, yams, and other roots, and watered by little rills, artfully conducted from the main stream which flowed from the hills. Here were some cocoa-nut trees, which did not seem burdened with fruit: the crowing of cocks was heard, but none of them were seen. In pro-

ceeding up the creek, Mr. Foster shot a duck, which was the first use these people saw of fire arms. The captain's friend was at much pains to explain to his countrymen how it had been killed. "The day being far spent," says the captain, "and the tide not permitting us to stay longer in the creek, we took leave of the people, and got on board a little after sun-set. From this little excursion I found we were to expect nothing from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed. For it was easy to see they had little more than good nature to bestow. In this they exceeded all the nations we had yet met; and although it did not satisfy the demands of nature, it at once pleased, and left our minds at ease."

The captain continued the greatest part of the month in examining this island, to which he gave the name of New Caledonia. It is the largest of all the tropical islands in those parts, and, excepting New Holland and New Zealand, is the largest that has been discovered in the south Pacific Ocean. It extends from 19 degrees, 37 minutes, to 22 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude, and from 163 degrees, 37 minutes, to 167 degrees, 14 minutes east longitude; being 12 degrees distant from New Holland; and the country bearing a strong resemblance to those parts of New South Wales that lie under the same parallel of latitude. The whole coast seems to be surrounded by reefs and shoals which render the access to it very dangerous; but at the same time guard the coasts against the violence of the wind and sea, cause them to abound with fish, and secure an easy and safe navigation for canoes. These Indians are stout, tall, and in general well proportioned; their beards and hair black and strongly frizzled, so as to be almost woolly in some individuals. They are remarkably courteous and friendly; but their appearance is very indecent, every Caledonian being, like the natives of Tanna and Mallicollo, an am-

bulant statue of the Roman garden-god. Yet there was not a single instance of the women permitting any improper familiarities. They sometimes indeed mixed in the crowd, and amused themselves with encouraging the proposals of the seamen, beckoning them to come along the bushes; but as soon as the sailors followed, they gave them the slip, running away with great agility, and laughing very heartily at their ridiculous disappointment.

Their houses or huts are circular as a bee-hive, and full as close and warm. The entrance is by a square hole, big enough to admit a man bent double; the side-walls four feet and a half high, the roof more lofty, peaked at the top, and supporting a post of wood ornamented with carving or shells. They commonly erect several huts in the neighbourhood of each other, under a cluster of thick fig-trees, whose foliage is impervious to the rays of the sun. The ship did not continue long enough on this coast for the captain to acquire any certain knowledge concerning the language, government, and religion of the natives. They are governed by chiefs, like the inhabitants of the New Hebrides, and pay a great degree of deference to old age. No circumstance was observed in their behaviour which denoted the smallest superstition of any kind.

After leaving New Caledonia, the Resolution, steering southward, fell in with an uninhabited island the 10th October, 1774, which the captain named Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It lies in latitude 29 degrees 2 minutes south, longitude 168 degrees 16 minutes east. It is about three miles long, very steep, covered with cypress trees, abounding in a red porous lava, which indicates that this island had been a volcano. The productions of New Zealand are here combined with those of the New Hebrides and Caledonia, for the cypress of the one, as well as the cabbage palm of the other, flourish in great perfection; the former yielding timber for the carpenter, and the latter affording a most palatable and

wholesome refreshment. The fish caught here, together with the birds and vegetables, enabled the ship's company to fare sumptuously every day during their stay. Here is likewise the valuable flax plant of New Zealand; all which circumstances, if the island were a little larger, would render it an unexceptionable place for an European settlement.

The greatest defect of Norfolk island, as well as of all those lately visited, is the scarcity of animal food, with which, however, they might easily be stored in great abundance. But this circumstance obliged the captain to sail again for New Zealand, where he came to an anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound the 19th October, 1774. Here he continued till the 10th of November, when, having already satisfied himself of the non-existence of an undiscovered continent in the Pacific ocean, he proceeded to examine the Magellanic regions, and by exploring the unknown parts of the Atlantic and Indian oceans, to complete the survey of the southern hemisphere. The first object of this cruize was to discover an extensive coast laid down by Mr. Dalrymple, between 40 and 53 degrees west longitude, and in the latitude of 54 and 58 degrees south, in which he places the bay of St. Sebastian. But no such coast was to be found; and as Captain Furneaux in the Adventure passed across that part where the eastern and western shores are laid down, it appears that no such land exists in the situation assigned to it in the English or French charts. On January 14th, 1775, land was discovered in latitude 53 degrees 56 minutes south, longitude 39 degrees 24 minutes west; the mountains appeared of an immense height, covered with snow and ice to the water's edge. Toward the south several low lands were seen, which appeared to have some verdure upon them, and were therefore called the Green islands. This land, which was at first supposed to be part of a great continent, was found at length to be an island of 70 leagues in circuit,



between the latitudes of 53 degrees 57 minutes and 54 degrees 57 minutes south, and the longitudes of 38 degrees 13 minutes and 35 degrees 54 minutes west. It is not easy to conceive any thing more dismal than the face of nature in this island. Though it was in the midst of the summer of that climate, the island seemed in a manner walled round with ice, and must have been nearly inaccessible in any other season. Captain Cook landed in a bay on the northern side, which he called Possession Bay, because here he took possession for his majesty of this dreary mansion of sterility under the name of Southern Georgia. The head of the bay, as well as two places on each side, were terminated by perpendicular cliffs of great height, such as are found in the harbour of Spitzbergen in the northern hemisphere. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to sea; and a great fall happened while the ship was in the bay, which made a noise like cannon. The other parts of the country were not less savage and horrible. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the vallies lay involved in snow, affording no trees nor shrubs, nor the least signs of vegetation. Captain Cook examined also the southern parts of this island, which afforded nothing but a strong-bladed grass growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant of the mossy kind springing from the rocks. Seals, sea-lions, and penguins were the only appearances of animated nature in this land of desolation, which the captain left on the 26th of January, intending to steer east-south-east until he arrived in 60 degrees latitude, beyond which he meant not to proceed, unless he discovered certain signs of falling in with land. In the prosecution of this design he met with nothing but thick fogs and continual islands of ice, the unintermitting aspect of which at length tired even this persevering adventurer. Many on board were at this time afflicted with severe rheumatic pains and colds, and some were suddenly taken

with fainting fits, since their unwholesome, juiceless food could not supply the waste of animal spirits. When the hope of reaching a milder climate diffused a general satisfaction another frozen country rose to their view the 31st of January. Captain Cook gave the name of Sandwich Land to this discovery, which may possibly be the northern point of a continent; for he is of opinion, that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast southern ocean. He likewise thinks that it extends farthest to the north, opposite the southern Atlantic and Indian oceans, because ice was always found more to the north in those seas than in the southern Pacific, which he imagines would not happen unless there was land of considerable extent to the south. But the danger of exploring these unknown regions of winter is so great that he concludes, seemingly on good grounds, that no man will ever venture farther than he has done. The most southern extremity that was seen lies in latitude 59 degrees 30 minutes south, longitude 27 degrees 30 minutes west. To this he gave the name of Southern Thule, beyond which nothing, perhaps, will ever be discovered. It is impossible to conceive any prospect more inexpressibly horrid than the appearance of this country: a country doomed by nature never to feel the genial warmth of the sun's rays, and where all life and vegetation are for ever shut up in eternal frost. This forbidden coast admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a harbour being blocked up with ice. Captain Cook having thus fully accomplished the design of his voyage, proceeded northward, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as above mentioned.

Before we conclude the history of this voyage, it must not be omitted that Captain Cook, when he returned to Otahcite, April, 1774, had an opportunity of examining with more accuracy than had been hitherto done, the naval force of this island. Having gone by appointment

to the district called Opparee, to pay a visit to Otoo the king, he observed a number of large canoes in motion ; all of which, to the number of three hundred and thirty, drew up in regular order, completely manned and equipped. The vessels were decorated with flags and streamers ; so that the whole made a more splendid appearance than could have been expected in those seas. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones ; the canoes were ranged close along-side of each other with their heads ashore, and the sterns to the sea, the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were one hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. The former must have been intended for transports and victuallers, for in the war canoes there was no sort of provisions whatever. In all the three hundred and thirty vessels the captain guessed there might be seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men, a number which, he says, appears incredible, especially as he was told the whole belonged to two districts, the island being divided into more than forty. In this computation, however, he allowed but forty men, troops and rowers, to each of the larger canoes, and eight to each of the smaller ; an estimate which all his officers agreed rather to fall short of, than to exceed the truth. The fleet was going out to attack the inhabitants of Eimeo, who had ventured to provoke the Otaheiteans to a naval engagement. The captain was obliged to depart before he saw the conclusion of this affair ; but the marine strength which he witnessed led him to important reflections concerning the populousness of Otaheite. " It had been observed," he says, " that the number of war canoes belonging to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopata was one hundred and sixty ; to Tettaha forty, and to Matavai ten ; and that this district did not equip one-fourth

“ part of that number. If we suppose every district  
 “ in the island, of which there are forty-three, to raise  
 “ and equip the same number of war canoes as Tettaha,  
 “ we shall find, by this estimate, that the whole island  
 “ can raise and equip one thousand seven hundred and  
 “ twenty war canoes, and sixty-eight thousand able  
 “ seamen; allowing forty men to each canoe. And, as  
 “ these cannot amount to above one-third part of the  
 “ number of both sexes, children included, the whole  
 “ island cannot contain less than two hundred and four  
 “ thousand inhabitants; a number which at first sight  
 “ exceeded my belief. But, when I came to reflect on  
 “ the vast swarms which appeared wherever we came, I  
 “ was convinced that this estimate was not much, if at  
 “ all, too great. There cannot be a greater proof of  
 “ the richness and fertility of Otaheite, not forty leagues  
 “ in circuit, than its supporting such a number of in-  
 “ habitants.” We now return from describing the dis-  
 coveries of this enterprising and judicious commander,  
 to relate the sequel of our domestic misfortunes.

It has been already observed, that although the ministry  
 had given way to the refractory spirit of the colonies in  
 many other instances, yet the odious and ill-judged tax  
 on tea imported into America was still supported by the  
 force of an act of parliament. This regulation, which  
 had been much objected to at home, was universally  
 obnoxious on the other side of the Atlantic. The Ame-  
 ricans foresaw, that if the tea were once landed, and in  
 the hands of consignees appointed by the East India  
 Company, which had lately fallen under the direction of  
 government, it would be impossible to prevent its sale  
 and consumption; and they therefore considered the duty  
 on this commodity as a measure calculated to deceive  
 them into a general compliance with the revenue laws,  
 and thereby to open a door to unlimited taxation.  
 Besides, all the dealers both legal and clandestine, who,

as tea is an article of such general consumption in America, were extremely powerful, saw their trade at once taken out of their hands. Views of private interest thus conspiring with motives of public zeal, the spirit of opposition universally diffused itself throughout the colonies, who determined to prevent the landing of the tea by every means in their power.

Meanwhile the tea ships had sailed from England, October, 1773, with the following destinations: for Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, three ships, each laden with six hundred chests of tea; for Charlestown and Rhode island, two ships, laden with two hundred chests each; the whole amounting to two thousand two hundred chests. As the time of this arrival approached, the people assembled in different places in great bodies in order to concert measures for preventing this dangerous importation. The consignees appointed for vending the tea by the East India Company, were compelled, in most places, at the risk of their lives and properties, to relinquish their employments. Committees were appointed by the people to propose tests, and to punish those who refused subscribing whatever was proposed, as enemies to their country. In the tumultuary assemblies held on these occasions innumerable resolutions were passed derogatory from the legislative power of Great Britain. Inflammatory hand-bills and other seditious papers were published at New York, Charlestown, and Philadelphia; but Boston, which had so long taken the lead in rebellion, was the scene of the first outrage. The ships laden with tea having arrived in that port, were boarded, 18th December, 1773, by a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, who in a few hours discharged the valuable cargoes into the sea. Charlestown in South Carolina followed this pernicious example. At New York alone the tea was landed under the cannon of a man-of-war.

When the American despatches arrived, March 7, 1774, and brought advice of the outrages committed against the tea ships at Boston, his majesty sent a message to both houses, in which they are informed, that in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament; that they may enable his majesty to take such measures as may be most likely to put an immediate stop to those disorders, and consider what farther regulations may be necessary for securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The minister who delivered this message allowed, that the destruction of the tea at Boston might have been prevented by coming in the assistance of the naval force which lay in the harbour; but as the leading men in that city had always made great complaints of the interposition of the army and navy, and charged all disturbances of every sort to their account, this assistance had with great prudence been declined; the Bostonians were left to the free exercise of their own judgment, and the result had given the lie to all their former professions.

The message and declaration seemed to be at variance with each other. In the former his majesty desires the parliament to empower him to stop the course of disorders, which the minister allows might have been prevented by the exertion of that force with which he was already entrusted. But it seems that government had not as yet been sufficiently persuaded of the evil intentions of the inhabitants of Boston, and wished to give them a farther opportunity of displaying the most extensive depravity of their political characters. This being now

evident to every unprejudiced mind, the minister opened his plan for the restoration of peace, order, justice, and commerce in the Massachuset's bay. He stated that the opposition to the authority of parliament had always originated in that colony, which had been instigated to a rebellious conduct by the irregular and seditious proceedings of the town of Boston. That therefore, for the purpose of a thorough reformation, it became necessary to begin with that town, which by a late unparalleled outrage had led the way to the destruction of commerce in all parts of America. That, had such an insult been offered to British property in a foreign port, the nation would have been entitled to demand satisfaction. He proposed, therefore, that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea which had been destroyed, and to give security in future that trade may be safely carried on, property protected, laws obeyed, and duty regularly paid. For this purpose, he said, it would be necessary to take away from Boston the privilege of a port until his majesty should be satisfied in these particulars. Upon these arguments leave was given to bring in a bill, March 14th, "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned  
" in collecting the customs from the town of Boston, in  
" the province of the Massachuset's bay, in North Ame-  
" rica, and to discontinue the landing and discharging,  
" lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise,  
" at the said town of Boston, or within the harbour  
" thereof." This bill passed in the house of commons, the 25th of March; and, after being carried up to the lords, received the royal assent the 31st of March.

This law forms the æra at which has been dated the decisive resolution of parliament to proceed to extremities with the province of Massachuset's bay. Besides the ships of war already in America, the Preston, Admiral Graves, with the Royal Oak, Worcester, and Egmont, were ordered to repair with all convenient speed to

Boston. But at the same time that these resolutions were taken, General Gage was appointed governor of the obnoxious colony, a gentleman who had long resided there, and was well acquainted with the inhabitants, with whom he had formed the most intimate connections. This to many afforded a proof that the ministry had fallen back into their former irresolution; and the Bostonians threatened on the one hand with an act which deprived them of their ordinary means of subsistence, and soothed on the other by the appointment of a governor most agreeable to their wishes, maintained their wonted spirit, and continued to defy the equivocal, temporising timidity of the mother country. They ventured to hold a town meeting, at which they resolved to invite the other colonies to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, until the Boston port bill should be repealed. They artfully connected the safety of the liberties of North America with the punishment of one rebellious city, and, expatiating on the injustice and cruelty of the odious bill, appealed from it to God and the world. The governor arrived the middle of May, and was received at Boston with the usual honours. He laid nothing before the provincial assembly but what the ordinary business required; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, on the 1st of June, in pursuance of the late act of parliament.

Meanwhile the Boston port bill, as well as the resolutions taken at the town meeting, were despatched to every part of the continent. These, like the Fury's torch, set the countries every where in a flame through which they passed. At New York the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper, which they cried about the streets under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. The house of burgesses in Virginia, appointed the 1st of June, the day on which the Boston bill was to have effect, to be set apart



for fasting, prayer, and humiliation; an example which was followed by almost every province of North America. Even the inhabitants of Salem who derived evident advantage from the degradation of a neighbouring town, declared that they must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all the feelings of humanity, if they could indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise their fortunes on the ruins of their suffering neighbours.

Thus the Boston port bill, unassisted by these active exertions of the military or naval power of Great Britain which might have rendered it an object of terror, raised a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cause. They all agreed in determining not to submit to the payment of any internal taxes that were not imposed by their own assemblies, and to suspend all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and those in Massachusetts's bay in particular, were fully redressed. Nor were they less unanimous in entering into a general agreement, which was formed at Boston under the name of a solemn league and covenant for mutually supporting each other, and maintaining what they deemed the rights of freemen, inviolate. They soon after appointed deputies from each province to attend a general congress, which should contain the united voice and wisdom of America, and which they agreed should be held at Philadelphia, the 5th of September, 1774. Among the first acts of this assembly was a declaration in which they acknowledge their dependence, but insist on their privileges. They cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British legislature as are confined to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country; but they insist, that the foundation of the English constitution and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative

council, and as the colonies are not, and from various causes cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive legislation in their several provincial assemblies, in all cases of taxation and internal policy. They recommend to the several provinces the continuance of the measures which they had already adopted, for establishing a powerful national militia, and for raising money to pay those brave troops who would at every hazard defend the privileges of America.

The general congress gave a consistence to the designs of twelve colonies differing in religion, manners, and forms of government, and infected with all the local prejudices and aversions incident to neighbouring states. The strength which all derived from this formidable union might have been sufficient to alarm Great Britain; but the ministry, instead of fleets and armies, continued still to fight the Americans with acts of parliament. For this purpose the first lord of the treasury moved, the 10th of February, 1775, for leave to bring in a bill to restore the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts bay and New Hampshire, as well as of the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode island; and to prohibit these provinces from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places therein mentioned. Upon the third reading of this bill a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, should be included in the same restrictions with the New England provinces. This amendment, however, was overruled; although it could hardly be denied that these provinces had rendered themselves equally culpable with those of New England. Nearly about the same time, parliament voted an augmentation of four thousand three hundred and eighty-three soldiers, and two thousand seamen; and it was intended that the troops at Boston should amount to full ten thousand, a number deemed

more than sufficient for quelling the present disturbance. While the nation seemed in general heartily to concur in those vigorous measures, they were not a little astonished at the famous conciliatory motion made by Lord North, containing the following resolution: "That when the governor, council, and assembly of any colony should be willing to contribute their proportion to the common defence, and for the support of the civil government, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the assembly of that province, it will be proper to forbear imposing or levying any tax, duty, or assessment from the said province, excepting only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce." This proposition was considered by many of those who supported the general measures of government, as a dereliction of those rights which they had hitherto contended to be essential to the British legislature; while the opposition asserted, that it would be received with the same indignation by the Americans, as every other measure intended to disunite their interests.

This law which occasioned great discontents in England, met not with the smallest regard in America. While the parliament were employed in enacting it, the ill humour that prevailed among the troops and inhabitants at Boston, broke out into action. It is still undecided which party commenced hostilities; but the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, proved the bravery of the Provincials far superiour to the ideas generally entertained of it. The blood shed on these occasions excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and despatch, as if an enemy had already appeared in their own territories. In some places the magazines were seized, in others the treasury, and without waiting for any account or advice, a stop was almost every where put at the same time to the exportation of provisions. The governor and forces at

Boston, as well as the inhabitants, continued closely blocked up by land; while they were excluded from all supplies of fresh provisions, which the neighbouring countries could have afforded them by sea. As the military stores began to be exhausted without the possibility of receiving any speedy supply, the governor thought proper to enter into a capitulation with the Bostonians, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were allowed to depart with all their other effects. Though all the poor and helpless were sent out, and many others obtained passports both then, and at different times afterwards, yet the greater part of the inhabitants were upon different grounds obliged to remain in the city, which breach of faith, as the Americans termed it on the part of General Gage, is described with great indignation in all their subsequent publications.

The Continental Congress, met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, and adopted such measures as confirmed the people in their warlike resolutions. They provided for the array and support of an army, named generals, established a paper currency, for the realizing the value of which, the "Twelve United Colonies" became securities; soon after Georgia acceded to the congress, from which time they were distinguished by the name of the "Thirteen United Colonies." It was said, that in the whole of North America, from Nova Scotia to Florida, near two hundred thousand men were training to arms under the auspices of the congress. This assembly took measures not only for defending themselves, but for distressing their enemies. They strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provision; and to render this order effectual, stopped all exportation to those colonies and islands which still retained their obedience. This prohibition occasioned no small distress to the people at Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch, that, to prevent an absolute famine,

several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station, to carry out cargoes of provisions from Ireland.

In the mean time, several private persons, belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, without any public command, or participation that has hitherto been discovered, undertook an expedition of the utmost importance, and which threatened to deprive Great Britain of every single possession which she held in North America. This was the surprize of Ticonderago, Crown-Point, and other fortresses, situated upon the lakes, and commanding the passes between the ancient English colonies and Canada. These adventurers, amounting in the whole to about two hundred and forty men, seized Ticonderago, and Crown-Point, in which they found above two hundred pieces of cannon, besides mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of various stores; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderago for the equipping of others.

Although the troops at Boston were greatly reinforced by the arrival of the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, a considerable body of marines, and several regiments from Ireland, they continued patiently to submit to all the inconveniencies of a blockade; nor did they receive any considerable assistance from the great number of ships of war which almost surrounded the peninsula. The congress published a resolution, June 8, importing the compact between the crown and the people of Massachusetts Bay, to be dissolved. This was followed by a proclamation of General Gage, June 12, by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and punishment denounced against those who obstinately persisted in disobedience. They were to be treated as rebels and traitors; and as the regular course of justice was stopped,

martial law was to take place until the rules of civil equity were restored to their due efficacy.

The provincials considering this proclamation as an immediate prelude to hostility, determined to be before hand with their enemies. Having made the necessary preparations for seizing the port of Charlestown, they sent a number of men with the greatest privacy in the night, to throw up works upon Bunker's Hill. This was effected with such extraordinary order and silence, and such incredible despatch, that none of the ships of war which covered the shore, heard the noise of the workmen, who by the morning had made a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof. The sight of these works was the first thing that alarmed the *Lively* man-of-war, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a sight, which seemed little less than a prodigy. A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from this time carried on against the works, from the ship, and floating batteries, as well as from the top of Cop's Hill in Boston. About noon, General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. These troops, consisting of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 42d, and 52d battalions, with a proper train of artillery, were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by two companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the 1st battalion of marines, amounting in the whole to something more than two thousand men.

The attack began by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced slowly towards the enemy, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the Provincials into confusion. These, however, sustained the assault with a firmness that would have done honour to regular troops, and detached a body of men to Charlestown which covered their right flank. General Pigot, who commanded the right wing was thus obliged to engage at the same time with the lines and with those in the houses. During this conflict, Charlestown was set on fire; whether by the troops or by carcasses thrown from the ships, is uncertain, but that large and beautiful town, which, being the first settlement in the colony, was considered as the mother of Boston, was in one day burnt to the ground. The Provincials did not return a shot until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, where a most dreadful fire took place, by which above a thousand of our bravest men and officers fell. In this action, one of the hottest ever known, considering the number engaged, our troops were thrown into some disorder; but in this critical moment General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, rallied them by a happy manœuvre, and brought them instantaneously to the charge. They attacked the works with fixed bayonets and irresistible bravery, and carried them in every quarter. The Provincials fought desperately, but being, as they affirm, destitute of bayonets, and their powder expended, they were obliged to retreat over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man-of-war, and of two floating batteries. The king's troops took five pieces of cannon, but no prisoners except thirty, who were so severely wounded that they could not escape.

The possession of part of the peninsula of Charlestown, and of Bunker's Hill, which was immediately fortified, enlarged the quarters of the troops, who had been much

incommoded by the straightness in which they were confined in Boston; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Besides, the Provincials lost no time in throwing up works upon another hill opposite to Bunker's, on the side of Charlestown neck which was still in their possession. The troops were thus as closely invested in this peninsula as they had been in Boston. Their situation was irksome and degrading, being surrounded and insulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to despise, and cut off from all those refreshments of which they stood in the greatest need.

The resentment occasioned by their sufferings probably engaged them to continue a great cannonade upon the works of the Provincials, which could have little other effect than to enure them to that sort of service in which they were employed. A regiment of light cavalry which arrived from Ireland, increased the wants of the garrison, without being of the smallest use, as the cavalry were never able to set foot without the fortifications. The hay which grew upon the islands in the bay, as well as the sheep and cattle which they contained, became an object of great attention to the king's troops; but the Provincials having prepared a number of whaling boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets of the bay, were, notwithstanding the number of the ships of war and armed vessels, too successful in burning, destroying, and carrying away those essential articles of supply. These enterprizes brought on several skirmishes, and the enemy grew at length so daring that they burnt the light-house situated on an island at the entrance of the harbour, though a man-of-war lay within a mile of them at the time; and some carpenters being afterwards sent, under the protection of a small party of marines, to erect a temporary light-house, they killed or carried off the whole detachment. From this time a sort of predatory war commenced



between the king's ships and the inhabitants on different parts of the coast. The former, being refused the supplies of provisions and necessaries which they wanted for themselves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in these attempts were frequently opposed, and sometimes repulsed with loss by the country people. The seizing of ships, in conformity to the new laws for restraining the commerce of the New England provinces, was also a continual source of animosity and violence, the proprietors hazarding all dangers in defending or recovering their vessels. These contests drew the vengeance of the men-of-war upon several of the small towns upon the sea coasts, some of which underwent a severe chastisement.

The parliament, which met in October, 1775, seemed more firmly determined than on any former occasion, to pursue what were called vigorous measures by the majority, and which the opposition distinguished by the epithets of cruel, bloody, and unjust. The American petitions addressed to the crown were rejected with contempt or indignation; and it was determined to carry on the war with a spirit that should astonish all Europe, and to employ such fleets and armies in the ensuing year as had never before entered the new world. A motion was made from the admiralty, in the committee of supply, that twenty-eight thousand seamen, including six thousand six hundred and sixty-five marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1776. This was accompanied with a general outline of the services to which the navy should be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North American station should amount to seventy-eight sail. This would, doubtless, employ the greatest part of the seamen proposed; and happily the affairs of Europe did not require any considerable exertion of our naval strength. The professions of the neighbouring courts were pacific and friendly; and what was of more weight than profes-

sions, their preparations were nowise alarming. At any rate our guardships were so numerous and so well appointed, that they might on the shortest notice be rendered superiour to any force that our rivals could assemble. The motion for the augmentation was passed; though not without severe animadversion from the most distinguished of our naval commanders, who arraigned in the plainest terms the present government and conduct of our naval affairs, and insisted that the establishment now proposed, though too great for peace, was by no means adequate to the demands of a war.

On the day following, November 8, the minister of the war department, having laid the estimates for the land service before the committee of supply, shewed that our whole military force would amount to fifty-five thousand men, of which upwards of twenty-five thousand would be employed in America. On this occasion also many gentlemen affirmed, that the proposed force was totally unequal to the purpose of conquering America by force of arms, the measure upon which the ministry seemed now absolutely determined. This was supported by the opinion of a great general officer who had been long in administration; the other military gentlemen were called upon to declare their dissent if they thought otherwise, but they all continued silent.

A few days afterwards, the first lord of the treasury brought in the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies. All property of Americans, whether of ships or goods, on the high seas or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war; and several clauses were inserted in the bill to facilitate and lessen the expense of the condemning of prizes, and the recovery of prize-money. But, in order to soften these harsh measures, the bill enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who, besides

the power of granting pardons to individuals, were authorised to inquire into general grievances, and empowered to determine whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that state of obedience which entitled them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which case the restrictions of the present bill were to cease in their favour.

After all the boasted preparations for hostility, the seeming contradiction in this bill was thought by many to support the consistent character of administration. It was still the same alternative of war and peace; peace offered by Great Britain who had received the injury, and not by her enemies, on whom she pretended to be ready to wreak the whole weight of her vengeance. This mixed system of war and conciliation was represented as highly improper at the present juncture. The measure adopted, whether of peace or war, should be clear, simple, and decided, not involved in doubt, perplexity and darkness. If war be resolved, and it is determined to compel America to submission, let the means of coercion be such as will, to a moral certainty, ensure success. Our fleets and armies must command terms, which will in vain be solicited by our commissioners.

While these preparations and debates occupied the British senate, the designs of the Americans gradually became more daring. Their successful expedition to the lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderago and Crown Point, had opened the gates of Canada; and the congress came to the bold resolution of sending a force to invade and conquer that loyal colony. The Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, a body of New England men, amounting in the whole to three thousand, were appointed to this service. A number of batteaux, or flat-boats, were built at Ticonderago and Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance

into Canada. Having proceeded to the isle Aux Noix, they proposed to attack the fort St. John, in which they were retarded by a want of ammunition sufficient for carrying on the siege. Their commander Montgomery, who was well qualified for any military service, turned his thoughts to the reduction of the little fort Chamblee, which lies farther up the country, and was in a very defensible condition. Here he found considerable stores, and one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, which enabled him to push with vigour the siege of St. John. General Carleton, the governor of the province, then at Montreal, was equally indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. With the utmost difficulty, he had gotten together about a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with Colonel M'Lean, who had raised a regiment under the name of Royal Highland Emigrants, consisting of the native mountaineers of Scotland, who had lately arrived in America, and who, in consequence of the troubles, had not obtained settlements. But the designs of General Carleton were defeated by a party of Provincials, who encountered him at Longueil, and easily repulsed the Canadians. Another party pushed M'Lean toward the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians, by whom he was attended, hearing of the general's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was compelled, at the head of his few Scots emigrants, to take refuge in Quebec. Meanwhile Montgomery obtained possession of St. John, November 3, 1775, where he found a considerable quantity of artillery, and many useful stores; the garrison, commanded by Major Preston, surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent up the lakes to those interior parts of the colonies, which were best adapted to provide for their reception and security.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that necessity immediately erected batteries near the junction of the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to prevent the escape of the armed vessels, which General Carleton had at Montreal, to the defence of Quebec. Montgomery meanwhile laid siege to Montreal, of which he got possession the 15th of November; and Carleton's armament being pursued, attacked and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials, he himself narrowly escaped in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, and after many dangers arrived at Quebec. His naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, fell into the hands of the Provincials.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. Besides this, Colonel Arnold appeared unexpectedly with a body of New Englanders at Point Levi, opposite to the town. The river fortunately separated them from the place, otherwise it seems probable that they might have become masters of it in the first surprise and confusion. Several days elapsed before they effected a passage in boats furnished them by the Canadians, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English frigates in the river. The inhabitants of Quebec, however, had by this time leisure to unite for defending their city. When Montgomery, therefore, who with the utmost expedition had pushed forward to join Arnold, attempted on the 31st of December to carry the place by escalade, he met with the most vigorous and unexpected resistance. He himself was slain, Arnold wounded, and a considerable body of the Provincials taken prisoners of war. The remainder did not again venture on any similar attack, but were satisfied with converting the siege into a blockade, and found means effectually to prevent any supplies of provisions or necessaries from being carried into Quebec.

While the Provincials obtained these important advantages in Canada, the Virginians employed their governor, Lord Dunmore, to provide for his safety by embarking on board the Fowey man-of-war. All connection between Great Britain and that colony was dissolved July 18. The governor in vain emancipated the slaves, a measure which he had so often threatened, that its execution was rendered ineffectual. He determined, however, to do every thing in his power to regain possession of some part of the country which he had governed. Being joined by such persons as were obnoxious on account of their loyalty, and supported by the frigates on the station, he endeavoured to establish such a marine force as might enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the most valuable parts of Virginia accessible by water, to be always at hand, and to profit by every favourable occasion that offered. But his spirited endeavours to redeem the colony were attended only with disappointment; and his armament, too feeble for any essential service, was distinguished barely by acts of depredation. The unfortunate town of Norfolk, having refused to supply his majesty's ships with provisions, was attacked by a violent cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, three sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship the *Dunmore*; and the 1st of January was signalized with burning it to the ground. In South Carolina Lord William Campbell, the governor, after less vigorous exertions, was obliged to retire from Charlestown, on board a ship of war in the river: and Governor Martin of North Carolina saved himself by the same expedient. The fleet of England served as a peaceable asylum to the expelled magistrates of revolting provinces, while its army was ingloriously cooped up in Quebec and Boston.

The Provincials were not less active in the cabinet than in the field. November 13, 1775, the inhabitants of

Massachuset's Bay published letters of marque and reprisal, and established courts of admiralty for trying and condemning British ships. The general congress, December 6, having previously agreed on articles of confederation and perpetual union, answered with much acrimony the royal proclamation of August 23, for suppressing rebellion and sedition, and declared, that whatever punishment should be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their enemies, for defending the cause of America, the same should be retaliated on the British subjects who fell into their hands.

In this state of obstinacy or firmness on the side of the Americans, the distressed army at Boston looked with impatience toward these kingdoms for the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The delays and misfortunes which the transports experienced in their voyage, and the sight of many vessels laden with the necessaries and comforts of life taken in the harbour, heightened the mortification and sufferings of those brave troops, who were kept, by the severity of the season, and the strength of the enemy, in a total inaction during the whole winter. The American cruisers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better than whale-boats, grew daily more numerous and successful against the victuallers and store-ships; and, among a multitude of other prizes, took an ordnance ship from Woolwich, containing a large mortar upon a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a great number of small arms, with abundance of ammunition and all manner of tools, utensils, and machines necessary for camps and sieges. This important prize, which gave a new colour to the military operations of the Provincials, was taken by a small privateer, which excited just indignation against the management of our naval affairs, for hazarding a cargo of such value in a defenceless vessel.

When news of the prohibiting act reached the congress, they sent orders to General Washington to bring affairs at Boston to as speedy a decision as possible, in order to disengage his army, and to give them an opportunity to oppose the new dangers with which they were threatened. Washington, therefore, opened a new battery, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the night of the 2d of March, from whence a severe cannonade and bombardment was carried on against the town. This attack was continued till the 5th, when the army, to their incredible surprise, beheld some considerable works upon the heights of Dorchester-point, from which a twenty-four pound and a bomb battery were soon after opened. The situation of the king's troops was now extremely critical, it being necessary either to abandon the town which began to blaze on every side, or to dislodge the enemy and destroy the new works. The latter, however, General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage in the command, judged to be impracticable, so that nothing remained but to abandon Boston, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores on board the ships. The embarkation rather resembled the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp; one thousand five hundred of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the royal cause had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, encumbered the transports with their families and effects. This inconvenience, joined to scarcity of provisions and ill success, bred much discontent. The troops considered themselves as abandoned, having received no advices from England since the preceding October. Mutual jealousies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, part of this uneasiness which itself felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully so at this tempestuous equinoctial season, and the multitude of ships, which amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, increased the difficulty and apprehension. At the same time the

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king's forces were under the necessity of leaving a considerable quantity of artillery and stores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boston Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unserviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented them from having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the inhabitants of Boston; who, the 17th of March, received General Washington's army with drums beating, colours flying, and all the splendour of military triumph.

It was above a week after this time before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but this delay was amply compensated by the voyage to Halifax, which was shorter and more successful than could have been expected. Several ships of war were left behind to protect the vessels which should arrive from England; but the great extent of the bay with its numerous islands and creeks allowed such advantages to the provincial armed boats and privateers, that they took a great many of those vessels, which were still in ignorance that the town had changed masters.

On the side of Canada, General Carleton conducted his operations with more success. All the attempts of the Provincials to take Quebec by storm were rendered abortive; nor did they succeed better in endeavouring by fire-ships and other ways to burn the vessels in the harbour. Such was the constancy and vigilance of Governor Carleton, Brigadier M'Lean, and the activity of the garrison, that the Americans intended to raise the siege, which was prevented from being carried successfully into execution by the spirit and vigour of the officers and crews of the *Isis* man-of-war and two frigates, which were the first that had sailed from England with succours, and which having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the passage was deemed practicable. The

unexpected appearance of the ships threw the besiegers into the utmost consternation, and the command which they obtained of the river cut off all communication between the different detachments of the enemy. General Carleton lost no time in seizing the advantages which the present situation afforded. May 6, he marched out at the head of the garrison, and attacked the rebel camp, which he found in the utmost confusion. Upon the appearance of our troops they fled on all sides, abandoning their artillery, military stores, and all their implements for carrying on the siege. During this transaction our smaller ships of war proceeded up the river with great expedition, and took several small vessels belonging to the enemy, as well as the Gaspee sloop of war, which had a few months before, unfortunately fallen into their hands.

The success at Quebec tended greatly to facilitate the re-conquest of Canada, and the invasion of the back part of the colonies by the way of the lakes, which was the first of the three principal objects proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the ensuing campaign. The second was the making a strong impression on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least have been attended with the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New York.

It had for some time been the fate of the fleets, transports, and victuallers which sailed from England to meet with such difficulties, delays, and so many untoward circumstances, as in a great degree frustrated the end of their destination. Sir Peter Parker's squadron which sailed from Portsmouth at the close of the year, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various causes till the end of the month. There they found General Clinton, who had already been at New York, and from thence proceeded

to Virginia, where he had seen Lord Dunmore, and, finding that no service could be effected at either place with his small force, came thither to wait for them. After this junction, the fleet and army were both sufficiently powerful to attempt some enterprise of importance.\* Charlestown in South Carolina was the place destined for their attack. The fleet anchored off the bar the beginning of June; but the passing this obstacle was a matter of no small difficulty, especially to the two large ships, which, notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and the using every other means to lighten them as much as possible, both struck the ground. When this difficulty was overcome, our fleet attacked a fort lately erected upon the south-west point of Sullivan's island, and commanding the passage to Charlestown. The troops commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brigadier-General Vaughan, were landed on Long island, which lies to the eastward of Sullivan's. The Carolinians had posted some forces with artillery at the north-eastern extremity of the latter, at the distance of two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the breach. General Lee was encamped with a large body of troops on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the island, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats,

\* Sir Peter Parker's squadron consisted of the following, *viz.*

SHIPS.	GUNS	COMMANDERS.
Bristol .....	50 .....	Sir Peter Parker
Experiment .....	50 .....	Captain Scott
Solebay .....	28 .....	—— Symonds
Actæon .....	28 .....	—— Atkins
Active .....	28 .....	—— Williams
Syren .....	28 .....	—— Fenneaux
Sphinx .....	20 .....	—— Hunt
Friendship .....	12 .....	—— Hope
Ranger sloop		
Thunder bomb		
St. Lawrence schooner.		

and could by that means at any time march the whole, or any part of his force, to support the post opposed to our passage from Long island. This island is a naked, burning sand, where the troops suffered much from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun; and both fleet and army were much distressed through the badness of the water, and the defect or unwholesomeness of the provisions.

These inconveniencies rendered despatch of the utmost importance; but it was not till the 28th of June that, every thing being settled between the commanders by sea and land, the Thunder bomb took her station, covered by an armed ship, and began the attack by throwing shells at the fort. The Bristol, Solebay, Experiment, and Active, soon after brought up, and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. The Sphinx, Syren, and Actæon, were ordered to the westward, between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly with a view to enfilade the works of the fort, and, if possible, to cut off all communication between the island and the continent, and partly to interrupt all attempts by means of fire-ships, or otherwise, to prevent the grand attack. But this design was rendered unsuccessful by the strange unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were speedily disengaged, it was then too late to execute the intended service. The Actæon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and stores from falling into the hands of the enemy. Amid the dreadful roar of artillery and continued thunder from the ships, the garrison of the fort stuck with the greatest firmness and constancy to their guns, fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; and never did our marine, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, expe-

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rience so rude an encounter. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time so much exposed to the enemy's fire, that she was most dreadfully raked. The brave Captain Morris, after receiving such a number of wounds as would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still disdained, with a noble intrepidity, to quit his station, until his arm being shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the Bristol was at one time cleared of every person but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of daring intrepid firmness, which has never been exceeded, seldom equalled. The others on that deck were either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dressed. The fortifications being extremely strong, and their lowness preserving them from the weight of our shot, the fire from the ships produced not all the effect which was hoped or expected. The fort, indeed, seemed for a short time to be silenced, but this proceeded only from a want of powder, which was soon supplied from the continent. The land forces all this while continued inactive; and night at length put an end to the attack of the fleet. Sir Peter Parker finding all hopes of success at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly spent, called off his shattered vessels, after an engagement of above ten hours. The Bristol had one hundred and eleven, and the Experiment seventy-nine men killed and wounded; and both ships had received so much damage that the Provincials conceived strong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not less diligent in the performance of their duty, being less pointed at than the great ships, did not suffer a proportionable loss.

During these transactions the general congress took an opportunity of preparing the people for the declaration of independence, by a circular manifesto to the several colo-

nies, stating the causes which rendered it expedient to put an end to all authority under the crown, and to take the powers of government into their own hand. The causes assigned were, the contempt of their petitions for redress of grievances: the prohibitory bill by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries for their destruction. The colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania at first testified a disinclination to the establishment of a new government. Their deputies, however, were at length instructed to coincide in this measure, and on the 4th of July, 1776, the Thirteen United Provinces declared themselves free and independent states, abjuring all allegiance to the British crown, and all political connection with their mother country. A few weeks after this declaration, Lord Viscount Howe arrived at Halifax, at the head of a powerful squadron, and such a number of land forces as had never before appeared in the new world. Besides the national troops there were thirteen thousand Hessians and Waldeckers, commanded by able officers of their own country. The whole, composed of the new reinforcements and the troops formerly in America, amounted to an army of thirty-five thousand men; which was superiour in number, discipline, and provisions of every kind, to any force the Americans could bring into the field. General Howe had left Halifax a fortnight before his brother's arrival; the latter being impatient of remaining in a place where nothing essential to the service could be performed, and where provisions began to grow scarce, had embarked his troops on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Shuldham, and sailed to Sandy Hook, the first land that is met with in approaching New York from the sea. On his passage he was met by six transports with Highland troops on board, who had been separated from several of their companions in the voyage. It appeared soon after,

that most of the missing ships, with above four hundred and fifty soldiers and several officers, had been taken by the American cruisers. The general found every part of the island of New York strongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by a considerable army. The extent of Long island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified or so well guarded; it was, however, in a powerful state of defence, having an encampment of considerable force on the end of the island near New York, and several works thrown up on the most accessible parts of the coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes. Staten island, which was of less value and importance, was less powerfully defended; and on this the general landed without opposition. Here he was met by Governor Tryon, who, like the other gentlemen invested with chief authority in North America, had been obliged to escape on ship-board. Some hundreds of well-affected inhabitants from the neighbouring parts also joined the royal standard.

Lord Howe did not arrive at Staten island till the 14th of July; when he sent to the continent a circular letter setting forth the powers with which he and his brother were invested by the late act of parliament for granting general or particular pardons to all those who, in the tumult and disaster of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour. These letters were treated with as little respect as every other proposition of a similar kind, the Americans contemning the idea of granting pardons to those who were not sensible of any guilt. Meanwhile the British armament was joined by the fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, as well as by some regiments from Florida and the West Indies. The greatest part of the forces being now united, an attack against Long island was determined, as being more easy of execution than

against the island of New York, and as the former abounded more with those supplies which so great a body of men as were now assembled by sea and land demanded.

The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed without opposition on the south-west end of the island. Soon after this was effected, General Clinton, in the night of the 26th of August, at the head of the van of the army consisting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horse, reserve under Lord Cornwallis, with fourteen field pieces, advanced toward the enemy's encampment, and seized an important pass which they had left unguarded. The way being thus happily open, the whole army passed the hills without noise or impediment, and descended by the town of Bedford into the level country. The engagement was begun early in the morning, while the ships made several motions on the left, and attacked a battery at Red Hook, which distracted the attention of the enemy, and called off their attention from their right and rear where the main attack was intended. Nothing could exceed the spirit and alacrity shewn by all the different corps of which the British army was composed. They made the enemy retreat on every side, pursued them with great slaughter, and such was the ambition between the British and foreign troops, that it was with difficulty General Howe could restrain their impetuosity in breaking through the American lines, and cutting to pieces or taking prisoners all those who had escaped the danger of the battle and the pursuit. The victors encamped in the front of the enemy's work on the evening after the engagement, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at six hundred yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

During the battle, General Washington had passed over from New York, and saw with great mortification the unhappy fate of his bravest troops. The remainder



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were as much inferior in number and discipline to the British army, as their inconsiderable batteries were unequal to the assault of the royal artillery. No hopes of safety remained but in a retreat, which might well have appeared impracticable in the face of such a commanding force by land, and a fleet at sea which only waited a favourable wind to enter the East River, which would effectually cut off all communication between the islands. This arduous task, however, was undertaken and carried into execution by the singular ability of General Washington. In the night of the 29th, the Provincial troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, stores, and artillery conveyed to the water side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New York. This was conducted with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprised in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear guard in the boats and out of danger. By this successful manœuvre, General Washington not only saved the troops on Long island from captivity, but fortified the courage and strength of his army at New York, and enabled the Americans to continue the war with unabating ardour. Yet this measure he could not have effected, had the English general allowed his troops to force the enemy's lines; had the ships of war been stationed in the East river; or had the vigilance of the British soldiers watched and intercepted the movements of the Provincials.

After the success attending the superior bravery of the English in the engagement, and that attending the superior wisdom of Washington in the retreat, the commissioners renewed their proposals of conciliation, which were still as fruitless as before. Laying aside, therefore, their pacific character, they again had recourse to their military. The British troops were impatient to meet the enemy, who had escaped so unexpectedly from their hands. A

river only divided them, along the banks of which they erected batteries, while a fleet of three hundred sail, including transports, hovered round the island of New York, and threatened destruction on every side. The small islands between the opposite shores were perpetual objects of contest, until by dint of a well-served artillery, and the aid of the ships, those were secured which were most necessary to their future operations. At length, every thing being prepared for a descent, the men-of-war made several movements up the North river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter of the island. Other parts seemed equally threatened, and increased the uncertainty of the real object of the attack. While the rebels were in this state of perplexity, the first division of the army, under the command of General Clinton, embarked at the head of Newtoun bay, which runs pretty deep into Long island, and where they were entirely out of view of the enemy. Being covered by five ships of war upon their entrance into East river, they proceeded to Kepp's bay, where, being less expected than in some other places, the preparation for defence was not so considerable. The works, however, were not weak, nor destitute of troops, but the fire from the ships was so incessant and well directed that they were soon abandoned, and the army landed without farther opposition. The enemy immediately quitted the city of New York, and retired toward the north, where their principal strength lay particularly at King's Bridge, by which their communication with the continent of New York was kept open. General Howe thought the works here too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success; and therefore determined either to bring the rebels to an engagement on equal terms, or to inclose them in their fortresses. While he made what appeared to be the proper dispositions for this purpose, with a fleet and army sufficient to cover and surround the whole island, General Washing-

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ton, by a most judicious manœuvre, formed his troops into a line of small detached encampments, which occupied every high and strong ground on the land opposite to King's Bridge. He left a garrison to defend the lines there, and Fort Washington; which, after a vigorous resistance, fell into the hands of the British forces. But General Howe could not bring Washington to an engagement, who availed himself of his skill and address while he fled before a superior force, retreating from one post to another, but always occupying more advantageous ground than his pursuers.

The British commander thus disappointed in his design of making any vigorous impression on the main body of the enemy, detached, on the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis to take Fort Lee, and to advance farther into the Jerseys. The garrison of two thousand men abandoned the place the night before his lordship's arrival, leaving their artillery, stores, tents, and every thing else behind. Our troops afterwards over-ran the greater part of the two Jerseys, the enemy flying every where before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunswick to the Delaware. In the beginning of December General Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war commanded by Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attack upon Rhode island, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. The general took possession of the island without the loss of a man; while the naval commander blocked up the principal marine force of the enemy, commanded by Hopkins, the admiral of the Congress, who then lay in the harbour of Providence.

On the side of Canada we left General Carleton driving the rebels toward the lakes Champlain and St. George, of which they had formerly obtained possession, as well as of the important fortress of Ticonderago. If the British troops could recover these, and advance as far as Albany,

before the severity of the winter set in, they might pour destruction into the heart of the middle or northern colonies, as General Washington could not attempt to hold any post in New York or the Jerseys against such a superiour force as already opposed him in front. and General Carleton's army at his back. Notwithstanding the most unremitting industry in preparing this northern expedition, it was not until the month of October, that the English fleet was in a condition to seek the enemy on lake Champlain. The ship *Inflexible*, which may be considered as admiral, had been re-constructed at St. John, from which she sailed in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and mounted eighteen twelve-pounders. One schooner mounted fourteen, and another twelve six pounders. A flat-bottomed radeau, carried six twelve pounders, besides howitzers; and a gondola seven nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field pieces from nine to twenty-four pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Several long-boats were furnished in the same manner, and an equal number of long-boats acted as tenders. All these appertained to war; and there were besides an immense number of transports and victualiers destined for the service and conveyance of the army. The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and navigated by above seven hundred prime seamen, of whom two hundred were volunteers from the transports, who after having rivalled those belonging to the ships of war in all the toil of preparation now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The fleet of the enemy was not of equal force, and amounted to only fifteen vessels of different kinds, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal schooner mounted twelve six and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to

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support upon a new element the glory which he had acquired by his achievements as a general.

The British armament proceeding up the lake the 11th of October, 1710, discovered the enemy drawn up with great judgment, in order to defend the passage between the island of Valicour and the western main. A warm action ensued, and was vigorously supported on both sides for several hours. The wind being unfavourable, the ship *Inflexible* and some other vessels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, so that the weight of the action fell on the schooner *Carieton* and the gun-boats. As the whole could not be engaged, Captain Pringle, with the approbation of the general, withdrew his advanced vessels at the approach of night, and brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, as near as possible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat.

Arnold being now sensible of his inferiority, took the opportunity which the darkness of the night afforded to set sail, unperceived, hoping to obtain shelter and protection at Crown Point. Fortune seemed at first favourable to his purpose, for he had entirely lost sight of the enemy before next morning. The chase, however, being continued both on that and the succeeding day, the wind, and other circumstances peculiar to the navigation of the lake, which had been at first advantageous to the Americans, became at length otherwise, so that on the 13th at noon they were overtaken, and brought to action a few leagues short of Crown Point. The engagement lasted two hours, during which those vessels of the enemy that were most a-head pushed on with the greatest speed, and, passing Crown Point, escaped to Ticonderago; while two galleys, and five gondolas, which remained with Arnold, made a desperate resistance. But their obstinate valour was at length obliged to yield to the superiority of force, skill, and weight of metal by which it was assailed

The Washington galley with Waterburg, a brigadier-general and the second in command, aboard, struck, and was taken. But Arnold determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor his vessel a prey to the English. With equal resolution and dexterity he ran the Congress galley, in which himself was, with the five gondolas, on shore, in such a manner as to land his men safely and blow up the vessels, in spite of every effort that was used to prevent both. Not satisfied with this substantial advantage, which in his situation was more than could have been expected from an experienced commander, he inflexibly persisted in maintaining a dangerous point of honour, by keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till she was in flames, lest the English should have boarded and struck it; an attention which greatly raised his reputation in America.

Thus was lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly destroyed, a galley and three small vessels being all that escaped to Ticonderago. The Provincials, upon the rout of their fleet, set fire to the houses at Crown Point, and retired to their main body. Carleton took possession of the ruins, and being joined by his whole army, pushed on toward the enemy. But the post of Ticonderago was too strongly fortified to be taken without great loss of blood; and the benefit arising from success, could not be considerable, as the season was too far advanced to think of crossing lake George, and of exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhospitable wilds to the southward. General Carleton, therefore, reembarked the army without making any attack upon this place, and returning to Canada, cantoned his troops there for the winter.

The Americans seem to have been guilty of an unpardonable blunder in not maintaining a more powerful squadron on the lakes, which laid open the heart of their country. But besides the want of timber, artillery, and other ma-

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terials necessary for such an equipment, the carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of shipping, were fully engaged in the sea-ports in the construction and fitting out of privateers. To this the force of the rebels was principally bent; and the interest of individuals which was more immediately concerned in the success of particular cruizers, than in supporting the marine strength of the nation, gave redoubled vigour to all the operations of the former.

The West Indies, which in the want of food, and of staves, the article next in necessity to food, experienced the first melancholy effects of the American war, also suffered the most from the Provincial privateers. The fleet which sailed from Jamaica in August, 1776, being scattered by bad weather, fell a prey to the activity of their cruizers, who had seized the proper station for intercepting their passage. Nor was the trade from the other islands more fortunate. So that though the Americans did not begin their depredations till late in the year, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store-ships, was estimated considerably higher than a million sterling. Some blame was thrown on the convoy, and much indignation felt that the superintendance of our naval affairs, on which the glory and security of the nation depend, should be entrusted to hands unworthy to hold it. Such a sacred deposit required, it was thought, not only pure but steady hands; the duties of the important office to which it belongs, calling for unremitting vigilance and activity, and being totally incompatible with a life of licentiousness and degrading pleasure. Religious men were not surprised, that under such an inauspicious influence the dignity of the nation should suffer a total eclipse, while the American cruizers swarmed in the European seas, and replenished the ports of France and Spain with prizes taken from the English. These prizes were sold in Europe without any colour of disguise, at the same time

that French ships in the West Indies took American commissions, and carried on with impunity a successful war on British trade and navigation.

Meanwhile the time of the meeting of parliament approached, when it was expected that the line of conduct necessary for a total conquest, or happy conciliation with the colonies, would be clearly pointed out and explained. The great armaments which were continually increasing in the French and Spanish ports, and many other suspicious appearances during the recess, rendered it necessary to put into commission sixteen additional ships of the line, and to increase the bounty to seamen for entering the service to five pounds per man. The expenses of the navy for the year 1777, including the ordinary at four hundred thousand eight hundred and five pounds, and the building and repairing of ships, which was voted at four hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred pounds, amounted to no less than three million two hundred and five thousand five hundred and five pounds, exclusive of four thousand pounds which was afterwards voted to Greenwich hospital. The supplies for the land-service fell little short of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the preceding year, which exceeded one million two hundred thousand pounds were not provided for. In whatever manner administration might employ the force by sea and land, the nation had provided for the support of both, with such liberal magnificence as equalled the supplies during the last war, when the fleets and armies of Britain opposed and defeated the united efforts of the greatest powers in Europe. Soon after the Christmas recess a bill was passed, enabling the admiralty to grant letters of marque and reprisal to the owners or captains of private merchant ships, to take and make prize of all vessels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen United Colonies. All the powers of the kingdom were thus called forth, affording, as it would

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seem, a force infinitely more than sufficient, had it been properly directed, to crush this aspiring rebellion.

But unfortunately the star of America still maintained the ascendant. The British troops whom we left in apparent security in their cantonments were assailed on all sides, in the middle of winter, by General Washington, who remedied the deficiency of his force by the manner of applying it, and by attacking unexpectedly and separately those bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. By some well-concerted and spirited actions this American Fabius, after a retreat which would have done honour to the judgment of the most circumspect of all the Romans, not only saved Philadelphia and delivered Pennsylvania from danger, but recovered the greatest part of the Jerseys, and obliged an army greatly superiour in number as well as in discipline to act upon the defensive, and for several months to remain within very narrow and inconvenient limits.

The British nation, how much soever they were afflicted with those misfortunes, still expected that notwithstanding this war of posts, surprises, and detachments, which had been successfully carried on by the Americans during the winter, the regular forces would prevail in the end. They waited, therefore, with much impatience for the approach of spring, when the mighty armaments which they had raised with so high expectation of victory, might be brought into action. When the time at length arrived, with equal astonishment and indignation, they learned that from some improvidence or inattention, unaccounted for at home, the army was restrained from taking the field for want of tents and field equipage. The months of March and April, therefore, instead of being employed in such decisive enterprizes as might terminate the war, were confined to some subordinate expeditions in which the naval superiority of Britain was crowned with success. The Provincials had erected mills and established

magazines in a rough and mountainous tract called the Manour of Courtland, to which a place called Peek's Kill, lying fifty miles up Hudson's river from New York, served as a kind of port. Courtland Manour was too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success; but Peek's Kill lay within the reach of the navy. On the 23d of March, Colonel Bird was sent with three hundred men under the conduct of a frigate and other armed vessels, up the North river to destroy the works of the enemy at this place. Upon the approach of the British armament, the Americans thinking themselves unequal to the defence of the port, and being convinced that there was not time to remove any thing but their persons and arms, set fire to the barracks and principal store-houses, and then retired to a strong pass about two miles distance, commanding the entrance into the mountains, and covering a road which led to some of the mills and other deposits. The British troops landed and completed the conflagration, which had already gone too far to allow any thing to be saved. All the magazines were thus destroyed, and the troops, having performed this service, returned after taking several small craft laden with provisions. Another expedition of a similar kind was undertaken against the town of Danbury on the borders of Connecticut, and attended with equal success.

These petty advantages were nothing, compared to the infinite benefit which the Americans derived from the delay of the British army in taking the field. The Provincials were greatly augmented by reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys. Those who shuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in summer; and the certainty of a future winter had no greater effect than distant evils usually have. When General Howe passed over from New York to the Jerseys, the middle of June, he found Washington's army, which six weeks before had been nothing to his own in point of force, greatly in-

creased, and stationed in such advantageous and inaccessible posts as defied every assault. All his attempts to bring Washington to an engagement, or to make him quit his defensive plan of conducting the war, proved abortive; and it appeared the height of temerity to attempt advancing to the Delaware, through so strong a country entirely hostile, and with such an enemy in his rear. Nothing remained, therefore, for General Howe, but to avail himself of the immense naval force which co-operated with the army, and which in a country like America, intersected by great navigable rivers, gave him an opportunity of transporting his forces to the most vulnerable parts of the rebellious provinces. The Americans had no force to resist the navigation, and it was impossible for them to know where the storm would fall, or to make provision against it. General Howe accordingly passed over with the army to Staten island, from which it was intended that the embarkation should take place.

For the success of this grand expedition nothing was more requisite than despatch; yet, notwithstanding the assistance afforded by the crews of three hundred vessels, it was not until the 23d of July, that the fleet and army were ready to depart from Sandy Hook. The force embarked consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the New York corps, were left for the protection of that and the neighbouring islands; and Rhode island was occupied by seven battalions.

Philadelphia, the original seat of the general congress, but from which that body had retired to Baltimore, was the object of these mighty preparations. The weather being unfavourable, it cost the fleet a week to gain the capes of the Delaware. The information which the com-

manders received there of the measures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, engaged them to alter their design of proceeding by that way, and to undertake the passage by Chesapeak bay to Maryland, the southern boundary of which is at no great distance from Philadelphia. The middle of August was passed before they entered this bay, after which, with a favourable wind, they gained the river Elk near its extremity, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation. Having proceeded up this river as far as it was possible for large vessels, the army were relieved from their tiresome confinement on board the transports, which was rendered doubly disagreeable by the heat of the season, and landed without opposition at Elk ferry, on the 25th of August. While one part of the army advanced to the head of the Elk, the other continued at the landing place to protect and forward the artillery, stores, and necessary provisions.

Meanwhile General Washington returned with his army from the Jerseys to the defence of Philadelphia. Their force, including the militia, amounted to thirteen thousand men, which was still considerably inferior in number to the royal army. General Howe, after publishing such proclamations as he thought necessary for quieting the minds of the inhabitants, and inducing them to return to the protection of the crown, began on the 3d of September to pursue his course to Philadelphia. Washington lost no opportunity of harassing him in his march, by every possible means which did not involve the necessity of risking a general engagement. But several considerable actions took place between the troops, both before and after General Howe had entered Philadelphia, of which the army became possessed the 26th of September. In these actions victory always inclined to the side of the king's troops, who shewed as much ardour in the attack, as Washington discovered wisdom in the

retreat, and in avoiding a general engagement. The Provincials had great disadvantage in the use of the bayonet, with which instrument they were ill provided, and which they knew little how to manage. And when this circumstance is considered, it will not appear surprising that the disproportion between their number of slain and that of the king's troops should in every action have been considerable.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first employment was to erect batteries which might command the river, and protect the city from any insult by water. This was so necessary a measure, that the very day of the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of thirty-two guns, anchored within five hundred yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade, which lasted for several hours. Upon the falling of the tide, however, the Delaware grounded, and was taken; and the batteries newly erected were played with such effect against the other vessels, that they were fortunate to be able to retire.

Meanwhile Lord Howe being apprized of the determined progress of the army to Philadelphia, took the most speedy and effectual measures to convey the fleet and transports round to the Delaware, in order to supply the army with the necessary stores and provisions, as well as to concur in the active operations of the campaign. After a dangerous and intricate voyage, the fleet arrived in the western or Pennsylvania shore, where they drew up and anchored. The passage to Philadelphia, however, was still impracticable, for the Americans had constructed great and numerous works, with wonderful labour and industry, to interrupt the navigation of the river. The principal of these were the strong batteries on a low and marshy island, or rather an accumulation of mud and sand at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill; a

considerable fort or redoubt at a place called Red Bank, on the opposite shore of New Jersey; and in the deep navigable channel between these forts there had been sunk several ranges of frames or machines, which from resemblance of construction were called *chevaux de frize*. These were composed of transverse beams, firmly united, and of such weight and strength as rendered it equally difficult to penetrate or remove them. About three miles lower down the river, they had sunk other machines of a similar form, and erected new batteries on shore on the Jersey side, to co-operate in the defence. Both were farther supported by several galleys mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels and small craft of various kinds, and some fire-ships.

The first thing requisite for opening the channel, was to get the command of the shore. Accordingly, upon the representation of Captain Hamond, of the *Roebuck*, which, with some other ships of war, had arrived in the Delaware before Lord Howe, the general detached two regiments to dislodge the enemy from Billingsfort, the principal place of strength on the Jersey shore. This service was successfully performed; and Captain Hamond, after a vigorous contest with the marine force of the enemy, was able with much labour to weigh up as much of the *chevaux de frize* as opened a narrow and difficult passage through this lower barrier.

It was not attempted to remove the upper barrier, which was much the stronger, until the arrival of Lord Howe, who concerted measures for this purpose with the general. The latter ordered batteries to be erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging the enemy from Mud island. He also detached, 22d of October, a strong body of Hessians to attack the redoubt at Red Bank; while Lord Howe ordered the men-of-war and frigates to approach Mud island, which was the main

object of the assault. The operations by land and sea were equally unsuccessful. The Hessians were repulsed with great slaughter by the garrison at Red Bank, as well as by the floating batteries of the enemy. The ships could not bring their fire to bear with any considerable effect upon the island. The extraordinary obstructions with which the Americans had interrupted the free course of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought some alteration on its known and natural channel. By this means the *Augusta* man-of-war of sixty-four guns, and *Merlin* sloop, were grounded so fast at some distance from the *chevaux de frize*, that there was no possibility of getting them off. In this situation, though the skill of the officers, seconded by the activity of the crews, prevented the effect of four fire-ships sent to destroy the *Augusta*, she unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which obliged the others to retire at a distance from the expected explosion. The *Merlin* also was destroyed, but few lives were lost.

These untoward events did not prevent a second trial on the 15th of November, to perform the necessary work of opening the communication of the river. While the enemy left nothing undone to strengthen their defences, the British fleet were incessantly employed in conveying heavy artillery and stores up the river to a small morassy island, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the American works on Mud island. At length every thing being prepared for an assault, the *Isis* and *Somerset* men-of-war passed up the east channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; several frigates drew up against a newly erected fort near Manto creek; and two armed vessels, mounted with twenty-four pounders, made their way through a narrow channel on the western side, in order to enfilade the principal works. The fire from the ships was terrible, and returned during the whole day with equal vivacity.

Toward the evening the fire of the fort began to abate, and at length was totally silenced. The enemy perceiving that measures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, set fire to every thing that could be destroyed, and escaped under favour of the night. The forts on the main land did not afterwards make much resistance, and, as well as that on the island, afforded a considerable quantity of artillery and military stores to the victors.

The American shipping having now lost all protection on either side of the river, several of their galleys, and other armed vessels, took the advantage of a favourable night to pass the batteries of Philadelphia, and fly to places of security farther up the river. This was no sooner discovered than the Delaware frigate, now lying at Philadelphia, was manned and sent in pursuit of them; and other measures were taken which rendered their escape impossible. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and set fire to their vessels, which were all consumed to the number of seventeen, including the two floating batteries and fire-ships; with all these advantages, the advanced season of the year and other impediments rendered the clearing of the river in any considerable degree impracticable; so that the making such a channel as afforded a passage for transports and vessels of easy burden, with provisions and necessaries for the army, was all that could be effected by the fleet; while the whole success of the army amounted only to their securing good winter quarters at Philadelphia.

If the consequences of victory were little calculated to remove the uneasiness which began to be felt in England, as to the nature and result of the American war, the effects of defeat in the army of the north, intended to co-operate with the grand expedition, occasioned the most gloomy apprehensions. It had been resolved in the cabinet, where all the future operations of the campaign



had been settled with a painful and minute accuracy, that while General Howe made a severe impression on the heart of America, the extremities should also feel the cruel effects of hostility. General Carleton, who had succeeded so well in this attempt in the former campaign, and to whose unremitting activity, directed by experienced wisdom, the nation are indebted for the preservation of Canada, was superseded in the command, which was bestowed by government on General Burgoyne. With an army of above seven thousand regular troops, provided in a manner the most complete, and furnished with the finest train of artillery ever seen in the new world, that General proceeded to Canada, when being joined by the provincial militia of the country, he took measures according to his instructions for being reinforced by a powerful band of savages. About the middle of June, he met the Indians in congress on the banks of Lake Champlain, where he said every thing that appeared most effectual for raising the valour, and bridling the ferocity of our new allies. Soon after he published a manifesto to the inhabitants of the northern provinces, setting forth the magnitude of his preparations, and denouncing against the rebellious all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in the most terrific forms. Encouragement and employment were assured to those, who, with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should cheerfully assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in re-establishing legal government. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, restricted by our circumstances, and rather obscurely and imperfectly expressed, were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations.

After these previous steps, which the general judged necessary, it was intended, that the army in concert with the naval force on the lakes, should proceed to the siege of Ticonderago, and after securing that important for-

tress, advance southward on the frontiers of the provinces, where they would at length join the force conducted by Sir Henry Clinton, and Commodore Hotham, which, advancing northward from New York, destroyed the works, towns and country of the enemy on both sides of the river. At first every thing succeeded with General Burgoyne that could gratify the most sanguine hopes of those who employed him. Ticonderago was taken, the remainder of the rebel squadron on Lake George was pursued and defeated, and the enemy every where fled before the victorious troops, whom they had neither strength nor spirit to withstand. The first impressions of despair produced on the minds of the rebels had time to wear off by the delays of the march, in a country so impracticable, that in some places it was hardly possible to advance a mile in the day. The New England governments, the most immediately threatened, had time to recollect themselves, and to take every measure that seemed most necessary for their defence. Arnold, who alternately acted the part of a general and commodore, with equal skill and bravery, was sent to reinforce the declining courage of the American troops, and carried with him a considerable train of artillery. The terror excited by the savages, who were guilty of various enormities too shocking to be described, produced at length an effect directly contrary to what had been expected. The inhabitants of the open and frontier country were obliged to take up arms to defend themselves against this barbarous race; and when the regular army of the Provincials seemed to be nearly wasted, a new one and more formidable was poured forth from the woods, mountains and marshes, which in this part are thickly sown with plantations and villages. General Gates, an officer of tried ardour, and of a regular military education, took the command of this force, in which he co-operated with Arnold with the most singular unanimity. The conse-

quence is well known, and will be long remembered. Burgoyne had gone too far to retreat to Canada, nor could he proceed to Albany, without forcing his way through the rebel army. After a number of skirmishes, marches, and two bloody engagements, he entered into the convention of Saratoga the 17th of October, by which the British troops laid down their arms, and engaged never to assist more in attempting to subdue America.

During the operation of the causes which led to this humiliating transaction, Sir Henry Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River with uncommon success. Having embarked three thousand men for that expedition, accompanied by a suitable naval force, consisting of frigates, armed gallees, and smaller vessels, he attacked the forts of Montgomery and Clinton. Several necessary motions being made to mask the real design, the troops were landed in two separate divisions, at such a distance as occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the mountains, which was conducted so skilfully, that they arrived at the forts, and began their respective attacks at the same moment of time. The surprise and terror of the garrison was increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallees, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. Both forts were carried by storm, and the slaughter of the enemy, occasioned by the obstinacy of their resistance, was very considerable. Those who escaped set fire to two fire-frigates and several other vessels, which, with their artillery and stores, were consumed or sunk. Another fort, called Constitution, was, in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined naval and land forces, set on fire and abandoned. The artillery taken in all the three amounted to sixty-seven pieces of different sizes. A few days afterwards Continental Village, containing barracks for one thousand five hundred men, and considerable stores, was destroyed. A large

boom or chain, the expense of which was estimated at seventy thousand pounds, and which was considered as an extraordinary proof of American industry and skill, was sunk or carried away: and the whole loss was the greatest which the enemy had hitherto sustained. The navy continued to pursue the advantage. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, made various excursions up the river, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. At the very time that General Burgoyne was negotiating conditions for his ruined army, the thriving town of Esopus, at no very great distance, was reduced to ashes, and not a house left standing. The troops and vessels, did not retire to New York until they had dismantled the forts, and left the river totally defenceless. Thus it must be confessed that, amid all our misfortunes, the navy carried on every operation in which they were concerned with their wonted spirit and success.

When news of the various events which had marked and chequered this important year of the American war were brought to England, the nation were agitated by a tumult of passions which it is not easy to describe or analyse. The boasted preparations which were to bring America to our feet, and which seemed capable, instead of subduing the rebels by open force, to look them into unconditional submission, produced none of the great effects which had been so firmly expected. The armament conducted by the Howes, had not been able to gain any decisive advantage over the force of the Provincials; the northern army, whether through the incapacity of the minister, or the rashness of the general, had been delivered up, or rather abandoned a miserable prey into the hands of our enemies. Great part of the shipping of the Americans had, indeed, been destroyed; some of their towns were in our possession; their country had felt the calamities of war; their works of defence, raised with

great art and industry, had been weakened or demolished; but the spirit of the people was still unsubdued, and their unremitting activity in a cause which they adored, animated by the first gleams of success, would naturally prompt them to more vigorous and daring efforts than they had yet exerted.

Notwithstanding these fatal appearances, the English ministry were so entwined in the American war, that it was impossible for them conveniently to be disengaged from it: their measures, it seemed, could only be justified by success, which, had it depended on the liberality of the supplies, must doubtless have been obtained. On the 27th of November, 1777, sixty thousand seamen, including eleven thousand marines, were voted for the service of the ensuing year. The maintaining of those, with the building and repairing of ships, the ordinary of the navy and half-pay, and the discharge of a million of debt, made the whole expense of the fleet for the year 1778, amount to above five millions sterling. Yet this immense sum exceeded only by about half a million the expense of the land forces; for besides the national troops, we had taken into pay about twenty-five thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, and other Germans; and many corporations, as well as individuals, subscribed largely for raising new regiments to reinforce the standing military strength of the country. This measure which, in any other war, would have been universally approved as a mark of the highest public spirit, was loudly condemned by opposition, as furnishing troops to the king without consent of parliament; and the effect produced on the public by the factious clamours against the new levies, clearly shewed the prevailing indifference, or rather disinclination to the continuance of a war, in which we had hitherto met with little else but disappointments and disgrace.

Meanwhile the news of the defeat and surrender of

General Burgoyne's army were received in France the beginning of December, and began totally to change the views and behaviour of that court with regard to the Americans. The agents whom the congress kept at Paris had hitherto been coolly received by the French ministry, though idolized by the levity or interestedness of the nation; but upon so favourable a turn in the affairs of their constituents, they renewed with more success their proposals for negotiating a treaty, while the French king received the compliments of his nobility on the misfortune of the British troops, with as much complacence as if his own had obtained a signal victory. In consequence of these circumstances, so advantageous to the credit of the Americans, Monsieur Girard, royal syndic of Strasbourg, and secretary of his most Christian majesty's council of state, waited on the American agents by order of his majesty the 16th of December, and acquainted them, that, after long and full consideration of their affairs and propositions in council, his majesty was determined to acknowledge the independence of the Americans, and to make a treaty with them of amity and commerce. That in this treaty no advantage should be taken of their present situation to obtain terms which otherwise could not be convenient for them to agree to, his majesty desiring that the treaty once made should be durable, which could not be expected unless each nation found its interest in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it. It was therefore his intention to enter into such an agreement with them as they could not but approve, had their state been long established, and attained the fulness of strength and power. That his majesty was determined not only to acknowledge, but support their independence, even at the risk of a war; and notwithstanding the expense and danger attending this measure, he expected no compensation on that account, as he pretended not to act wholly for their sakes, since, besides his real good-will to

them and their cause, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished, by separating America from it for ever. The only condition which he required, therefore, on the part of the Americans was. "That in no peace to be made with England they should give up their independence, and return to the obedience of that government." Upon this foundation the treaty was drawn up and signed, and soon after despatched to receive the ratification of congress.

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It appears not from any thing laid before the public, that the British ministry were officially informed of this important transaction. Above two months afterwards, the first lord of the treasury and the minister for the southern department, declared they knew nothing for certain concerning any treaty between France and America. If this was really the case, the ambassador at Paris scarcely deserved those honourable and lucrative marks of royal approbation, which have been since so liberally bestowed upon him; but if the fact be otherwise, and if we may give entire credit to the defence of that nobleman when called to account in the house of peers, it will be difficult to save the honour of ministers, whose character and veracity are of less importance to the public, than the humiliating and disgraceful condition in which this once great and respectable nation must appear in the eyes of Europe. In former times we should, instead of dissembling the treaty, have demanded a full communication of all its contents, but, to use the words of an ingenious author, "when people are dejected by frequent losses, torn by intestine factions, or any other way internally distressed, their deliberations are confused, their resolutions slow, and an apparent languor is visible, when they attempt to carry their resolutions into execution."

However this question may be decided between the ministry at home, and their ambassador at Paris, for the

tameness of the public has not yet brought this affair to a full explanation, it was generally believed that administration knew of the proposed treaty between France and America, and that the plan of conciliation proposed by Lord North the 17th of February, was intended to counterwork the negociations of our rivals. The proposition of his lordship was for two acts of parliament: the first, a bill for enabling his majesty to appoint commissioners to treat, consent, and agree on the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies. The second, a bill declaring the intention of parliament concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes on the provinces of North America. Both bills were passed; and, notwithstanding the nice distinctions which are made in his lordship's speech, it appeared to common understandings that we gave up, by the latter bill, not only the power of taxing America, but all that national pre-eminence and supremacy which had been so pompously described. We thus renounced the original ground of the quarrel, and more than America ever desired us to renounce; but since the declaration of independence, and the conclusion of the treaty with France, it was little to be doubted that our present concessions would be attended with no better success than our former pretensions. In fact, the moderation of government, the unseasonableness of which prevented its having any effect on the resolutions of the rebels, served only to damp the spirits of those who had entered most heartily into all the measures of government and coercion; and had not France, by throwing aside the veil through which our ministers were still fond to view her, roused the indignation and resentment of the British nation, the military ardour which had been so happily excited would have begun to subside, and the people would have again fallen back into a lethargic languor and inactivity. But, on the 13th of March, the marquis of Noailles, ambassador from France, delivered



the following declaration, by order of his court, to Lord Viscount Weymouth: "That the United States of America, who are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having proposed to the king to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be established between the nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His majesty being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality. In making this communication, his most Christian majesty observes, that the British ministry will find new proofs of his constant and sincere disposition for peace, and he therefore hopes they will take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between France and America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be in this respect observed. In this just confidence he thinks it superfluous to acquaint them, that he has taken eventual measures, in concert with the United States of America, to maintain the dignity of his flag, and effectually to protect the lawful commerce of his subjects." This declaration was immediately laid before the house of lords, with a message from the king, setting forth the perfidy of France, and contrasting it with his own steady adherence to the faith of treaties. The message was answered by both lords and commons in a high strain of indignation and resentment against the restless ambition

of the French court. The British ambassador at Paris was recalled, and the marquis of Noailles left London. The immediate consequences of these steps were an embargo laid on the shipping in the French and English ports; the warmest impress almost ever known: and the embodying and calling forth the militia to the number of thirty thousand men.

A war with France can never be unpopular in this country; and by bringing matters to such a point that the French appeared evidently to be the aggressors, and wantonly to provoke the hostility of Great Britain, the ministry, had this been their own work, would have possessed the merit of using the surest means of rousing the latent resentment and inherent antipathy of the English against their natural enemies. The great body of the people talked of nothing but violation of treaties, treachery, war, and vengeance. The new levies were carried on with redoubled vigour, especially in Scotland. A majority of both houses re-echoed the sentiments and language of the vulgar. A few only ventured to think that France had done nothing inconsistent with the universal practice of nations, and must have been deaf to every call of interest, if she had not availed herself of the misfortunes or misconduct of Great Britain to aggrandize her own power. Upon the same principle that Queen Elizabeth assisted with her troops and treasure the United States of the Netherlands to throw off the yoke of a monarch then formidable to all Europe, the French could not fail, in a more enlightened age, greedily to seize the occasion of supporting the independence of British America. If ever the French gave us fair play, it was surely on the present occasion; they allowed us to negotiate and to fight; to hesitate between war and peace; and to throw away many precious years in armed truce and pacific hostility; and it astonished all Europe, not that they interposed at length, but that they did not

interpose sooner. Besides, as they had long assisted the Americans in an underhand manner, the open avowal of this assistance was the greatest advantage that, in our present circumstances, we could possibly obtain. It revived the declining ardour of the nation, united every well-wisher to his country in a common cause, and called forth the most vigorous effort, both public and private, that the hopes of plunder, interest, resentment, and a sense of national honour could inspire.

The effects of this spirit in augmenting our armaments by sea and land were soon visible. If we may credit the words of those who presided over the navy, in a short time we had, besides a vast number of armed vessels and privateers, two hundred and twenty-eight ships of the line, frigates and sloops in commission. Of these, fifty ships of the line were employed for the protection of Great Britain; the whole number of vessels on the coast of America amounted, it was said by men in office, to one hundred and thirty; Admiral Barrington was stationed at the Leeward islands; Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica; the men-of-war appointed to attend the Senegal fleet, were ordered to remain on that coast for the protection of trade; and Admiral Duff's squadron in the Mediterranean was reinforced with several capital ships. Nor were the

*\* List of the Ships in commission.*

1 ship of	110 guns	6 frigates of	44 guns
10 — of	90 —	5 — of	36 —
2 — of	80 —	28 — of	32 —
32 — of	74 —	25 — of	28 —
1 — of	70 —	26 — of	20 or 21 —
22 — of	64 —		
4 — of	60 —	88 frigates —	55 sloops
13 — of	50 —		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
25 ships of the line.		85 ships of the line	
		88 frigates	
		55 sloops	
		<hr/>	
		228 total.	

French slow in their preparations. They had assembled a powerful squadron at Brest, and another at Toulon; and their troops crowded the sea-ports, and covered the northern parts of the kingdom.

While these preparations were going forward in Europe, nothing decisive had happened in America. The king's army had remained quiet in their winter quarters tolerably well supplied with provisions; and General Washington's troops huddled at Valley Forge, where it is said they suffered intolerable hardships. The greater part of the fleet remained at Rhode island, from which detachments were sent to cruize before the principal sea-ports of the continent, where, as well as in the West Indies, they were successful in making a great number of captures. As the spring approached, and the navigation of the Delaware became practicable, General Howe sent various detachments to range the country round Philadelphia, in order to open the communication for bringing in provisions, and to collect forage for the army. All these expeditions were successful; and on the 7th of May Major Maitland was detached with the second battalion of light infantry in flat-boats, protected by three galleys and other armed vessels commanded by Captain Henry of the navy, to destroy the American ships lying in the river between Philadelphia and Trenton; which was effected with great success.\* On the 25th of the same month was carried on a similar expedition from Rhode island under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell and Captain Clayton of the navy. They destroyed one hundred and twenty-five boats, collected by the rebels in

\* *List of American Ships burnt on the 8th and 9th of May.*

2 frigates, one for 32, the other for 28 guns

9 large ships

3 privateer sloops for 16 guns each

3 ditto for 10 guns each

23 brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.

Hickamanet river, together with a galley under repair, destined for an invasion of that island. Another detachment from the men-of-war destroyed the rebel vessels in Warren Creek; and a third burnt the saw-mills on a creek near Taunton river, employed in preparing materials to build boats and other suitable craft for the purpose of the before-mentioned invasion.

These operations of the *petite guerre* closed the military career of General Sir William Howe, who resigned the command to Sir Henry Clinton, and returned to England. The first operation of the new commander was to evacuate Philadelphia, pursuant to the instructions which he had received from the minister. This measure, though attended with great danger on account of the neighbourhood of Washington's army of twenty thousand men, and though accompanied with a certain degree of disgrace necessarily attached to the abandoning of a town, the possession of which had been acquired at such an expense of blood and treasure, was yet deemed necessary to enable his majesty's forces to resist the united efforts of the Americans and their new and powerful allies. On the 18th of June, the army began their march, and proceeded to Gloucester Point, and from thence crossed the Delaware in safety through the excellent disposition made by the admiral to secure their passage. They continued their march toward New York till the 28th, without any interruption from the enemy, excepting what was occasioned by their having destroyed every bridge on the road. Then the rebels began to approach nearer the royal army, not in order to risk a general engagement, but to harass their march, and if possible to seize their baggage, which, as the country admitted of but one route, consisted of a train extending nearly twelve miles. The judicious dispositions made by General Clinton, and the bravery of his troops, compelled the assailants to retire on every side. The army marched without farther opposition to Navesunk,

where they waited two days, in hopes that General Washington might be induced to take post near Middletown, where he might have been attacked to advantage. But as he still declined affording an opportunity of coming to a general action, preparations were made for passing to Sandy-Hook island by a bridge of flat boats, which, by the extraordinary efforts of the navy was soon completed, and over which the whole army passed in about two hours time on the 5th of July, the horses and cattle having been previously transported. They were afterwards carried up to New York; while the fleet, the proceedings of which had been regulated by the motions of the army, anchored off Staten island. This station was less disadvantageous than that of the Delaware, in case the French fleet at Toulon should escape to America. This unfortunately had happened; M. D'Estaing having sailed from Toulon the 13th of April with twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and store-ships. The fact was known to the ministry the 27th of the same month; but no effectual measure had been taken in consequence of it. It was several days even before a council was called to take this important matter into consideration. The succeeding month was spent in naval reviews, and in parliamentary debates, in the course of which the ministers acknowledged that it was judged improper to detach any part of our fleet, until the internal safety of Great Britain was sufficiently provided for. Meanwhile D'Estaing's squadron rode mistress of the sea, and pursuing their course to America, arrived on the coast of Virginia the 5th of July. On the 8th, they anchored at the entrance of the Delaware, and on the 11th, arrived on the northern shore of New Jersey.

Lord Howe made no delay in taking the necessary measures to oppose their attempts, until the expected reinforcement under the command of Admiral Byron should arrive from England. But nothing could be more blame-

able than the late departure, or more unfortunate than the tedious voyage of that admiral. He sailed the 5th of June, and worked out of the channel against a fresh wind at south-west. Nothing very material happened till the 3d of July, when the squadron was separated in 49 degrees 4 minutes north latitude, and 26 degrees 48 minutes west longitude from the Lizard, in a most violent gale at north, accompanied with heavy rains. At eight o'clock next evening the storm abated, and of a squadron of fourteen vessels shewed only the Princess Royal, Invincible, Culloden, and Guadaloupe. On the 6th, the Culloden was ordered to look out to the north-east quarter, and the Guadaloupe to the south-west. The Guadaloupe joined again the next afternoon, and kept company till the 21st, when she and the Invincible separated in a thick fog on the banks of Newfoundland. On the 5th of August, the admiral fell in with the Culloden, after being separated a month, but she parted company again in the night of the 11th. The Princess Royal being thus left by herself, the admiral continued his best endeavours to get to Sandy Hook, but the prevailing wind being from the south-west to west, he made very slow progress. On the 18th of August, the crew of the Princess Royal perceived twelve sail of ships at anchor to leeward, distant about eight miles. These were soon discovered to be part of D'Estaing's squadron, and as the admiral could neither get into the road of Sandy Hook nor of New York, without passing through the midst of the enemy, he bore away for Halifax, where he arrived the 26th of August, and found the Culloden, which had reached that port before him. The rest of the squadron afterwards dropped in gradually there, or into the harbour of New York, their crews very sickly, and their furniture much impaired.

Meanwhile D'Estaing's squadron had, on the afternoon of the 12th of July, come to anchor off Shrewsbury Inlet, about four miles from Sandy Hook. They consisted of

twelve sail of two decked ships, and three frigates. One of the large ships had ninety guns, one eighty, six were of seventy-four, three of sixty-four, one of fifty; the least of the frigates mounted thirty-six guns; and their complement in men was above eleven thousand. To oppose this formidable squadron Lord Howe had only six sail of sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, two of forty-four, with some frigates and sloops, for the most part poorly manned. In this great disparity of force the spirit of British seamen blazed forth with more than its usual lustre. A thousand volunteers from the transports presented themselves to man the fleet. Such was their ardour, that many who had been detained as necessary for the watch in their respective ships, were found concealed in the boats which carried their more fortunate companions on board the several men-of-war. The army were equally forward and impatient to signalize their zeal in a line of service, which, independent of the spirit that animated them, would have been extremely disagreeable to men unaccustomed to a sea life. Though scarcely recruited from the fatigues of a long, toilsome, and dangerous march, they were eager to cast lots to decide which should be appointed to embark as marines. The masters and mates of the merchant-men shewed equal

\* *List of Lord Howe's Fleet.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Eagle .....	64 ....	Vice-admiral Howe, Captains Duncan and Curtis
Trident ....	64 ....	Commodore Elliot, Captain Molloy
Nonsuch ....	64 ....	Captain Griffiths
St. Alban's ..	64 ....	——— Fitzherbert
Somerset ....	64 ....	——— Ourry
Ardent .....	64 ....	——— Keppel
Experiment..	50 ....	——— Sir James Wallace
Isis .....	50 ....	——— Raynor
Preston ....	50 ....	Commodore Hotham
Phoenix ....	44 ....	Captain Parker
Rochuck ....	44 ....	——— Hamond.



already, several taking their stations at the guns with the common sailors, others putting to sea in their small swift sailing sloops, to alarm such ships as might be bound for the port, and to look out for the long expected arrival of Lord's reinforcement. One, of the name of Duncan, with a spirit of disinterested patriotism, that would have done honour to the first names of Greece or Rome in the most brilliant period of those celebrated republics, wrote for leave to convert his vessel, the whole hope of his fortune, into a fire-ship, to be conducted by himself: rejecting all idea of any other recompence than the honour of sacrificing his life, services and expectations, to an ardent love of his country.

Lord Howe, encouraged by the noble enthusiasm of every one who bore the name of Briton, and which could never have been executed under a commander who was not universally beloved and respected, lost not a moment in forming the disposition of his fleet, with determined purpose to resist the most vigorous exertions of the enemy. While the French admiral was employed in sounding the bar, his lordship placed his ships in the strongest situation the channel within the Hook would admit. He sounded its several depths in person; he ascertained the different setting of the currents; communicated his discoveries to the officers of the most experience, and after hearing their several opinions, formed such plans of arrangement as seemed best adapted to counteract the enemy's designs. He lengthened his line which was already formed of the Isis, Eagle, Somerset, Trident, Nonsuch, and Ardent, by adding the Leviathan store-ship, manned by volunteers for the occasion, and supplied with cannon from the train. One battery of two howitzers, and another of three eighteen pounders, were erected on the point, round which the enemy must have passed, to enter the channel.

During these vigorous preparations the admiral had the daily mortification to see several of the English traders

fall into the hands of the French. The Stanly armed brig, with five prizes, unfortunately anchored in the middle of their fleet, the darkness of the night concealing their ensigns, and was boarded before she discovered her mistake. If some traders and advice-boats had not escaped over the flats, the Hope, with a convoy from Halifax, would likewise have been taken, and added to the general loss and indignation.

The French squadron had maintained a constant intercourse with the shore by means of boats and small vessels: which was observed to cease on the 21st of July. On the day following they appeared under weigh. The wind was favourable for crossing the bar, the spring tides were at the highest, and every circumstance concurred for attacking the British fleet to the greatest advantage. The admiral, therefore, had reason to expect one of the hottest actions ever fought between the two nations. Had the English men-of-war been defeated, the transports and victuallers must have been an easy acquisition; and the army, of course, compelled to surrender on any terms the enemy might impose. But D'Estaing seems not to have possessed sufficient courage to contend for so great a stake: and at three o'clock in the afternoon he bore off to the southward, to the great mortification of our gallant seamen, who, confident of victory, only longed for a battle.

Instructions were immediately despatched to the advice-boats stationed without on the flats, to follow and observe the motions of the French fleet. It was generally supposed that the enemy's design was to force the port of New York, and that their bearing to the southward was owing to the circumstances of the weather. But advice was received, that they were seen on the morning of the 23d, in the latitude of the Delaware. Soon after this intelligence, the English fleet received an unexpected accession of force by the arrival of the *Renown* from the

West Indies; and so extremely inferiour were they in every respect to the enemy, that the addition of a single fifty gun ship was a matter of general exultation. Such was the mortifying debility of the British fleet, while the first lord of the admiralty triumphed in parliament in the superiority of Lord Howe's squadron over that of M. D'Estaing.

The Dispatch arrived from Halifax the 26th of July, which brought no intelligence of Byron, but informed the admiral, that the *Raisonable* and *Centurion* were both on their way to New York. These, as well as the *Cornwall*, formed a most seasonable reinforcement.

It was now known for certain, that the French fleet had sailed for Rhode island. On the 29th they had been seen off Newport harbour; the same day two of their frigates had entered the *Seconnet* passage; next morning two line-of-battle ships had run up the *Naraganset* passage; and the remainder of the squadron were at anchor without *Brenton's Lodge*, about five miles from the town. In this divided state of the enemy, Lord Howe, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force even after the reinforcement, determined to save the British garrison at Rhode island. Two additional fire-ships were constructed by his orders, and all his squadron was ready for sea by the 1st of August. The weather prevented, however, his arrival at Rhode island till the evening of the 9th. By this time D'Estaing had entered the harbour under an easy sail, cannonading the town and batteries as he passed. His situation, therefore, was much stronger than that on which the English had depended at *Sandy Hook*. The rebels also were possessed of the left-hand shore, the whole length of the harbour, which gave them an opportunity not only to annoy the British fleet from the heights of *Conanicut*, near to which it must have approached, but, during the attack against D'Estaing, to bring all their guns to bear upon the English ships from the northern extremity of that island.

Next morning the wind blew directly out of the Harbour, and in a short time the French squadron appeared standing out to sea with all their sails on board. Lord Howe immediately made the signal to get under weigh, and endeavoured by several masterly manœuvres to throw the enemy to leeward. The weather-gage was a matter of the utmost importance, as, unless he could obtain that, the fire-ships, in which were placed the greatest hopes in contending with such a superiour force, could not be brought into action; and the frigates which had charge of them would likewise have been prevented from engaging. But the attention of the French was as great to preserve this advantage, as the solicitude of the English to acquire it. Night put an end to the manœuvres on both sides, and next morning presented the two fleets in the same situation with regard to the weather, but at somewhat greater distance. The wind still being to the eastward, blowing fresh, and there appearing no prospect of change, Lord Howe, therefore, ordered the frigates which had the charge of the fire-ships to be informed, that, should the enemy continue to preserve the weather-gage, he should wait their approach with the squadron formed in a line of battle a-head, from the wind to the starboard. At the same time he took a step upon which no officer could have ventured, whose character for personal bravery was less fully established. It is well known that a commander in chief, stationed in the line, cannot, after the action is commenced, observe the general conduct of the battle. His services are then of no more avail than those of any other officer, equally brave and expert in the management of a single ship. But, as Lord Howe had on this occasion to engage under so many disadvantages, it was necessary to seek resource in his superiour skill and activity, to be ready to profit of every fortuitous occurrence, and to compensate for the inferiority of his force by his address in applying it. He therefore shifted his

flag on board the Apollo frigate, leaving the Eagle in the centre, and moved to a convenient distance to take a view of the whole line. Having by this gained a nearer view of the French fleet, and observed that they had placed their strongest ships in the van, he strengthened the rear of the British to receive their attack. About four o'clock the French admiral altered his bearing, and new formed his line to engage to leeward. Lord Howe crossed through the interstices of the English line with the frigates and fire-ships, and in a few minutes after made a signal for his ships to shorten sail, and close to the centre. The engagement seemed now to be decided on by the commanders of both squadrons; but in a short time the French again altered their course, and bearing to the southward were speedily, from the state of the weather, entirely out of sight.

The wind blew so hard that it was necessary for the British to lie to all night to prevent the separation of their fleet. But the gale increased to such violence, that, notwithstanding this precaution, the blue division was totally separated from the rest; the centre and van with most of the frigates still keeping together. The Apollo, in which the admiral was embarked, having lost her fore-mast in the night, he shifted his flag next day on board the Roebuck, Captain Hamond, then in company with the Centurion, Ardent, Richmond, Vigilant and Phoenix. The whole fleet was greatly disabled by the storm, their sails shattered, their masts sprung, and their fire-ships rendered by the wet totally unfit for service. But, though the elements warred against them, they failed not to assail their enemies wherever the opportunity offered. On the evening of the 13th, Captain Dawson, in the Renown of fifty guns, fell in with the Languedoc, carrying M. D'Estaing, totally dismasted. Having run close under her lee, he gave her all his upper-deck guns; then standing off to windward, opened his lower ports, and, at

half a cable's length, poured in three broadsides. The darkness obliged him to lie to for the night, in the resolution of renewing the attack next morning; but at the first dawn six French ships hove in sight, three of which remained with the wreck, and the other three gave him chase. The same evening Commodore Hotham would have taken the *Tonant*, had it not been for the intervention of other French ships. A circumstance of another kind prevented the *Cæsar*, a seventy-four gun ship, from becoming a prize to the *Isis*, after an action as brilliant as any on record in the history of the English navy. Captain Rayner of the *Isis*, discovering the force of his opponent, at first endeavoured to escape her; but she proved to be the fastest sailer. In a short time they were close on board each other, and engaged for an hour and a half within pistol-shot. Notwithstanding the extraordinary disproportion of force, the address and intrepidity of the English captain was so happily seconded by the ardour of his officers and men, that the Frenchman was forced to put before the wind. The *Isis* was incapable of pursuing him, being so much shattered in her masts and rigging. Mr. Bougainville, the French captain, lost his arm, the first lieutenant his leg, and they acknowledged seventy men killed and wounded; whereas the *Isis* had but one man killed, and fourteen wounded. After these honourable but partial engagements, the English ships sailed for the general rendezvous, which the admiral had appointed at the Hook, where they found their consorts almost as much shattered by the storm, as they had been by the storm and the French fleet together.

During the time requisite for repairing the disabled ships, the *Experiment*, being sent to explore the state of affairs at Newport, brought intelligence, the 23d of August, that D'Estaing's squadron had again returned to Rhode island. Lieutenant Stanhope arrived next day, having with great gallantry passed through the body of

## NAVAL HISTORY

the French fleet in a whale-boat, conveying more complete information of the situation of the enemy. He had left them at anchor at the harbour's mouth, which it was not probable they had entered, as the wind had all along continued at east. The rebels, to the number of twenty thousand, had advanced within fifteen hundred yards of our works. From them, however, Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the English garrison, apprehended little danger; but should the French fleet come in, the governor ordered his messenger to say it would make an alarming change.

Lord Howe lost not a moment, upon this information, to set sail for the relief of the place. But he was met at sea by the *Galatea* with despatches from General Pigot, acquainting him that *D'Estaing* had sailed from his anchorage, and steered in a course for Boston. His lordship, therefore, detached the *Nautilus*, *Sphinx*, and *Vigilant* to Rhode island, and proceeded with the remainder of his squadron in quest of the enemy. As it was not probable that the French would attempt to navigate their large ships in their disabled state through the south channel, within George's Bank, his lordship was in hopes that, by following that course, he might intercept their passage to Boston Bay. But on entering that bay the 30th, he found to his great mortification that the enemy had anticipated his arrival. The next day he endeavoured to take advantage of a leading wind to view their position, but was prevented by the *St. Alban's* running on shore near the point of Cape Cod. He effected his purpose, however, on the 1st of September, and judging that no attempt could be made against them in their present situation with the smallest prospect of success, he stood off to sea, in order to disengage his ships from the navigation of the coast, which was extremely dangerous, the wind blowing fresh from the east, and the appearance of the weather in other respects unfavourable. When he arrived at New-

port, he found that the measures which he had taken, had been effectual in relieving that important garrison; the rebel General Sullivan, on the unexpected retreat of D'Estaing, having retired from before the place after uttering many bitter reproaches against the brittle faith of his new allies. Lord Howe afterwards returned to Sandy Hook, and his health being infirm, surrendered the powers with which he was entrusted to Rear-admiral Gambier, and set sail for England, where he arrived the 25th of October.

The naval operations in Europe, though far less complicated, was not more decisive than in America. The French, as early as the month of May, had in the road of Brest nineteen ships of seventy-four guns, three of eighty, and fourteen frigates, commanded by the Count D'Orville, lieutenant-general of the marine. The duke of Chartres, eldest son of the first prince of the blood, commanded an eighty-gun ship, and gave the splendour of his name to this formidable equipment. The British fleet, \* destined to act against the main force of the enemy, was committed to Admiral Keppel, who sailed from St. Helen's the 8th of June, with unlimited discretionary powers. Nothing particular happened until the 17th, when the English fleet being in line of battle, twenty-five miles distant from the Lizard, they perceived two ships and two tenders surveying the fleet, and watching its motions.

\* It consisted of the following ships: The Victory of one hundred guns, Admiral Keppel, the Queen of ninety guns, Vice-admiral Harland; the Ocean of ninety guns, Vice-admiral Palliser; the Sandwich of ninety guns; the Prince George of ninety guns; the Foudroyant, Shrewsbury, Egmont, Valiant, Courageux, Ramilies, Hector, Monarch, Elizabeth, Berwick, and Cumberland, of seventy-four guns each; the America, Exeter, Stirling Castle, Robuste, and Bienfaisant, of sixty-four guns each; Arethusa frigate of thirty-two guns; Fox and Proscopine frigates; the Alert and Meredith armed cutters, and the Vulcan fire-ship; in all twenty-seven sail, which were afterwards joined by some others.



The situation of the admiral was somewhat embarrassing; for by commencing hostilities without express orders, the whole blame of the war might be laid upon him; but considering that it was necessary to stop these frigates, as well to obtain intelligence, as to prevent its being communicated, he immediately directed the whole fleet to chase; and between five and six in the evening the *Milford* had got close alongside the leeward ship, which proved to be a large French frigate called the *Licorne*, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and thirty men. Her commander could not be persuaded by civil words to bring his vessel to the English fleet, so that it was necessary to fire a gun, which made him prepare to obey the English officer's request. The other French ship was pursued by the *Arethusa* and *Alect* cutter, and, at some distance astern, the *Valiant* and *Monarch*. Meanwhile the French frigate which had been overtaken by the *Milford*, and was now attended by the *America*, changed her course, and went upon a different tack, with a view to escape. One of the English ships attending her, fired a shot across her, which was immediately followed by the French frigate's discharging a whole broadside into the *America*, at the very moment Lord Longford was upon the gunwale talking to the French captain in the most civil strain. The latter then struck his colours; and though his conduct merited the fire of the *America*, Lord Longford's magnanimity disdained to take vengeance on an enemy whom he had entirely in his power. On the 19th, the *Valiant* and *Monarch* who had chased the other French ship, were seen making for the fleet with a disabled ship in tow, which was soon perceived to be the *Arethusa* with her main-mast gone, and much shattered in other respects. The *Arethusa* had, on the night of the 17th, come up with her chase, which proved to be the *Belle Poule*, a large French frigate with heavy metal. The French captain peremptorily refused to bring to,

which obliged Captain Marshall of the *Arethusa* to fire a shot, which was immediately returned by a whole broadside from the French frigate. This brought on an engagement which lasted upwards of two hours. The action was contested with equal obstinacy on both sides. The French frigate was superiour in weight of metal, and in the number of men; advantages which she stood in need of: at length the *Arethusa* being much shattered in her masts, sails and rigging, and there being little wind to govern her, she could not prevent the French ship from getting into a small bay, where boats at day-light came out and towed her into safety. The *Arethusa* had eight men killed, and thirty-six wounded. The French acknowledge forty slain, and forty-seven wounded, on board the *Belle Poule*. Captain Fairfax of the *Alert* cutter was more fortunate, having taken, after a gallant engagement, a French schooner of ten carriage-guns, and ten swivels that attended the *Belle Poule*. And on the 18th, the *Foudroyant*, *Courageux*. and *Robuste*, had chased and taken the *Pallas*, a French frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men.

From papers found on board the *Pallas* and *Licorne* French frigates, the admiral discovered that the enemy's fleet in Brest water consisted of thirty-two sail of the line, and about a dozen frigates; whereas his own consisted only of twenty of the former, and three of the latter. In this perplexing situation he considered the probable consequences of risking an engagement against such odds, also the critical and hazardous situation the nation might be reduced to in case of a defeat, as the dock-yards and whole shipping in the ports of the channel would, in that case, be at the mercy of the enemy; therefore, though he foresaw that to come home without orders might be fatal to his own reputation, yet he resolved to risk that for the safety of his country, and accord-

ingly returned to Spithead the 27th of June for a reinforcement.

At this juncture two fleets from the West Indies, with some ships from the Levant, arrived, which afforded a supply of seamen, by this seasonable relief the admiral was enabled to sail again on the 9th of July, with twenty-four ships of the line, and was joined on his way down the channel by six more. The French king, in the mean time, had issued orders for reprisals on the ships of Great Britain, assigning the capture of the frigates, and our engagement with the *Belle Poule*, as the ostensible reasons: thus nothing of war was wanting between the two nations but the ceremony of a proclamation. The French fleet, consisting of thirty-two ships of the line, and a number of frigates, had sailed from Brest the 8th of July; they were divided into three squadrons, under Count D'Orville, commander in chief, Count Duchaffault, and the Duke de Chartres, a prince of the blood, assisted by three other admirals. On their departure from Brest, the *Lively* frigate, which had been cruising to watch their motions, was captured, being so much entangled among them that she could not escape.

The British fleet was also divided into three squadrons, commanded by Admiral Keppel, the vice-admirals Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliser: Rear-admiral Campbell, from friendship to Admiral Keppel, condescended to act as first captain on board the *Victory*. The two fleets came in sight of each other in the afternoon of the 23d of July, in the bay of Biscay, about thirty-five leagues to the westward of Brest. At first the French admiral, from his movements, seemed desirous to bring on an engagement, probably supposing the British fleet to be nearly of equal force with what it was about four weeks before; but on coming nearer he discovered his mistake, and from that moment he evidently

determined to avoid an action. This plan he adhered to for the three following days, notwithstanding every effort used by the British admiral to bring him to action; which the latter ardently wished for, before the East and West India fleets, which were expected about this time, should arrive, finding it would be difficult to protect them effectually, as the French fleet overspread many leagues of the ocean. All the advantage he could obtain in four days was to separate two of the enemy's line-of-battle ships, which returned to Brest, and could not afterwards rejoin their fleet: this placed both fleets upon an equality as to line-of-battle ships. On the 21<sup>st</sup>, the British admiral threw out the signal to chase to windward, which was continued the two following days, keeping at the same time his ships as much connected as the nature of a pursuit would admit, in order to seize the first opportunity of bringing the enemy to a close engagement; but this proved ineffectual, the French cautiously avoiding coming to action, and in their manœuvres showing great address and nautical knowledge. About four o'clock in the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup> of July, the French were discovered to windward about five miles distance. Admiral Keppel finding some of his fleet too much scattered, made signals to collect them together, still continuing to follow the enemy. About ten o'clock, a heavy dark squall came on, which continued nearly an hour; when it cleared up, the two fleets, by a shift of wind, had neared each other, but on different tacks. About half-past eleven the signal was hoisted out for a general engagement, at which time the ships as they came up began firing. The French attacked at some distance the headmost of Sir Robert Harland's division, which led the van. Their fire was warmly returned by almost every ship in the fleet, as they ranged along the line; and notwithstanding it had been extended by the chase, they were soon engaged, as the two fleets passed each other. The cannonade was very heavy, and

did considerable execution on both sides. The enemy, as usual, fired chiefly at the rigging, which crippled many of the British ships, while Mr. Keppel continued the old way of fighting, by firing principally at the hulls of the enemy's ships with good success.

The action, for the short space it lasted, about three hours, was very warm. The loss on the side of the British was one hundred and thirty-three killed, and three hundred and seventy-three wounded; among the latter were four officers, none of whom died. The French concealed their loss as much as possible; they acknowledged, however, one hundred and fifty killed, and about six hundred wounded. From the manner of engaging it is probable they lost more men than the British, perhaps double the number.

After the different ships had repaired their damages, the commander in chief, about three o'clock in the afternoon, made the signal to form the line of battle a-head. The red division, commanded by Sir Robert Harland, immediately obeyed; but the blue division never came into the line during the rest of the day, Sir Hugh Palliser alledging, that his ship the *Formidable* was so much disabled that he could not obey the signal.

Admiral Keppel's letter to the admiralty prior to the engagement mentioned his being for several days in chase of the enemy, from which the public expected that, if an action should happen, it would prove a decisive one: but, on reading the Gazette account of this affair when it was over, and finding the enemy had escaped with their whole fleet, not a ship being captured or destroyed, they were greatly chagrined and disappointed.

Both sides claimed the victory in this undecisive action. The French soon after the engagement, drew up in a line of battle to leeward, and continued during the afternoon in that position, with an intention, they assert, to renew the engagement; but it is more probable, with a view to

bring off their crippled ships in the night, which must have been abandoned if they had fled sooner.

The French Gazette relates, that the English stole away in the night, without showing any lights; and in the morning, the French having no expectation of being able to renew the action, and finding themselves unexpectedly off Ushant, the effects of the winds and currents, while they supposed themselves nearly thirty leagues from any land, they took that opportunity of putting into Brest, in order to land their wounded men.

Although the English had no great reason to boast of victory, yet the French account is totally false, for it appeared by the evidence of witnesses upon oath, in the subsequent trials of Keppel and Palliser, that the French, on purpose to deceive, stationed soon after it was dark three of their best sailing ships in a line, at considerable distances from each other, with lights, in order to have the appearance of their whole fleet. This finesse had the intended effect; their fleet stole away in the night, and the three ships followed them at day-light in the morning.

The British fleet was nearly in a line of battle all night, excepting the Formidable and some other ships of Sir Hugh Palliser's division; both Admiral Keppel, and Sir Robert Harland, had distinguishing lights out, and also a light at their bowsprit end. Sir Hugh Palliser, not being in his station, had no lights, neither in that situation would it have been proper, as it might have misled some of the ships of his own and other divisions. The men were on deck all night in every ship of the fleet, quartered at their guns, ready to renew the action in the morning, expecting the French were also inclined to fight; but in this they found themselves mistaken, their whole fleet being out of sight, excepting the three ships above mentioned, which were also at too great a distance to be overtaken.

Whether the want of success in this engagement was owing to any misconduct in the commander in chief, to a misunderstanding between him and Sir Hugh Palliser, or to some other cause, is perhaps not easy to determine † but whatever reasons may be assigned for this, it is evident that a fair opportunity was lost of striking a blow against the maritime power of France, which might have been decisive.

The commander discovering in the morning that the French had escaped, that many ships of his own fleet had suffered greatly in their masts and rigging, and that there was not the least prospect of overtaking the enemy before they could reach Brest, he had no alternative but to bring the fleet home to be repaired. He arrived off Plymouth on the 31st of July.

Admiral Keppel put to sea again with the same number of ships and commanders, on the 22d of August. The French had left Brest some days before, but instead of looking out for the British fleet, they bore away for Cape Finisterre, leaving their trade at the mercy of our fleet and privateers. Many of their merchantmen accordingly fell into the hands of the English. The British admiral continued cruising in the bay till the 28th of October, when he returned to Portsmouth, and the French got to Brest a few days after.

The commissioners appointed to settle matters amicably with the Americans, had so little effect in suspending the military or naval operations across the Atlantic, that it was not necessary to interrupt the thread of our narration

Some experienced seamen attribute the miscarriage on the 27th of July, to the British fleet keeping the old way of fighting, by firing chiefly at the hulls of the enemy, whereas if they had fired at the rigging and masts, some of them must have been much crippled, which would have forced the French admiral, either to have submitted to a general engagement, or to have abandoned the lame ships.

† A short account of Admiral Keppel's trial is subjoined.

by giving an account of their proceedings. But as the proposals which they were empowered to make, altered entirely the object of the war, it is necessary to explain the purport of their commission, the means used for giving it effect, and the sentiments with which it was received. They sailed the 21st of April, in his majesty's ship the Trident, and their arrival in America was notified the 9th of June, in a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to General Washington, intimating, that the earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, three of the commissioners for restoring peace between Great Britain and America, were then at Philadelphia, and requesting a passport for their secretary Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to congress. General Washington declined granting this request until the pleasure of congress should be known; but while that assembly were deliberating on the expediency of the measure referred to them, an express arrived from the general, carrying a letter from the commissioners addressed to his excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and other members of the congress. This letter, after much debate, was read. It contained the powers with which the commissioners were furnished to suspend hostilities, to remove grievances, and to grant the requests which the colonies had frequently made on the subject of acts of parliament passed since the year 1763, and to settle a plan of policy for the future government of America, which should obtain force, when ratified by the parliament of Great Britain; the whole strain of the letter is highly respectful. The commissioners declare it is their inclination "to establish the powers of the legislatures in each particular state of America, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to allow it the exercise of a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government." They also declare themselves ready "to concur in measures towards extending every freedom to trade that the respective



“ interests of Great Britain and America can require ;  
“ to agree that no military force shall be kept up in the  
“ different states of North America, without the consent  
“ of the general congress, or particular assemblies : and  
“ to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts  
“ of America, and raise the value and credit of the paper  
“ circulation.” To these advantageous and condescending  
proposals the congress answered in terms of great  
haughtiness. The commissioners proceeded on a sup-  
position, that the Americans were subjects of Great  
Britain, an idea utterly inadmissible. The commissioners  
mentioned the insidious interposition of France, an ex-  
pression so disrespectful to his most christian majesty, the  
good and great ally of the United States, that nothing  
but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of blood  
could have persuaded congress to allow the reading of a  
paper drawn up with such bold indecency of language.  
They observe, however, that “ they will be contented to  
“ enter upon a consideration of a treaty of peace and  
“ commerce with Great Britain, not inconsistent with  
“ treaties already subsisting, when his Britannic majesty  
“ shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose.  
“ The only solid proof of this disposition will be an  
“ explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these  
“ states, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.”  
Such were the fruits of a negotiation, proposed with  
much triumph by ministers, and accepted with great  
unanimity by parliament. By the same fatal misconduct,  
or the same unexampled misfortune, which had marked  
every step of the proceedings of the British administration  
with regard to the colonies, the army had orders to eva-  
cuate Philadelphia, at the time of the arrival of the com-  
missioners. At the moment that we held out terms of  
peace, we discovered our inability to continue the war  
with effect. Such a remarkable coincidence naturally  
damped the hopes of our negociators as well as of all

those who were still attached to the interests of the mother country. The English general had expected to receive a powerful reinforcement of troops; he received commissioners who had powers to negotiate away the principal objects for which he fought. The commissioners expected to add weight and persuasion to their proposals by being seconded by the active operations of the army. They were obliged to retire with that army, which now abandoned its conquests, and, instead of aspiring at advantage, discovered great merit in being able to make a retreat without sustaining any irreparable loss.

Thus it happened by a fatality unknown in any other age or country, that the proposals of the commissioners damped the spirits and checked the ardour of the troops, while the conduct of the troops, however necessary and proper in itself, weakened, disgraced, and vilified the proposals of the commissioners. After this inauspicious beginning, it could scarcely be expected that any future measures should be attended with better success. The commissioners, however, continued in America four months, publishing proclamations of grace and pardon to those who despised their power; offering friendship and union to those who avowed that they were not only divided from us for ever, but leagued with our worst enemies; and endeavouring to treat with assemblies, or correspond with private persons, all which endeavours were rejected with marks of ineffable contempt. At length, after being exposed to such indignities as we do not recollect that the ministers of any independent nation ever submitted to among a civilized people, and after condescending to such degrading language of their constituents, as was never held by the representatives of any kingdom upon earth, \* they determined to return home;

\* As an example, take the following memorable words of one of the commissioners in a letter to the president of the congress:—"If you should follow the example of Great Britain in the hour of her

previous to which they published a manifesto, dated at New York, the 3d of October, 1778. This contained a recapitulation of the advantages which they were empowered to confer, with an appeal from the resolutions of the congress to the inhabitants at large, and a denunciation of a more destructive war than had hitherto been carried on, since, if the British colonies were to become an accession to France, prudence would dictate to Great Britain the necessity of rendering that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy. Soon after the publication of this paper, which was not more effectual than the rest of their proceedings, they set sail for England.

The military and naval operations, it has been observed, were little interrupted by this extraordinary negotiation. The advanced season of the year, however, prevented those active and powerful exertions which alone could produce any decisive effect; the spirits and vigour of the troops and seamen seemed gradually to languish, and their operations naturally degenerated into the *petite guerre*. In those partial hostilities the king's troops were generally successful. They destroyed several magazines belonging to the enemy; laid waste the possessions of some of the most obstinate of the rebels; and demolished, by the assistance of the ships, some villages which were built for the reception of prize goods, and the accommodation of the sailors belonging to the American privateers. But no general engagement took place, nor was any thing decisive performed by the English or French squadrons, both of which suffered greater injury from the weather than from the assaults of the enemy. The surrender of Dominica by the English was in some measure compensated by the taking of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were the only settlements

“ insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I should hope from  
“ private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and  
“ the worthy characters she has exhibited.”

the French possessed in the northern parts of America. Thus every thing seemed to tend to an equality; and we had the mortification to mourn over our loss in the course of the war, without any prospect of being soon able to repair it. We had already lost two ships of the line, thirteen frigates, and seven sloops of war. \* The merchant ships taken by the American privateers, were nearly one thousand in number, and valued at nearly two millions sterling. We had not taken one capital ship from the French, nor, excepting the Pallas and *Lacorne* frigates, any man-of-war worth mentioning. After the naval force of the Americans seemed to be totally destroyed, it arose more than once from its ruins, and harassed our trade as much as before. The value of American captures, however, made by English vessels, exceeded, by several

\* List of English men-of-war taken or destroyed in the present war.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	
Augusta .....	64	burnt in the Delaware
Somerset .....	64	lost on the coast of New England
Repulse .....	32	lost off Bermudas
Orpheus .....	} 32	sunk or burnt at Rhode island
Flora .....		
Juno .....		
Lark, each of ..		
Minerva .....	32	taken by the French in the West Indies
Aetion .....	28	burnt at Sullivan's island
Fox .....	28	taken by the French off Brest. This ship had before been taken by the Americans, and retaken by the <i>Floa</i>
Lively .....	20	taken by the French off Brest
Cerberus .....	28	burnt at Rhode island
Mermaid .....	28	run ashore by the French off Cape Henlopen
Active .....	28	taken by the French in the West Indies
Syren .....	28	destroyed by the Americans
Drake .....	18	taken by an American privateer
Falcon .....	18	sunk or burnt at Rhode island
King's Fisher ....	18	ditto
Pomona .....	18	lost in the West Indies
Merlin .....	14	burnt in the Delaware
Senegal .....	} 14	taken by the French off Rhode island.
Thunder bomb		

hundred thousand pounds, the loss which the British merchants had sustained. and when we take into the account the captures from the French, particularly the *Modeste* and *Carnatic* Indiamen, each of which was worth nearly half a million, the Balance will appear to be considerably in favour of Great Britain. But, in estimating national advantages, we must not compensate the loss of English merchants by the gains of English seamen. The latter, being chiefly the profit of a few individuals, is not to be put in competition with the benefit of the great body of merchants and manufacturers; nor does it even indemnify the public for the damage and diminution which the navy itself has suffered by the misfortunes of the sea, and sustained from the efforts of the enemy.

In taking a general retrospect of the conduct of the war, in as far as the navy is concerned, it appears that the commanders in chief, as well as the captains of particular vessels, have for the most part acted with their usual bravery and wisdom. Whatever aspersions may be thrown on those who superintended the management of our marine, no dishonour has been fixed on the British flag, nor has the ancient glory of our seamen been tarnished. Hitherto, indeed, their spirited ardour and intrepidity have not produced the effects that usually result from them. But we are not to account for this, by supposing any diminution of those eminent qualities for which they have been long distinguished. The inauspicious and fatal influence which prevails in a high department, has continued to give us one proof after another, that no people can be great without being virtuous. The iniquities of the ministers have been visited on the nation—

*Quisquid delinunt reges, plectuntur Achivi.*

But that very circumstance which has hitherto occasioned our perplexity and distress, the unhappy superintendence of our naval affairs, is what ought at present to afford us just grounds of consolation. If our boundless supplies

and powerful armaments had been managed and directed by the wisdom and virtue of ministers; and if, notwithstanding this most favourable circumstance, the exertion of our forces by sea and land had been unable to maintain with honour the cause in which we were engaged, we should have just reason to despair: because it is plain, that in such a case we could not expect, by any alteration of management, to defeat the malignant purposes of our natural and inveterate enemies. But if our fleets and armies were condemned to reluctant inactivity at the beginning of the war; if while we had the Americans only to contend with, we took no resolutions becoming the dignity of a great nation; if while our enemies prepared for hostility, by augmenting their troops and equipping their squadrons, our own were allowed to rot, languish, and moulder away in a state the most deplorable; if after the message delivered by the French ambassador, which was in effect a declaration of war, had roused the spirit of the nation, our ministers still remained profoundly sunk in lethargic security, totally incapable of those vigorous measures which their situation required, and in every instance behind hand with our enemies; what could we possibly expect from such a conduct but misfortune, disgrace, and complicated calamity? A French fleet was equipped at Brest, and another at Toulon. The destination of the latter appeared plainly to every body, not concerned in administration, to be for America. But the first lord of the admiralty remained in doubtful suspense. He knew not what part of the empire might be attacked. He continued motionless himself, and received patiently the hostile assault: like an unskilful boxer, intending to cover the part on which he had already received a blow, and then shifting his hand to another part just wounded, but possessing neither spirit nor address sufficient to ward off the impending stroke. Even after D'Estaing's squadron had sailed, the

account of which we obtained by the vigilance of a foreign resident, without any thanks to the board of admiralty, the important pass of the Mediterranean was left unguarded. It was still pretended, that the destination of this fleet was uncertain; their sailing in an American direction might be a feint, if a squadron should be detached from our fleet in pursuit of them, they might perhaps return, and form a junction with D'Orville's, which would give him a decisive advantage over Admiral Keppel. Then the disgrace of the nation burst forth with irresistible evidence. Notwithstanding the boasted declarations that our fleet was superiour to the united power of France and Spain, it happened that the fleet of France alone commanded more than our respect. The immense sums voted for the navy supplies, for these three years past, could not furnish us with ships to follow D'Estaing without leaving our own coast defenceless.

The consequence of this was, that while we employed several months in gleaning the old stores, that had lain for years rotting in the different dock-yards, splicing and knotting cordage that had long been condemned as un-serviceable, and patching up masts and yards from the remnants of a fleet once the terror of the world, D'Estaing rode the waves in triumph, carrying protection and independence to America. If the fortune of Lord Howe had not been equal to his activity, his fatigued vessels, considerable part of which, from the nature of the service in which they were engaged, lay dispersed over the wide-extended coast of North America, must have been attacked in detail, and defeated by piece-meal. The admiral himself, with the main force of his squadron, narrowly escaped destruction in the Delaware; for, had the French fleet arrived a few days sooner, he would have been surprised in that river with two ships of sixty-four guns, one of fifty, two of forty-four, and a few frigates, encumbered with a fleet of transports, victuallers, and private traders,

laden for the most part with the refugees from Philadelphia, who seized this last opportunity of transporting their families and the wreck of their fortunes.

Thus was the main force of Great Britain on that side of the Atlantic, left to be the sport of contingencies. It was saved by something that nearly resembles a miracle. Lord Howe resisted until Byron's fleet, which had long been kept waving in the harbour of Portsmouth, to the no small entertainment of the populace, at length arrived in America. But this squadron had been equipped in such a manner as rendered it fitter for a naval review than for any effective service. It was unable to weather a summer storm, and approached the coast of America, having more need of protection, than ability to yield assistance. Among these and all the other multiplied errors which disgraced every part of our naval administration, we find the great source of our present calamities. But if we make a thorough reformation in this important department, we shall soon see that there is no reason to despair, until the whole mass of citizens become as corrupt as those men who have brought disgrace and calamity upon their country.

Before concluding this chapter, we have thought proper to wait for the judgment of the court-martial concerning the conduct of Admiral Keppel in the action of the 27th of July. Though the period of this decision extends beyond the limits assigned to the present work, yet as it tends to clear up an important transaction, the principal circumstances of which have been already related, we have thought it essential to the naval history of the year 1778. Soon after the action, the periodical publications were filled, as usual, with encomiums or satires on the admiral, according to the various opinions, inclinations, or humours of the different writers, who chose to celebrate or to arraign his character and conduct. As the admiral had little personal connection with the king's ministers,



and belonged to a family which had been distinguished by peculiar marks of friendship from the late duke of Cumberland whom they followed in opposition, it was evident that he owed the high command conferred on him to his professional abilities alone, without the smallest assistance from court favour. Those who approved all the measures of administration were naturally, therefore, the loudest in condemning his behaviour, while the anti-ministerial party not only justified his proceedings, but held him forth as an object deserving the warmest gratitude and applause of his fellow-citizens. Various anonymous paragraphs were published and answered. The panegyric of Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue, occasioned a criticism on his conduct; it was said that he disobeyed orders by neglecting to pay any attention to the admiral's signals, and thereby prevented the destruction of the whole French fleet. These invectives and recriminations might have passed on both sides without any material consequence, and the propriety of Admiral Keppel's behaviour being blended with the prejudices of party, would probably have remained a matter of doubt, until the passions of contending factions subsiding, had left time for listening to the impartiality of some future historian. But Sir Hugh Palliser took a decisive step on the 4th of November; and by giving his name to the public in a letter written for his own justification, conveyed an indirect insinuation against his commander. In the beginning of December these imputations were re-echoed in the house of commons, which called up the admiral to vindicate his professional character. "If he  
" was to go over the business of the 27th of July again,  
" he would conduct himself in the same manner. Every  
" thing that could be done had been done; and he was  
" happy to say, the British flag had not been tarnished in  
" his hands. He felt himself perfectly easy on that head,  
" and should never be ashamed of his conduct on the day

“alluded to. The oldest and most experienced officers  
“in his majesty’s navy, in every engagement, saw some-  
“thing which they were before unacquainted with; and  
“that day presented something new. He impeached no  
“man of neglect of duty, because he was satisfied that  
“the officer alluded to had manifested no want of courage,  
“the quality most essential in a British seaman.” He  
“said “he was much surprized when an officer under  
“his command, had made an appeal to the public in a  
“common newspaper, signed with his name, before any  
“accusation had been made against him, and which  
“tended to render him odious and despicable in the eyes  
“of his countrymen.” Sir Hugh Palliser declared “he  
“was so conscious of not having been any hindrance to a  
“re-action with the Brest fleet on the 27th of July, that  
“he was equally indifferent with the honourable admiral  
“how soon an enquiry were set on foot. He had dis-  
“covered from what the admiral had just said, that the  
“principal matter which weighed against him in the  
“admiral’s mind was the publication in the newspapers,  
“which he had signed with his name, and by which he  
“would abide. If it was imprudent, if it was wrong,  
“the consequence was to himself. To say any thing  
“against a friend was to a man of sensibility the most  
“disagreeable thing in nature; but where an officer’s  
“reputation was at stake, the removing an unjust stigma  
“was certainly the first object. If there was any reason  
“of accusation, why not make it openly and fairly? If  
“not, why insinuate that he had been wanting in point of  
“conduct, though a testimony was given in favour of his  
“courage? This,” he said, “was a language extremely  
“different from that of the admiral’s dispatch containing  
“an account of the action, in which he informed the  
“admiralty board of the spirited and gallant conduct of  
“all the officers under his command.” Admiral Keppel  
acknowledged, “he had given that approbation, and was

“ ready to repeat it, and point the testimony particularly  
 “ as well as generally. The vice-admiral had alluded to  
 “ signals, and said that it was no fault of his that the  
 “ fleet of France was not re-attacked. As to that he  
 “ could only say, that he presumed every inferiour officer  
 “ was to obey the signals of his commander; and now  
 “ when called upon to speak out, he would inform the  
 “ house and the public, that the signal for coming into  
 “ the Victory’s wake was flying from three o’clock in the  
 “ afternoon till eight in the evening unobeyed; at the  
 “ same time he did not charge the vice-admiral with  
 “ actual disobedience. He doubted not but, if an inquiry  
 “ should be thought necessary, that he would be able to  
 “ justify himself, because he was fully persuaded of his  
 “ personal bravery.”

In consequence of this altercation, Sir Hugh Palliser drew up the following charge against Admiral Keppel, which he exhibited at the board of admiralty on the 9th of December.

*Charge of Misconduct and Neglect of Duty against the Honourable Admiral KEPPEL, on the 27th and 28th of July, 1778, in divers instances as under mentioned.*

“ I. That on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778,  
 “ having a fleet of thirty ships of the line under his com-  
 “ mand, and being then in the presence of a French fleet  
 “ of the like number of ships of the line, the said admiral  
 “ did not make the necessary preparations for fight, did  
 “ not put his fleet into a line of battle, or into any order  
 “ proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy of  
 “ such force; but, on the contrary, although his fleet  
 “ was already dispersed and in disorder, he, by making  
 “ the signal for several ships of the vice-admiral of the  
 “ blue division to chace to windward, increased the dis-  
 “ order of that part of his fleet, and the ships were in  
 “ consequence more scattered than they had been before;

“ and, whilst in this disorder, he advanced to the enemy,  
“ and made the signal for battle. That the above con-  
“ duct was the more unaccountable, as the enemy’s fleet  
“ was not then in disorder, nor beaten, nor flying, but  
“ formed in a regular line of battle on that tack which  
“ approached the British fleet, all their motions plainly  
“ indicating a design to give battle, and they edged down  
“ and attacked it whilst in disorder. By this unofficer-  
“ like conduct, a general engagement was not brought  
“ on, but the other flag-officers and captains were left to  
“ engage without order or regularity, from which great  
“ confusion ensued; some of his ships were prevented  
“ from getting into action at all; others were not near  
“ enough to the enemy; and some, from the confusion,  
“ fired into others of the king’s ships, and did them con-  
“ siderable damage; and the vice-admiral of the blue was  
“ left alone to engage single and unsupported. In these  
“ instances the said Admiral Keppel negligently per-  
“ formed the duty imposed on him.

“ II. That after the van and centre divisions of the  
“ British fleet passed the rear of the enemy, the admiral  
“ did not immediately tack and double upon the enemy  
“ with these two divisions, and continue the battle, nor  
“ did he collect them together at that time, and keep so  
“ near the enemy as to renew the battle as soon as it  
“ might be proper; on the contrary, he stood away  
“ beyond the enemy to a great distance before he wore to  
“ stand towards them again, leaving the vice-admiral of  
“ the blue engaged with the enemy, and exposed to be  
“ cut off.

“ III. That after the vice-admiral of the blue had  
“ passed the last of the enemy’s ships, and immediately  
“ wore, and laid his own ship’s head toward the enemy  
“ again, being then in their wake and at a little distance  
“ only, and expecting the admiral to advance with all  
“ the ships to renew the fight, the admiral did not

“ advance for that purpose, but shortened sail, hauled  
 “ down the signal for battle ; nor did he at that time, nor  
 “ at any other time while standing toward the enemy,  
 “ call the ships together in order to renew the attack, as  
 “ he might have done, particularly the vice-admiral of  
 “ the red and his division, which had received the least  
 “ damage, had been the longest out of action, were ready  
 “ and fit to renew it, were then to windward, and could  
 “ have borne down and fetched any part of the French  
 “ fleet, if the signal for battle had not been hauled down,  
 “ or if the said Admiral Keppel had availed himself of  
 “ the signal appointed by the thirty-first article of the  
 “ fighting instructions, by which he might have ordered  
 “ those to lead, who are to lead with the starboard tacks  
 “ on board, by a wind ; which signal was applicable to  
 “ the occasion for renewing the engagement with advan-  
 “ tage, after the French fleet had been beaten, their line  
 “ broken, and in disorder. In these instances he did not  
 “ do the utmost in his power to take, sink, burn, or  
 “ destroy the French fleet that had attacked the British  
 “ fleet.

“ IV. That instead of advancing to renew the engage-  
 “ ment, as in the preceding articles is alledged, and as he  
 “ might and ought to have done, the admiral wore, and  
 “ made sail directly from the enemy, and thus he led the  
 “ whole British fleet away from them, which gave them  
 “ an opportunity to rally unmolested, and to form again  
 “ into a line of battle, and to stand after the British fleet.  
 “ This was disgraceful to the British flag ; for it had the  
 “ appearance of a flight, and gave the French admiral a  
 “ pretence to claim the victory, and to publish to the  
 “ world, that the British fleet ran away, and that he pur-  
 “ sued it with the fleet of France, and offered it battle.

“ V. That on the morning of the 28th of July, 1778,  
 “ when it was perceived that only three of the French  
 “ fleet remained near the British, in the situation the

“ whole had been in the night before, and that the rest  
 “ were to leeward at a greater distance, not in a line of  
 “ battle but in a heap, the admiral did not cause the  
 “ fleet to pursue the flying enemy, not even to chase the  
 “ three ships that fled after the rest, but on the contrary,  
 “ he led the British fleet another way directly from the  
 “ enemy. By these instances of misconduct and neglect  
 “ a glorious opportunity was lost of doing a most essential  
 “ service to the state, and the honour of the British navy  
 “ was tarnished.”

#### II. PALLISER.”

This charge was sent to the admiralty on the afternoon of the 9th of December, and intimation thereof was given by that board to Admiral Keppel the same evening.

When the contents of the accusation were laid before the public, the opinions of men, warped by a thousand prejudices, and shaded by all the different gradations of knowledge and ignorance, were infinitely various, inconsistent, opposite, and contradictory. Those who only knew that we had neither taken nor destroyed any of the French ships in the late engagement, a circumstance which they could not hesitate in ascribing to the misconduct of our commanders, understood, or fancied they understood, the charges alledged against the admiral. They wished that the man who had tarnished the antient lustre of the British flag might be brought to condign punishment; for never any crisis was more alarming than the present, or more loudly demanded every exertion of discipline and severity, that so those who, sheltered under great examples, negligently or ignorantly performed the service required of them, might be roused to a sense of their duty or insufficiency, and either acquire such talents as were beneficial to the public, or decline the weight of a command too heavy for their abilities.

This torrent of popular censure, which on another occasion would have burst forth with irresistible fury, was

effectually checked by two circumstances, extremely honourable to the admiral. His candid, open, liberal behaviour had endeared him to the great body of British seamen, who loved his manners, and respected his courage. He was known to have little connection with the present ministry, and especially to be no favourite with the first lord of the admiralty. This was sufficient to occasion a suspicion that the ministers in general heartily concurred in the accusation, partly to divert the public from melancholy reflections on our present deplorable condition, and partly to share with others the blame which must otherwise have lain entirely on their own shoulders. It was known that almost every officer entrusted with a principal command had fallen under their displeasure; and although errors, doubtless, must have been committed by our commanders in the course of the war, yet a repeated series of calamity could only be occasioned by an error at headquarters, a defect of preparation, a want of vigour, skill, or integrity in those who fitted out, planned, and directed our naval and military expeditions.

The cause and reputation of Admiral Keppel were still further supported by a memorial presented to his majesty the 30th of December, and signed by the first names in the British navy. This paper, drawn up in the form of a petition, contained in elegant and nervous language, a severe remonstrance against the conduct not only of Sir Hugh Palliser, but of the lords of the admiralty. The subscribing admirals represented to the wisdom and justice of his majesty, that Sir Hugh Palliser had withheld the accusation against his commander in chief, from the 27th day of July to the 9th of December; that the avowed motive of the accusation was to recriminate against charges conjectured by Sir Hugh Palliser, but which in fact were never made; that the commissioners of the admiralty without considering these circumstances, or giving any previous notice to the party accused, had,

on the same day on which the charge was preferred, intimated their intention that a court-martial should be held on him, after forty years of meritorious service, in which the glory of the British flag had been maintained and increased in various parts of the world. The consequences of such measures are represented as dangerous to the honour of his majesty's officers, subversive of the discipline of the navy, and destructive to the public order of society.

This memorial occasioned no alteration in the measures adopted by the lords of the admiralty, who issued their orders to Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white squadron of his majesty's fleet, to hold a court-martial at Portsmouth, the 7th of January, for the trial of Admiral Keppel. The court accordingly was assembled on the day appointed, with the usual formalities, and continued, by several adjournments, till the 11th of February. In the course of the evidence brought by the prosecutor, no one fact was proved that could give the smallest support to a single article in the charge. Admiral Keppel, before bringing forward his witnesses, made a particular reply to the various accusations of his adversary; and in this reply some circumstances are incidentally mentioned, which place the administration of the marine department in the same light in which it must already have appeared to every one who considers with attention the naval history of the present period. In the month of March, 1778, the admiral was told that a fleet lay ready for him to command. Having reached Portsmouth, he saw but six ships ready, and "on viewing even those with a seaman's eye, he was not by any means pleased with their condition." On the 30th of June he sailed with twenty ships of the line. Thirty-two ships of the line lay in Brest water, besides an incredible number of frigates. "Was I to seek an engagement," says the admiral, "with a superiour force? I never did, nor shall I ever fear to



“ engage a force superiour to the one I then commanded,  
 “ or that I may hereafter command. But I well know  
 “ what men and ships can do, and if the fleet I com-  
 “ manded had been destroyed, we must have left the  
 “ French masters of the sea. To refit a fleet requires  
 “ time. From the situation of affairs, naval stores are  
 “ not very soon supplied. Never did I experience so  
 “ deep a melancholy as when I found myself forced to  
 “ turn my back on France! I quitted my station, and  
 “ courage was never put to so severe a trial.”

The admiral was permitted to sail a second time, without receiving official praise or blame for the part which he had acted. Having taken two French frigates, he was fearful that a war with France, and all its consequences, might be laid to his charge. “ This,” he says, “ for any thing I can tell, may be treasured up to furnish another matter for future accusation.” He was surprised, on his return, to be threatened with the fate of Admiral Byng, and still more surprised to be charged with cowardice. “ I am exceedingly sorry that the admiralty have refused me the liberty of producing my instructions. In all former courts-martial the instructions and orders have been sent with the charge to the members of the court. Although on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and compelled him to take shelter by returning into port, yet the effort did by no means answer my wishes. I rushed on to re-attack the enemy; and why I did not accomplish my design will be seen in the evidence which I shall produce.”

When the admiral’s witnesses were examined, it appeared, that if he had waited for forming the line of battle, and had not immediately taken advantage of a change of wind to close with the enemy, there could have been no engagement on the 27th of July. It was proved, that, having passed the French fleet, he wore ship in order to renew the engagement as soon as it was proper; as he

could not have done it sooner, had the state of his own ship admitted of it, without throwing the ships astern into the greatest confusion. The English fleet at no time exhibited any signs of flying from the enemy; when the French after the engagement edged away, and made for some of our disabled ships, it was necessary to wear again, in order to prevent those ships from falling into their hands. The three French ships which were seen on the morning of the 28th of July, could not have been pursued with the smallest prospect of success. Those facts, which entirely destroyed the charge against Admiral Keppel, were established by the witnesses on both sides. The evidence brought by the admiral, and particularly the testimony of Admiral Campbell, Sir John Lindsay, and Captain Jarvis, proved, that the reason why the British fleet did not re-attack the French, was the disobedience of Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue, who disregarded the admiral's signal for forming the line, which continued flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till the evening. The court, having heard the prosecutor's evidence, and the prisoner's defence, unanimously proceeded to give sentence on the 11th of February in the following terms: "That it is their opinion the charge against  
" Admiral Keppel is malicious and ill-founded, it having  
" appeared, that the said admiral, so far from having  
" by misconduct and neglect of duty, on the days therein  
" alluded to, lost an opportunity of rendering essential  
" service to the state, and thereby tarnished the honour of  
" the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave,  
" and experienced officer." The president then delivered him his sword, congratulating him on its being restored with so much honour, and hoping ere long he would be called forth by his sovereign to draw it again in the service of his country.\*

\* A few days after Admiral Keppel's acquittal, both houses of parliament agreed unanimously in a vote of thanks for his gallant be-

Thus ended this celebrated trial, from which the public were led to form a very different opinion of the action of the 27th of July, from that which naturally presented itself on reading the admiral's public letter to the commissioners of the marine department. This letter, though it contained nothing directly in opposition to truth, unless the general panegyric bestowed on the spirited conduct of Sir Robert Harland, Sir Hugh Palliser, and the captains of the fleet, be supposed to imply an acquittal of every individual from the crime of disobedience, yet, by concealing part of the truth, tended to mislead the judgment of the public, and to give them both an inadequate and erroneous idea of the action. It seemed from the letter, that the admiral could have attacked the French fleet a second time that afternoon while they were forming the line of battle; but it appeared from the evidence, that this could not have been done, nor the engagement renewed at any time that day, without giving an evident advantage to the enemy, as Sir Hugh Palliser's not coming into the admiral's wake agreeably to signal, left the British fleet throughout the whole afternoon greatly inferior to that of France.

When the voice of party spirit shall be heard no more, the impartial voice of history will ask Admiral Keppel, why he did not make the particular signal for each ship in the blue division separately to come into his wake, when he saw Sir Hugh Palliser refusing to obey his signal? By this means the engagement might have been renewed, though the *Formidable* had continued in disobedience. However delicate a point it might be to criminate an officer who had behaved bravely, yet it will be allowed, that every degree of delicacy ought to have given place to

haviour on the 27th of July. That of the lords was sent by the lord chancellor, and that of the commons delivered to the admiral in his place by the speaker. The city of London and West India merchants followed this example.

the duty Mr. Keppel owed his country. The letter written after the action, inserted in the London Gazette, will be a sufficient warning to future commanders, not to bestow praise if they think censure is due. But if, on the one hand, Admiral Keppel was blameable in some particulars, Sir Hugh Palliser seems to have been culpable on the other. If the *Formidable* was so much crippled as was represented, why did not the vice-admiral shift his flag on board some other ship of his division? This, it might have been expected, would have naturally occurred to so brave a man as Sir Hugh Palliser. It is to be hoped, however, that when this officer is brought to a trial, \* he will be able to explain his conduct; and that his not doing what he was ordered to do will appear to have arisen from some unknown circumstances, inferring at most an error in judgment, without any malignant purpose against his commander, or intention of tarnishing the naval honour of this kingdom.

\* Sir Hugh Palliser, about a fortnight after the trial, resigned his employments of lieutenant-general of the mares, one of the lords of the admiralty, and governor of Scarborough-castle; he also vacated his seat in parliament, and retains nothing but his rank of vice-admiral of the blue. Sir Hugh was tried by a court-martial in April, 1779, by orders from the board of admiralty, and acquitted. Next year he was, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy, promoted to the government of Greenwich Hospital.

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THE END OF DR. BERKENHOUT'S CONTINUATION OF  
CAMPBELL'S NAVAL HISTORY.

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CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
NAVAL HISTORY,  
BY  
MR. YORKE.

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THE abrupt manner in which Dr. Berkenhout has terminated his history of our naval affairs during the year 1778; and the great omissions discoverable in the narrative of the transactions of that year, would have imposed upon me, in justice to the public and to the success of this work, the duty of composing anew the naval history of 1778. It was also my wish, in conformity with the original plan submitted to the reader in the Introduction to the first volume of this work, to have kept the compositions of Dr. Campbell, and of Dr. Berkenhout, totally distinct from my own, without affecting, in any degree, the historical arrangement, or the general disposition of the work.

A circumstance, however, occurred, which made some variation in the original design absolutely necessary. Although Dr. Berkenhout's work ends properly with the year 1778, he nevertheless, embraces the trial of Admiral Keppel, which was not finished until the 11th of February, 1779. And, he has given an Appendix of seventy-four closely printed pages, the greater part of which is filled

with the defence of Admiral Keppel, and with extracts from the London Gazettes, and other public documents relative to the conquests of two West India colonies. It was not thought pertinent to introduce such papers into the present work; nor was it deemed expedient to send the volume before the public with eighty pages fewer than the preceding volumes. Accordingly, it was resolved to continue the history as far as the limits of the volume would allow; and consequently, the numerical value of the pages has been more considered than a conformity with the original project. For this change, I am not responsible; and therefore, I shall conclude this brief notice with observing, that my continuation of the history from that point where the present volume ends, will be found in the seventh volume of the work, as the sixth or next volume will be entirely occupied with my own notes, observations, and researches, from the time of the Ancient Britons when Campbell commenced his work, to the year 1778, when his continuator, Dr. Berkenhout, terminated his labours. The remaining two volumes will contain my history of our naval affairs until the death of Lord Nelson.

We have seen that amid all the disappointments and misfortunes which we had experienced since the commencement of the American war, the navy carried on every operation in which it was concerned with uncommon spirit and success. It had been vainly supposed by the persons who were then at the head of public affairs, that the revolt of the British colonies in America could be suppressed with nearly as much facility as an insurrection in any county of the kingdom. Accordingly, no vigorous and decisive measures had been yet resorted to for the purpose of terminating the war; or, if any project savouring of vigour were decided upon, its operation was defeated by unaccountable delays, or by changes which frittered away the whole effect of the original plan.

A.D.  
1779.

Between continued menaces to coerce a people, who would listen to no terms of accommodation, and unavailing attempts to conciliate them, without the presence of an imposing force to give weight to our proposals; we lost time, friends, authority, and character also. It resulted from such a state of things, when the minds of the ministry were equally balanced by fears and hopes, that no adequate preparations were made, at the commencement of the troubles, for a suitable augmentation of our naval forces. The quarrel being considered as an ordinary one between discontented colonies and the parent country, it was fatally inferred that it would terminate nearly in the same manner as disputes of a similar nature had generally terminated, either in the unqualified submission of the insurgents, or in an accommodation, founded upon mutual concessions.

This seems to have been the leading spirit of our councils: and, as it was never imagined that the ancient enemy of Great Britain would seize the opportunity of assailing us while we were engaged in a destructive civil war with a portion of our own empire; no extraordinary naval armaments were fitted out until the French ambassador's declaration, by order of his court, was delivered to Lord Weymouth. Then, indeed, the infatuation of the ministry gave way to more bold and comprehensive measures, in order to meet a war which threatened to comprehend within its range a great part of the civilized world.

In the year 1775, the navy consisted of fewer ships than at any other period of the peace. The nature of the contest with America made it necessary to employ a great number of frigates, sloops, and other small vessels. The navy was therefore considerably augmented by vessels of this description. When hostilities commenced with France, in June, 1778, we had in commission fifty-two ships of the line, fifteen of sixty and fifty guns, seventy-three frigates, and seventy-five sloops and other small vessels. The

French had, with their usual activity, collected a powerful squadron at Brest, and another at Toulon, consisting in the whole of sixty-seven line-of-battle ships, and forty-nine frigates, besides a great number of smaller vessels. From this statement, it is evident, that, although we had been engaged in war more than four years, the French navy was in a better condition at the commencement of hostilities with that power than the British: and many mortifying events, as we shall find hereafter, were the consequences of it.\*

The circumstances of the war with America compelled our naval forces to regulate, in a great degree, their motions by those of the army, and, in many instances, to act in complete subordination to the general commanding the land forces.

The year 1779 was not fruitful in great naval events, though it was sufficiently marked by a series of active, brilliant, and isolated achievements. During that period, as I shall now proceed to relate, we did not always triumph without difficulty, nor did our adversaries combat without glory. Several squadrons sailed to different quarters of the globe; but no general naval action distinguished the naval history of England in this year. The supplies granted by parliament for the sea service, were upon the most extensive scale when contrasted with the grants of former years. Seventy thousand men were voted to be employed for the year 1779, in which number seventeen thousand three hundred and eighty-nine marines were included; and a sum not exceeding four pounds *per*

\* Of this we have just had a striking proof, previous to the action between the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Keppel, and the Brest fleet, commanded by Count d'Orvilliers. For, Admiral Keppel having discovered that the enemy's fleet, in Brest water, consisted of thirty-two sail of the line, and about a dozen frigates, while his own consisted of twenty of the former, and three of the latter only, he was under the necessity of returning to Spithead for a reinforcement.



month *per man*, was allotted for their maintenance for thirteen months, including ordnance for the sea service. Three hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-two pounds six shillings and one penny were voted for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea and marine officers for the year; and five hundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and eighty-seven pounds were voted toward building, rebuilding and repairing ships of war in his majesty's yards, and other extra works, over and above what were proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year. So that the sum total of the supplies granted for the naval service amounted to four millions five hundred and eighty-nine thousand and sixty-nine pounds six shillings and one penny.

The fleet which had sailed on the 25th of December, last year, under the command of Admiral Lord Shuldham, to escort the trade to America, and the East and West Indies, having left the respective convoys safe, two hundred and twenty-six leagues to the westward of the Lizard, returned to Spithead on the 26th of January; the admiral having previously detached the *Magnificent* and *Suffolk*, of seventy-four guns each, the *Yarmouth* of seventy, the *America*, *Lyon*, and *Vigilant*, of sixty-four guns each, the *Medway* of sixty, the *Janus* of forty-four, the *Resource* and *Proserpine*, of twenty-eight guns each, to proceed with the West India convoy; and the *Warwick* of fifty guns, the *Romulus* of forty-four, and the *Grampus*, *Tortoise*, and *Dromedary*, store ships, to proceed to North America. The remainder of Lord Shuldham's fleet were, at present, detained for the channel service.

In order to render the details of events which occurred in various parts of the world more perspicuous, it will be necessary to conform ourselves to the excellent method adopted by Dr. Campbell; and therefore, I shall first

recount the naval transactions in Europe, though this was not the theatre to which the eyes of men were principally directed.

On the 31st of January, a gallant attack was made upon a French frigate with a convoy of ten sail by Captain Pownall, of the Apollo, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men. The convoy had left Brest on the preceding day, and were destined to St. Malo. The Apollo did not get alongside of the French frigate until within a mile of the rocks, off St. Brieux, when the action commenced, and lasted for an hour and an half. The enemy then struck his colours; and the frigate proved to be the Oiseau, of twenty-six nine pounders, on one deck, and two hundred and twenty-four men, commanded by the Chevalier de Tarade. The Apollo had eight men killed, and twenty wounded; Captain Pownall and his two lieutenants were also wounded. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained. The convoy, with some armed vessels, hauled their wind, and escaped by getting within the rocks and shoals off the island Brehar.\*

In the month of February, the Arethusa frigate, of thirty-two guns, Captain Holmes Everett, was wrecked upon the rocks off Ushant, while pursuing an enemy. The crew were saved, and were treated with every mark of humanity by the French.

Admiral Keppel, having been honourably acquitted on the 11th of February by the court-martial appointed to try him, hoisted his flag on board the Victory at Spithead, and resumed his situation as commander in chief of the channel fleet.

On the 8th of March, a squadron sailed from Spithead for the East Indies, under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. It consisted of the admiral's ship of seventy-four guns, five ships of sixty-four guns

\* London Gazette, from Feb. 6 to Feb. 9, 1779.

each, and one of fourteen. Several other men-of-war accompanied this fleet; some on different services, and others with orders to return after convoying the merchantmen to a certain latitude.

His majesty's cutter, the Rattlesnake, of ten four-pounders and twelve swivel guns, with a complement of sixty men, commanded by Lieutenant Knell, performed a very brilliant exploit on the 14th of March. At day-break, Lieutenant Knell descried two French cutters at the back of the isle of Wight. Observing his approach, the enemy bore away under a press of sail, steering S. S. E. The Rattlesnake gave chase, and, at half-past one, P. M. at about four leagues distance from Havre de Grace, came up with, and engaged the largest cutter, of fourteen guns, twelve swivels, and ninety-two men. The other cutter, mounting twelve carriage guns, ten swivels, and eighty-two men, which sailed remarkably fast, came up to her assistance, and jointly engaged the Rattlesnake until four o'clock, when the largest cutter struck. The other instantly attempted to escape, but Lieutenant Knell perceiving her intention, bore down, fired three broadsides, and then boarded her, lest she might get away by her superiority in sailing. While, however, the crew of the Rattlesnake were employed in repairing their rigging, which had been much damaged by the enemy's shot, the French cutter, which had first struck, crowded all her

\* A List of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes's squadron

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS
Superb.....	74.....	} Sir Edward Hughes, K B Rear-admiral of the blue, } Captain Sirinton
Exeter.....	64.....	
Worcester....	61.....	——— George Talbot
Burford.....	64.....	——— Peter Ramer
Belisle.....	64.....	——— John Brooks
Eagle.....	64.....	——— Ambrose Riddel
Veazle.....	11.....	——— Charles Hope.

sail, and effected her escape, the Rattlesnake not being in a condition to follow her. The other cutter, which was called *Le Frelon de Dunkerque*, was brought into Spithead. In this gallant action none of the Rattlesnake's crew were killed; Lieutenant Knell, together with one midshipman, and ten men were wounded. On board the *Frelon*, the commander and twelve of her people were killed, and thirty wounded, for the most part, mortally. The other cutter must also have suffered greatly, from her having been longer engaged, and from her finally striking to the Rattlesnake. For this meritorious service, Lieutenant Knell was promoted to the rank of master and commander.

On the 19th, there was a considerable promotion of the flag officers of the fleet. George Mackenzie, Matthew Barton, Sir Peter Parker, knt. and the Hon. Samuel Barrington, rear-admirals of the red, were promoted to be vice-admirals of the blue: Marriot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, George Darby, and John Campbell, rear-admirals of the white, were promoted to be vice-admirals of the blue: James Gambier, William Lloyd, Francis William Drake, Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. and Hyde Parker, rear-admirals of the blue, were promoted to be rear-admirals of the red.

The following captains were also appointed flag officers of the fleet: John Evans, Mark Milbanke, Nicholas Vincent, John Storr, Sir Edward Vernon, knt. were promoted to be rear-admirals of the white; Joshua Rowley, Richard Edwards, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Sir John Lockart Ross, bart. to be rear-admirals of the blue. John Elliot, the Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham, and William Hotham, were appointed colonels of his majesty's marine forces, in the room of Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Joshua Rowley, whose promotions have been just mentioned. \*

\* London Gazette, from March 16 to March 30, 1779.

On the same day, Sir Charles Hardy was appointed commander in chief of the Channel fleet, in the place of Admiral Keppel, who had resigned; and Vice-admiral Darby was appointed second in command, and the hon. Rear-admiral Digby third.

The resignation of Admiral Keppel, after having been acquitted of every charge laid against him, and after the court-martial had marked the conduct of his accuser, in the body of the sentence, with the strongest and most severe condemnation, would appear censureable, if the strong motives which suggested the expediency of that line of conduct were left unexplained to posterity. The experience of ages has demonstrated that, unless there be the most perfect good understanding and confidence between those who are at the head of the naval department, and the naval commanders employed, there cannot exist a prospect of much public benefit being derived from their exertions. The trial of Admiral Keppel, opened a general ground of discontent among the officers of the navy; and occasioned several of our greatest and most popular naval commanders, to decline the service of their country, at a time of no ordinary danger. Admiral Keppel had, indeed, resumed his command over the Channel fleet, immediately on his acquittal; but the manner in which he was required by the admiralty to take upon himself that charge, too plainly indicated that they would gladly have dispensed with that act of justice, if a sense of decency, and the apprehension of rousing still further the indignation of the public and the navy, had not suggested to them the absolute necessity of performing it. The letter which the admiral received from the admiralty, upon this occasion, was couched in the coldest official terms; and what was no less ill-advised, though it included a quotation from the sentence of the court-martial, expressive of the admiral's innocence of the charges alleged against him, yet, the clause in that sentence

which redounded mostly to his honour, and which pointed with severity against his accuser, was altogether omitted. Several other circumstances of the same nature, and having the same tendency, became the topics of public discussion in both houses of parliament; where, it was contended that so marked a line of hostile conduct toward the admiral went strongly to spread and confirm an opinion, already too prevalent, that the attack upon his life and honour was rather the effect of a combination, and of a concerted scheme, framed under, and supported by, the sanction of authority, than the casual result of private pique, envy, or malice. The admiral himself seemed to entertain similar sentiments of the ministry; for in his speech, on the 23d of February, upon Mr. Fox's motion, respecting the number and force of the Brest fleet, he adverted to the treatment that he had experienced from the admiralty and the court; and declared that he was at a loss to know the reason of his being treated with coldness by the former, and that he had not received any marks of the royal favour since his acquittal. And, on the 3d of March, during the debate upon the same subject, the admiral observed, that considering the uniform conduct of the admiralty board, it would not be prudent, nor in any way consistent with his honour, to serve again under that board. The same sentiments ran through several of his subsequent speeches, in all of which, when touching upon this topic, he remarked, that it would be exceedingly hazardous, with respect of his professional character, to act under the present naval administration, as he was fully convinced that he could not, under their influence, or conduct, promote, in any essential degree, the interests of his country, which was the only motive that could induce him to undertake its service.

Influenced by similar motives, many distinguished officers about this time quitted the service. Lord Howe, who had recently returned from his command in America,

which he had resigned on account, as he alledged, of the scandalous manner in which he had been deceived into the command, and deceived during its continuance, took a very active part in the house of commons, of which he was a member, against the administration of the navy. Sir Robert Harland, Captain Leveson Gower, Sir John Lindsay, and some other officers of celebrated name and merit, either quitted the service, or declined acting under the present system.

The passions of men were highly agitated at this time; and, as the naval department, in the present situation of affairs, was the most efficient; its measures, consequently, were almost entirely the topics of investigation and censure. The earl of Sandwich, then first lord of the admiralty, was the object of attack, not only by the members of opposition in both houses of parliament, but, also, by many officers of distinguished merit, and by many severe publications out of parliament. No less than three motions of censure, relative to the state and disposition of the navy, and one for the removal of the earl of Sandwich from his majesty's service, were made during the present session; and the condition of the navy, contrasted with the unusually great and ample grants for the naval service, was portrayed in such vivid colours, by such unanswerable facts, and forcible reasonings, as left no doubt, in the minds of most men, that the admiralty board were negligent, uninformed, and, in every way, unequal to the administration of the naval affairs of this country.

While the strongest interests, and a spirit of domestic inquiry, were thus excited, the French were actively employed in taking advantage of them. A number of transports, with troops on board, sailed from Rochelle, for the French West Indian islands, on the 1st of February, under convoy of the *Indienne*, of seventy-four guns, *L'Actionnaire* of sixty-four, *Le Fier*, fifty-four, *Le Renommée*, thirty-six, and *Le Courageux*, of forty guns.

There were besides transports, thirty-one sail of merchant-men which accompanied them; one of which, Le Vellian, a transport with three hundred and five soldiers on board, was taken by the Nottingham, on the 18th of March, and carried into Cork.

Six ships of the line, with six months' provisions, sailed a few days after from Cadiz, their destination being a profound secret; and these were followed by a fleet of ten sail of the line, six frigates, and twenty transports, with troops on board, which sailed on a secret expedition, from the same port, on the 10th of March. From these movements, it was evident that Spain would soon join in the war with France, against the British empire; nevertheless, no exertions, correspondent with the approaching danger, were made by the admiralty. The minds of the ministry were so completely absorbed in American politics and domestic wrangling, that they had no time to look abroad, and, perhaps, they had as little thought of evil arising from that quarter. The consequence was, that, when the storm came, it found them wholly unprepared.

It is consoling to reflect that, in the midst of all these hostile demonstrations, the rights of humanity, and of science were respected by nations, even when engaged in mutual warfare. On the 19th of March, M. de Sartine, minister of the French marine department, issued the following letter, which he caused to be circulated through the whole marine of France, and which ought not to pass unrecorded on the page of history :

“ Captain Cook, who sailed from Plymouth in July, 1778, on board the Resolution, in company with the Discovery, Captain Clarke, in order to make some discoveries on the coasts, islands, and seas of Japan and California, being on the point of returning to Europe; and as such discoveries are of general utility to all nations, it is the king's pleasure that Captain Cook shall be treated as a commander of a neutral and allied



“ power, and that all captains of armed vessels, &c. who  
 “ may meet that famous navigator, shall make him ac-  
 “ quainted with the king’s orders on this behalf, but, at  
 “ the same time, let him know, that, on his part, he  
 “ must refrain from all hostilities.”

During the remainder of the month of March, no naval event, of any importance, occurred in Europe. On the 1st of April, Captain Douglas, of his majesty’s sloop the *Delight*, sailing from Spithead with orders from the admiralty, fell in with the *Jean Bart*, a French privateer of twenty guns, and one hundred and ninety men, and took her, after an engagement of three hours, in which the boatswain of the *Delight* was killed, and two men much wounded. Captain Reynolds, of the *Jupiter*, coming up, most seasonably, after the close of the action, took charge of the capture, which he brought safely into Plymouth, and thus enabled the *Delight* to proceed on her destination. \*

On the 12th of April, a court-martial assembled on board his majesty’s ship *Sandwich*, in Portsmouth harbour, to try Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue. That unfortunate officer, who had become the object of general odium, was compelled, besides the loss of public favour and opinion, to submit to the relinquishment of honours, of authority, and of substantial emolument. On the very day that the sentence of Admiral Keppel’s court-martial was known, Sir Hugh Palliser resigned his situation as one of the lords of the admiralty, and, in about a week after, his lieutenant-general-ship of the marines, and the government of Scarborough castle. He also vacated his seat in Parliament, retaining only his vice-admiral-ship, as a qualification for his trial by a court-martial, which the admiralty had ordered to be holden upon him.

The members of the court were, John Darby, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue, president: Robert Digby, rear-

\* London Gazette, No. 11967.

admiral of the blue; Captains, Richard Kempenfelt, William Baine, Adam Duncan, James Cranston, John Colpoys, Sir Chaloner Ogle, Joseph Peyton, Mark Robinson, Sir Samuel Granston Goodall, Robert Linzee, George Robinson Walters.

The charge against Vice-admiral Palliser was comprized within a very narrow compass. It consisted of one article only, namely, disobedience to the signals of the commander-in-chief. Every other insinuation against him was fully proved to be without foundation. The court continued sitting until the 5th of May, when, after deliberating two days, it pronounced the following sentence:

“ The order for the court-martial having been accompanied with the original minutes of the proceedings of the court-martial, lately held for the trial of the Hon. Augustus Keppel; and reciting that it appears by the said minutes that the several matters were given in evidence at the said trial, respecting the conduct and behaviour of Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, on the 27th and 28th of July last, which demand strict examination; the court proceeded to examine witnesses, touching the said several matters, and to try him for the same; and having maturely considered the whole, also what the prisoner has alledged in his defence, together with what has been given in upon evidence in support thereof, are of opinion that his conduct and behaviour in those days were in many respects highly exemplary and meritorious; at the same time, cannot help thinking it was incumbent upon him to have made known to his commander-in-chief the disabled state of the Formidable, which he might have done by the Fox, at the time she joined him, or by other means. Notwithstanding his omission in that particular, the court are of opinion he is not in any other respect chargeable with misconduct, or misbehaviour, on the days above-mentioned; and therefore they acquit him, and he is

“acquitted accordingly.” The vice-admiral was afterwards at the levee at St. James’s, and was most graciously received by his majesty.

On the 1st of May, the New York, Quebec, and Newfoundland fleets, amounting to nearly three hundred vessels, sailed from Spithead, under the convoy of rear-admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of ships of war. This squadron consisted of the *Europe*, of sixty-four guns, the admiral’s ship, Captain Ardesoise; *Robust*, seventy-four, Captain Philip Crosby, *Russel*, seventy-four, Captain F. S. Drake; *Defiance*, sixty-four, Captain Max. Jacobs. Considerable murmurs had been excited in consequence of the return of this convoy, when the wind was extremely favourable to carry them to their destination. It appears, however, that on his passage down channel, Admiral Arbuthnot fell in with a vessel, on the 2d of May, which had been sent express from Jersey to England, with an account of that island being in imminent danger, from an attack of the enemy. In consequence of this intelligence, and considering that the loss of this valuable island might be followed by the most prejudicial effects, the admiral took upon himself, upon his own authority, to proceed to its relief with his squadron, ordering the convoy to wait for him in Torbay.\* This spirited measure was attended with very injurious consequences. For, though the island of Jersey was relieved by it, yet, from the delay, and from the westerly winds that followed, the convoy did not clear the channel before the end of June. It is true, that, the moment the admiralty received intelligence of the intended attack, orders were despatched to the officers commanding his majesty’s ships, at Portsmouth and Plymouth, to send a number of frigates and sloops for the protection of the island. This circumstance would seem to justify the conduct of Admiral Arbuthnot; but the privation and distress which the delay occasioned to our

\* London Gazette, No. 11976.

troops in North America, from the want of the expected supplies, were severely felt, and tended to cramp their operations.

The wind being fair, a signal was made, on the 9th, for the grand fleet in Torbay to get under sail, when a great disturbance was observed on board one of the men-of-war, whose crew had refused to go to sea with their captain. An express was immediately despatched to the admiralty; but, before their lordships could interfere, the matter was adjusted by the commander in chief. The fleet, however, did not sail until the 16th.

On the 11th of May, a number of vessels having appeared on the French coast, while Captain Gidoin, of his majesty's ship the *Richmond*, was at anchor in Boulé bay, that officer divided the ships under his command there, ordering the *Experiment*, *Pallas*, *Unicorn*, *Fortune*, and *Cabot* brig to go round the south-west end of Jersey, while he, with the rest, went to the south-east. After steering over for the French shore, Sir James Wallace, who commanded the *Experiment*, perceived, on the 13th, at day-light, a frigate coming out of St. Malo, and five or six others to leeward, standing in to Cancale bay. He immediately gave chase, when the enemy, consisting of three frigates and an armed cutter, ran ashore in Cancale bay. The *Experiment*, however, ran in upon the shore directly among them, and commenced an action, which lasted about one hour and an half, during which the French crews abandoned their ships, and our boats boarded and brought them off. At this time, the enemy had brought down cannon, howitzers, and a great body of troops, who kept up so brisk a fire, that our people were under the necessity of burning two of their frigates, and of leaving the cutter scuttled on the shore. The third frigate, *La Danæ*, of thirty-four guns, was brought off, together with a brig and two sloops. These ships were to have co-operated in an attack upon the islands of

Guernsey and Jersey, with two thousand troops of the prince of Nassau, who were at that time encamped on the island of Sezambre, two leagues from St. Malo. This action was signalized by a very remarkable trait of gallantry and skill on the part of Sir James Wallace. The *Experiment* having been greatly annoyed by a battery of six twelve-pounders, Sir James judged it expedient, after silencing the *Danæ*, to silence the battery also, in order to effect the destruction of the other frigates and cutter. But, the pilots having refused to venture the ship so near in shore, he carried her up the bay himself, and laying her ashore, abreast of the battery, silenced it in about three quarters of an hour. It was in consequence of this spirited manœuvre that the crews of the French frigates and cutter abandoned them, and that they were immediately boarded by the armed boats of our squadron. Our loss upon this occasion was trifling; the *Experiment* had two men killed and thirteen wounded, she was hulled in several places, and her sails and rigging were much damaged by the shot. The purser of the *Cabot* had his leg shot off, and two of her men were wounded.

The French fleet under the command of M. D'Orvilliers, consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line, and several frigates, sailed, on the 4th of June, from Brest, to form a junction with the Spanish fleet at Cadiz.

The Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon had entered into a secret engagement with France, soon after that power had concluded a treaty with our revolted colonies

\* The force of the English ships engaged was as follows: *Experiment* of fifty guns, Sir James Wallace; *Pallas*, thirty-six guns, Thomas Spry; *Uncorn*, twenty guns, John Ford; *Cabot* brig, twelve guns, Edmund Dodd; *Fortune* brig, twelve guns.

The French force consisted of *La Danæ*, thirty-four guns, two hundred and fifty men; *La Valeur*, twenty-six guns, one hundred and sixty men; *La Recluse*, twenty-four guns, one hundred and thirty men; *La Dieppe* cutter, sixteen guns, eighty men.

in America; but it was judged expedient, by the contracting parties, that Spain should not declare herself until she had placed her transmarine possessions in a state of perfect security. Thus we have seen that, early in the present year, two squadrons sailed from the ports of Spain, fully equipped and filled with troops, but the destination of which was wholly unknown to the British ministry. All this while the Spanish cabinet were deluding the British ministry by a negotiation, in which she affected to act as mediator between England and France. The duplicity of this conduct was not discerned by the British cabinet. In the late war, the bare proposal of the mediation of Spain was treated with disdain by the great earl of Chatham; because, the family compact, which existed between Spain and France, clearly evinced that those powers considered their separate claims as a common object, the adjustment of which was to be comprized in the same treaty. The penetration of that able statesman enabled him to perceive that the admission of such a principle would infallibly tend to consolidate the power of France, and to accumulate in her hands the moral and physical strength of Spain. He resisted therefore with spirit and indignation the establishment of a policy, which went to place Spain on the side of France in every future contest in which Great Britain might be engaged with that power. Subsequent events have engraven on the indelible pages of history the truth and justice of this observation. Nevertheless, the British ministry persisted in acting upon a contrary principle. No care appears to have been taken at the treaty of Paris to counteract the effects of this family compact, and consequently they burst forth to the great astonishment of a blind, infatuated and obstinate ministry. Accordingly, they treated with contempt every timely warning of the danger from abroad, and every prediction which was made at home. In this

manner they continued to delude themselves and the nation, until they were awakened from their dream of security by the hostile manifesto delivered by the marquis d'Almadovar, the Spanish ambassador, to Lord Weymouth, our secretary of state for foreign affairs, on the 16th of June.

It was obvious, from the tone of this manifesto, and from the notice with which it was accompanied, of the Spanish ambassador's intention to depart immediately from this country, that the court of Madrid had completed its preparations, and was now ready, in every respect, to embark in the war. The manifesto itself, like the generality of the manifestoes which have since issued from the Spanish cabinet, was a vague and desultory composition, abounding in general inculpations, immethodically put together. It scattered charges at random, without any accuracy of statement, or identity of time, place, and circumstances, it was specific and precise in only one point, and that point was so ludicrously minute as to have had no parallel in the diplomatic records of civilized nations. It actually made a computation of the whole number of insults and grievances which Spain had received from Great Britain, and specified their number, in one line, to amount exactly to one hundred. "Grievances so numerous, so weighty, and *recent*," said that curious document, "have been at different times the object of complaints made in the king's name, and stated in memorials which were delivered either to the British ministers at London, or transmitted to them through the channel of the English ambassador at Madrid; but although the answers which were received have been friendly, his majesty has hitherto obtained no other satisfaction than to see the insults repeated, *which lately have amounted to the number of one hundred!!*"

After the receipt of this awakening manifesto, through-

out which not one single ground of misconduct was fairly imputed against us, the ministry lost no time in communicating its contents to both houses of parliament, in a royal message, which announced the consequent recal of the British ambassador, Lord Grantham, from the court of Madrid. This communication was followed by a proclamation, on the 18th of June, authorizing the commencement of hostilities against Spain, upon the ground of the hostile paper which had been presented by the Marquis d'Almadovar. "

A Spanish war was at all times so popular, that, notwithstanding the culpable indifference of the ministry to our external relations, both houses of parliament were unanimous in their determination of supporting the war against the house of Bourbon, with all the resources and power of the state. The only topics which occasioned a difference of opinion were, the policy of continuing the war with America, and the best mode of applying the immense means which were to be granted. The people were no less unanimous for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the house of Bourbon. However divided their opinions undoubtedly were relative to the expediency of continuing the contest with America. The perfidious conduct of the court of Madrid was too apparent to occasion the slightest doubt as to its long meditated designs. And, independently of the groundless charges against us, which were adduced in the Marquis d'Almadovar's paper, the Spanish manifesto, published at Madrid, shortly after, declaratory of the motives which induced his catholic majesty to act hostilely against England, contains a plain, and unequivocal admission that the court of Spain had, long before the declaration of its hostile intentions, leagued itself with France, for the purpose of destroying, or, at least, of diminishing the naval power of Great Britain. In the 18th article of that

\* London Gazette, No. 11988.



manifesto, a letter sent to the Marquis d'Almadovar, was incautiously inserted, in which, among other instructions given to that minister, by his court, he is desired "*not to forget that Spain can do nothing whatever against the interest of France, whose friendship must always be one of its greatest concerns.*" The publication of this letter, stamped the character of the Spanish diplomacy with the grossest treachery; since it was thus apparent, that while the cabinet of Madrid was professing to act the part of a mediator between Great Britain and France, for the avowed purpose of putting an end to the calamities of war, its mind was already pre-engaged in favour of the interests of France. It cannot, however, be denied, that the twenty-second article of this manifesto, contains a bitter, deserved, and unanswerable commentary on the vacillations and subterfuges of the British ministry, in their attempts to conciliate America, by the means of negotiation. \*

We shall now proceed to describe the effects of the ambiguous policy of Spain, which our ministry treated with so much sullen indifference.

\* The passage alluded to above is worthy to be extracted. It runs thus: "It is a thing very extraordinary, and even ridiculous, that the court of London treats the colonies as independent, not only in acting, but of right, during this war, and that it should have a repugnance to treat them as such only in acting during a truce or suspension of hostilities. The convention of Saratoga; the putting General Burgoyne as a lawful prisoner, to suspend his trial, the exchange and liberating of other prisoners made from the colonies; the having named commissioners to go and supplicate the Americans at their own doors, request peace of them, and treat with them and the congress, and finally, by a thousand other acts of this sort, authorized by the court of London, have been and are true signs of the acknowledgment of the independence and the English nation itself may judge and decide, whether all those acts are so compatible with the decorum of the British crown, as would be the granting to the colonies, at the intercession of his catholic majesty, a suspension of hostilities, adjust their differences, and treat them in this interim as independent states."

The French fleet, which had sailed from Brest, on the 4th of June, having effected a junction with the Spanish fleet, their combined force, consisting of sixty-six sail of the line, entered the channel, and paraded triumphantly for two or three days before Plymouth; while several French frigates anchored in Cawsand bay, and captured some of our coasting vessels. The Ardent, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Boteler, standing down channel, fell in with the enemy's fleet, and mistaking it for the British, was surrounded and captured in sight of Plymouth.\* Admiral Sir Charles Hardy had sailed from Spithead, on the 16th, to cruise in the Soundings; yet, from some circumstance, which has never yet been accounted for, the enemy escaped the notice of the British fleet, and threw the whole kingdom into a state of consternation. The strong easterly winds which blew for several days, forced the combined fleets out of the channel, and, at the same time, prevented Sir Charles Hardy from getting into it. The wind shifted to the westward, on the 31st of August, and the British fleet gained the entrance of the channel in sight of the enemy, who were unable to prevent it. Nevertheless, they followed our fleet until sunset, when being a little to the eastward of Falmouth, they hauled to the south-west, and stood out of the channel. Sir Charles Hardy proceeded off the Edystone, where he anchored the fleet, waiting the return of the flood tide; and the next morning, the whole fleet reached Spithead.

Such was the first effect of that mighty combination of the house of Bourbon against the maritime power of England. This insult upon our coasts created more affright and terror in every part of the kingdom than had been felt, before or since, in the whole of our history. There was

\* Captain Boteler, was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and dismissed the service, for not doing every thing in his power to save his ship.

not a sequestered hamlet, in the remotest province, which was not agitated by the dread of invasion; and even the measures of precaution, which the occasion called forth, on the part of the government, served to augment the general alarm. It was ascertained that French armies had been marched to the sea coasts of Normandy and Brittany, some time before the junction of the French and Spanish fleets. It was also known that all the French ports on the channel were crowded with shipping; and that generals and commanders were appointed to act in the intended invasion of England. Nevertheless, neither the military nor naval power of the kingdom were adequate to the perilous emergency; and Ireland, brooding over popular discontents, and in an high degree of fermentation, was in such a defenceless state as to invite foreign aggression. The king's proclamation, on the 9th of July, announcing to the public that information had been received of an intended invasion of the kingdom, by our enemies, and likewise containing orders to the proper officers for carefully watching the coasts, and for the immediate removal of horses, cattle, and provisions, to places of security, on the first approach of the enemy, contributed not a little to extend, and give weight to, that general panic which had seized the minds of the greater part of the people. Many persons quitted their dwellings on the sea coasts, and withdrew into the interior, spreading, whithersoever they went, their own groundless apprehensions. The fright became epidemical; so much so, that a congregation, assembled for divine worship in a church, near the sea coast, was thrown into the greatest perturbation, by a voice exclaiming that the French had landed. Male and female leaped over the pews, and rushed out with loud cries, leaving the church wholly deserted, except by the minister, (for the clerk too had fled,) and a few of the military, who remained by

command of the general of the district, who happened to be present on the occasion. \*

It may here naturally be asked, by what perversion of moral principle, or by what retrogression of public spirit, one of the bravest nations upon the face of the earth should suddenly be overwhelmed with such a paroxysm of dread, as to provoke the mockery of their enemies, and even their own indignation, when the apprehended danger was dispelled? England had before experienced her days of trial and tribulation; but the constancy and firmness of her people enabled them to brave the difficulties which encompassed them. During the memorable Spanish Armada, when our ancestors had to contend against the mighty hosts of Spain, with comparatively few resources, they confronted the luring aspect of the approaching danger with an undaunted countenance; and, by the greatness of their unbending spirit, came out victorious from a contest, which all the rest of the world predicted would terminate in their ruin. Under the present circumstances, our means were great beyond example, but they were not called forth into action. In the unprepared defensive state of the country, amidst domestic distractions, and a civil war, when the government had been accused of the grossest negligence in the conduct of that war; and when the grand fleet, the nation's security, was not to be heard of, while the combined armaments of the enemy were riding within sight of our own shores; it was not to be wondered at that a sudden panic should possess the minds even of the most considerate persons. This will ever be the case when those entrusted with the direction of the force of a nation wield it either ignorantly or negligently.

This general consternation was, however, productive of one good effect. It roused the ministry out of their

\* The above anecdote I had from the late general. Sir R. Sloper, K. B. who was himself the general alluded to in the text.

dormant state, and compelled them to take measures more correspondent with the public emergencies. A greater degree of activity henceforth was observable in the naval and military departments; and, from this period, all apprehensions relative to the security of Great Britain itself ceased. We were also fortunate in the escape of our homeward-bound trade, while the fleets of France and Spain were bending their course towards the English shore. A few days only before the appearance of the enemy, the Jamaica fleet, amounting to nearly two hundred ships, arrived safely in England; and eight homeward-bound East Indiamen, having been timely apprized of their danger, were enabled to put into Limerick, in Ireland.

Before quitting this subject, it will be proper here to give a list of the channel fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, in the order of battle, on the 31st of August, when it fell in with the fleets of France and Spain; and to subjoin a list of the combined fleets, as they appeared off Plymouth, on the 6th of August.

The Resolution to lead with the starboard, and the Bedford, with the larboard tacks on board.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MLN.	COMMANDERS.	DIVISION.
Resolution ..	74 ..	600 ..	Captain Sir Chaloner Ogle	} Commanded by George Darby, vice-admiral of the blue.
Invincible....	74 ..	600 ..	— John Laforey	
Alfred.....	74 ..	600 ..	— William Bayne	
Culloden ....	74 ..	600 ..	— George Balfour	
Ramilles ....	74 ..	600 ..	— John Montray	
Duke.....	98 ..	750 ..	— Sir Charles Douglas	
Britannia ...	100 ..	872 ..	{ George Darby, vice-admiral of the blue Captain C. M. Pole	
Union.....	90 ..	750 ..	Captain J. Dalrymple	
Alexander ..	74 ..	600 ..	— Lord Longford	
Mailborough	74 ..	600 ..	— Taylor Penny	
Defence .....	74 ..	600 ..	— John Simmonds	
Intrepid .....	64 ..	500 ..	— Hon. H. St. John	

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.	COMMANDERS.	DIVISION.
Royal George	100	867	{ Sir J. L. Ross, rear-admiral of the blue Captain John Colpoys	CENTRE. Commanded by Sir Charles Hardy, admiral of the white, and commander in chief.
Thunderer	74	600	Captain Hon. B. Walsingham	
Cumberland	74	600	— Jos. Peyton	
Courageux	74	650	— Lord Mulgrave	
Triumph	74	650	— Ph. Affleck	
London	98	750	— Samuel Cornish	
Victory	100	891	{ Sir Charles Hardy, admiral of the white 1st. C. R. Kempenfelt 2d. H. Collins	
Foudroyant	84	700	Captain John Jervis	
Formidable	98	750	— John Stauton	
Temble	74	600	— Sir R. Bickerton	
Monarch	74	600	— Adam Duncan	
Berwick	74	600	— Hon. K. Stewart	
Bienfaisant	64	500	— John Macbride	
Shrewsbury	74	600	— M. Robinson	
America	61	500	— S. Thompson	
Hector	74	600	— Sir J. Hamilton	
Centaur	74	600	— J. N. P. Nott	
Namu	90	750	— Charles Fielding	
Prince George	98	767	{ Rear-admiral Robert Digby Captain Patten	
Queen	90	750	Captain Alexander Innes	
Egmont	74	600	— J. C. Allen	
Canada	74	600	— H. Dalrymple	
Prudent	64	500	— J. Burnet	
Valiant	74	650	— S. C. Goodall	
Bedford	74	600	— Edm. Affleck	

Frigates, &c. attached to each Division.

VAN.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.
Ambuscade	32	Infernal, fire-ship
Triton, to repeat signals	28	Pluto, ditto

## CENTRE.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Romney .....	50	Apollo, to repeat signals..	32
Southampton.....	32	Firebrand, fire-ship	
Milford .....	28	Incendiary, ditto	
Lizard.....	28	Young Hazard, cutter	
Comorant .....	14	Peggy, ditto	
Swallow .....	14	George, ditto	
Kite .....	12	Holdenness, ditto	
Wolf .....	12		

## REAR.

Porcupine .....	20	Salamander, fire-ship	
Andromeda, to repeat signals .....	32	Furnace, ditto	

*A list of the French Fleet, commanded by Count D'Ouvilliers.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
La Bretagne.....	110	L'Auguste .....	80
La Ville de Paris....	104	Le Neptune .....	74
La Couronne .....	80	Le Glorieux.....	74
Le St. Esprit .....	80	Le Conquerant.....	74
L'Artif .....	74	Le Caton .....	64
Le Palmier .....	74	L'Eveill�e .....	64
L'Intrepide .....	74	L'Alexandre .....	64
Le Zodiaque.....	74	Le Solitaire .....	64
Le Citoyen .....	74	Le Proth�e .....	64
Le Destin.....	74	L'Actionnaire .....	64
Le Bien Aim�e.....	74	Le St. Michel .....	64
Le Pluton.....	74	L'Espagne .....	64
L'Hercule.....	74	L'Indien .....	64
Le Scipion .....	74	Le Bizarre .....	64
Le Burgoyne .....	74	Le Triton.....	64
Le Victoire .....	74	Le Mignon .....	64

*A list of the Spanish Fleet, commanded by Don Cordova.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Santa Trinidad .....	120	Guerrero .....	74
St. Louis .....	80	Brillante .....	74
St. Vincente.....	80	An. Girardia.....	74

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
St. Fernando.....	80	Atlante .....	7½
St. Carlos .....	80	Monarque.....	7½
Rayo .....	80	St. Francis Paul ....	7½
St. Nicholas .....	80	Galicía .....	70
St. Isidore.....	7½	Diligente .....	70
St. Joseph.....	7½	St. Eugene .....	7½
St. Miguel.....	7½	Vencedor .....	7½
St. Pedro .....	7½	Princesa .....	7½
St. Francis d'Assis ..	7½	Santa Isabella .....	7½
St. Rafael .....	7½	Arrogante .....	7½
St. Pascal .....	7½	Le Septentrion ....	60
Velasco.....	7½	Astuto .....	60
St. Pállo .....	7½	Isidio.....	60
St. Demasque .....	7½	Dragon .....	60
St. Joachim .....	7½	Mino.....	51
Senio .....	7½		

The combined fleet was attended by twenty-two frigates, nine fire-ships, bomb-vessels, sloops, two armed en flute, and an hospital ship; besides several other vessels of war.

On the 14th of September, Captain George Montagu, commander of his majesty's ship Pearl, of thirty-two guns, while cruizing off the western islands, captured, within six leagues of Corvo, after a close action, which lasted two hours, the Santa Ammonica, a Spanish frigate, of twenty-eight guns, and two hundred and seventy-one men. The Pearl had fourteen men killed and nineteen wounded; the Spanish frigate had thirty-eight killed and forty-eight wounded. The remaining naval transactions of this year in Europe were few, but brilliant. On the 23d of September, Captain Richard Pearson, of his majesty's ship Serapis, of forty guns, and the Countess of Scarborough armed ship, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Thomas Piercy, being close in with Scarborough, with a large convoy, received intelligence, from the bailiffs of Scarborough, that a flying-squadron of the enemy's ships was on the coast standing to the southward. On receiving this information, Captain Pearson made a signal for the



convoy to bear down under his lee, and though he twice repeated it, they still kept stretching out from under Flamborough-head, till the headmost ship got sight of the enemy, then in chace of them: they then tacked, and made the best of their way toward the shore, letting fly their top-gallant sheets, and firing guns. Upon this, Captain Pearson made all sail to windward, and got between the enemy's ships and the convoy. At one o'clock, the enemy's ships were seen from the mast-head of the *Serapis*, and at four they were discovered to be three large ships and a brig. Captain Pearson now made signals for the *Countess of Scarborough*, which was close in shore with the convoy, to join him, and for the convoy to make the best of their way; he then brought to, until the *Countess of Scarborough* came up, and in the mean time, cleared for action. The *Countess of Scarborough* having joined at half-past five, and the enemy's ships bearing down upon them, with a light breeze at S.S.W. Captain Pearson tacked, and laid the ships heads in shore, for the better protection of his convoy; soon after which, the enemy's force was perceived to consist of one two-decked ship, and two frigates. At about twenty minutes past seven, the largest ship brought to on the larboard bow of the *Serapis*, within musket shot, upon which Captain Pearson hailed, inquiring what ship it was, and was answered, in English, the *Princess Royal*. Having received several evasive answers to other questions, an action soon commenced; and, as this was as memorable a sea-fight as was fought during the war, we cannot do better, where so much skill and gallantry were admirably combined, than to give Captain Pearson's own account of it, as recorded in the *London Gazette*:

“ After exchanging two or three broadsides, he (the  
“ enemy) backed his topsails, and dropped upon our  
“ quarter within pistol shot, then filled again, put his  
“ helm a-weather, and run on board upon our weather  
“ quarter, and attempted to board us; but, being re-

“ pulsed, he sheered off; upon which I backed our  
“ topsails, in order to get square with him again, which,  
“ as soon as he observed, he then filled, put his helm  
“ a-weather, and laid us athwart hawse; his mizen  
“ shrouds took our jib boom, which hung him for some  
“ time, till it at last gave way, and we dropped along-  
“ side of each other, head and stern, when the fluke of our  
“ spare anchor hooking his quarter, we became so close,  
“ fore and aft, that the muzzles of our guns touched each  
“ other’s sides. In this position we engaged from half-  
“ past eight till half-past ten, during which time, from  
“ the great quantity and variety of combustible matter  
“ which they threw in upon our decks, chains. and, in  
“ short, into every part of the ship, we were on fire not  
“ less than ten or twelve times, in different parts of the  
“ ship; and it was with the greatest difficulty and exertion  
“ imaginable at times that we were able to get it ex-  
“ tinguished. At the same time, the largest of the two  
“ frigates kept sailing round us the whole action, and  
“ raking us fore and aft, by which means she killed or  
“ wounded almost every man on the quarter and main  
“ decks. About half-past nine, either from a hand  
“ granade being thrown in at one of our lower deck  
“ ports, or from some other accident, a cartridge of  
“ powder was set on fire, the flames of which running  
“ from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, blew up  
“ the whole of the people and officers that were quartered  
“ abaft the main-mast, from which unfortunate circum-  
“ stance all those guns were rendered useless for the  
“ remainder of the action, and, I fear, the greatest part  
“ of the people will lose their lives. At ten o’clock they  
“ called for quarter from the ship alongside, and said  
“ they had struck. Hearing this, I called upon the  
“ captain to know if they had struck, or if he asked for  
“ quarter; but no answer being made, after repeating  
“ my words two or three times, I called for the boarders

“ and ordered them to board, which they did ; but the  
“ moment they were on board her, they discovered a  
“ superior number, laying under cover, with pikes in  
“ their hands ready to receive them, on which our people  
“ instantly retreated into our own ship, and returned to  
“ their guns again till half-past ten, when the frigate  
“ coming across our stern, and pouring her broadside  
“ into us again, without our being able to bring a gun  
“ to bear on her, I found it in vain, and in short, impractica-  
“ ble, from the situation we were in, to stand out any longer  
“ with the least prospect of success ; I therefore struck, our  
“ main-mast at the same time went by the board. The first  
“ lieutenant and myself were immediately escorted into the  
“ ship alongside, when we found her to be an American ship  
“ of war, called the *Bon Homme Richard*, of forty guns, and  
“ three hundred and seventy-five men, commanded by  
“ Captain Paul Jones ; the other frigate which engaged us,  
“ to be the *Alliance*, of forty guns, and three hundred men ;  
“ and the third frigate, which engaged and took the *Countess*  
“ of Scarborough, after two hours action, to be the *Pallas*,  
“ a French frigate of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and  
“ seventy-five men ; the *Vengeance*, an armed brig of twelve  
“ guns, and seventy men, all in Congress service, and  
“ under the command of Paul Jones. They fitted out and  
“ sailed from Port l’Orient the latter end of July, and came  
“ north about ; they have on board three hundred English  
“ prisoners, which they have taken, in different vessels, in  
“ their way round, since they left France, and have ran-  
“ somed some others. On my going on board the *Bon*  
“ *Homme Richard*, I found her in the greatest distress ; her  
“ quarters and counter on the lower deck entirely drove in,  
“ and the whole of her lower deck guns dismounted ; she was  
“ also on fire in two places, and six or seven feet water  
“ in her hold, which kept increasing upon them all night  
“ and the next day, till they were obliged to quit her,  
“ and she sunk with a great number of her wounded

“ people on board her. She had three hundred and six men  
 “ killed and wounded in the action; our loss in the *Serapis*  
 “ was also very great. My officers and people behaved well;  
 “ and I should be very remiss in my attention to their merit  
 “ were I to omit recommending the remains of them to  
 “ their lordships’ favours. I must at the same time beg  
 “ leave to inform their lordships that Captain *Piercy*, in  
 “ the Countess of Scarborough, was not in the least  
 “ remiss in his duty, he having given me every assistance  
 “ in his power, and as much as could be expected from  
 “ such a ship, in engaging the attention of the *Pallas*, a  
 “ frigate of thirty-two guns, during the whole action. I am  
 “ extremely sorry for the misfortune that has happened,  
 “ that of losing his majesty’s ship I had the honour to  
 “ command; but, at the same time, I flatter myself with  
 “ the hopes that their lordships will be convinced that she  
 “ has not been given away; but, on the contrary, that  
 “ every exertion has been used to defend her; and that  
 “ two essential pieces of service to our country have  
 “ arisen from it; the one in wholly oversetting the cruize,  
 “ and intentions of this flying squadron; the other in  
 “ rescuing the whole of a valuable convoy from falling  
 “ into the hands of the enemy, which must have been the  
 “ case had I acted any otherwise than I did. We have been  
 “ driving about in the North Sea ever since the action,  
 “ endeavouring to make to any port we possibly could, but  
 “ have not been able to get into any place till to-day we ar-  
 “ rived in the *Texel*. Herewith I inclose you the most exact  
 “ list of the killed and wounded I have as yet been able  
 “ to procure, from my people being dispersed among the  
 “ different ships, and having been refused permission to  
 “ muster them. There are, I find, many more both  
 “ killed and wounded than appears on the inclosed list,  
 “ but their names as yet I find impossible to ascertain;  
 “ as soon as I possibly can, shall give their lordships a  
 “ full account of the whole.”\*

\* London Gazette, No. 12,021.

Captain Piercy, during this bloody and obstinate contest was closely engaged with the *Pallas*, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and seventy-five men, and the *Vengeance* brig of twelve guns, and seventy men, when perceiving another frigate bearing down, he was under the necessity of surrendering, after having bravely defended his ship for two hours, against such superior forces. The enemy carried their prizes into the Texel, where Captain Pearson was refused permission to wait on Sir Joseph York, our ambassador, or even to go on shore—a circumstance which was the prelude, as will be presently shewn, to important political consequences.

The squadron which captured our ships had been fitted out at port l'Orient, and sailed thence in July under the command of Paul Jones, and had on board three hundred English prisoners, whom they had taken in different vessels during their cruize. They appeared off the coast of Kerry, in Ireland, about the latter end of August, but no traces of them could be discovered until the action with Captain Pearson.

On their return to England, Captains Pearson and Piercy were received with great distinction. The corporation of Hull presented them with the freedom of their town; and the Royal Exchange Assurance company presented Captain Pearson with a piece of plate value one hundred guineas, and Captain Piercy with another of fifty. His majesty was also pleased to confer upon Captain Pearson the honour of knighthood, and he was some time after promoted to be lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Immediately on the arrival of our captured ships in the Texel, Sir Joseph York, our ambassador at the Hague, presented a spirited memorial to their High Mightinesses, in which he requested that the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, taken by Paul Jones, should be delivered up. This demand was founded upon the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and the United Provinces, es-

pecially upon the stipulation of the treaty of Breda, of the 10th of July, 1667, confirmed in a particular manner in the treaty of 1716. The answer to this memorial was brief; they observed that they would in no respect take upon them to judge of the legality or illegality of those who have, on the open sea, taken any vessels which do not belong to their country; that they only open their ports to give them shelter from storms or other disasters; and that they oblige them to go to sea again with their prizes without suffering them to unload or dispose of any part of their cargoes, that they may be liable to be re-taken, in the same state they were taken; but do not think themselves authorized to pass judgment upon those prizes, or the person of Paul Jones.

The government of the Dutch republic was, at this time, beset by the intrigues of the French, and by the clamours of its own subjects, with entreaties and remonstrances to take a decisive part against the maritime power of Great Britain. In the course of the preceding year, several memorials were presented by the merchants of the principal commercial towns of Holland to the States General, complaining of the interruption which their carrying trade had experienced from the ships of war and cruizers of Great Britain; and protesting against the legal right of the British to seize and detain their vessels bound to, or coming from, the ports of France. In one of these memorials, they declare it as their conviction, to their High Mightinesses, that, “this state is neither  
“deficient in power, nor that her inhabitants *want in-*  
“*clination* or courage to maintain the independence of  
“their republic against all unjust violence; and they  
“also look on it as insufferable, that a nation which owes  
“the security and preservation of her civil and religious  
“liberties to the assistance and co-operation of this  
“republic, and which otherwise is united to her by ties  
“of mutual and positive interest, should dare, against

“ the first principles of natural equity, against all rules  
 “ of right, adopted by all civilized nations, and against  
 “ the faith of all solemn treaties, for the reason only of  
 “ CONVENIENCE; that this very nation, we say, should  
 “ dare to cause so much trouble and prejudice to the  
 “ navigation of this republic, and that in so notorious a  
 “ manner, that the total ruin of individuals, and the  
 “ entire decay of trade, as well as of navigation, must  
 “ be the final result of their conduct.”

Such haughty language plainly indicated, not only what an immense and profitable commerce the merchants of Holland carried on with France, under which it was notorious from the cargoes of the ships detained by our cruisers, that warlike and naval stores were included, but it evinced a rising spirit of enmity against Great Britain for having intercepted that commerce. Accordingly, a continued diplomatic correspondence was kept up during the whole of the year 1778, between the two governments, upon the subject of these complaints. Meanwhile, the duke de Vauguyon, ambassador from France to the States General, was no less active in fomenting the dispute; and the French King, by an order dated January 14, 1779, and evidently devised for the purpose of driving the republic into a state of hostility with England, revoked all the advantages given to the subjects of Holland (“ the city of  
 “ Amsterdam excepted, on account of its most patriotic  
 “ exertions to persuade the republic to procure, from the  
 “ court of London, the security of that unlimited liberty  
 “ which belonged to their flag”) by his regulation of the 26th of July, 1778.

In answer to the insidious negotiation thus carried on between France and Holland, the British Minister at the Hague, cautioned the Dutch government against the designs of a foreign power, which thus took upon itself the right of granting particular favours to part of the government of the United Provinces, to the prejudice of

the rest ; and he very justly remarked that such a line of conduct could have no other object in view than to sow discord, and to dissolve the ties which united them. The end of all these intrigues was manifestly designed to bring on a war between Great Britain and the republic, under the seducing pretence of a perfect neutrality, and the interest of trade. Nevertheless, the British government declared itself anxious to cultivate the best understanding between the two nations, but it avowed, at the same time, a resolution not to depart from the necessity it felt itself under of excluding the transportation of naval stores to the ports of France, and particularly of timber, even though escorted by men of war.

When the extraordinary and great naval preparations of the enemy were manifest, the British government, through the medium of its minister at the Hague, reclaimed of the States General, the succours stipulated in the treaties of 1678, and others, of which the *Casus Fæderis* was so fully explained in the separate article of 1716. It urged that the danger was become imminent, and that the remedy must be speedy ; and that the stipulations of a treaty, founded on the interests of trade only, must give way to those founded on the dearest interest of the two nations. The moment was come to decide whether Great Britain, which had spilt so much blood, and expended so much treasure to succour others, and to maintain liberty and religion, was to have no other resources against the malice and envy of her enemies than her own courage, and her own internal strength ; whether she were to be abandoned by her most ancient friends and allies to the most ambitious views of the house of Bourbon, which would crush all, to reign over all ; and whether Europe in general, and their High Mightinesses in particular, would with indifference see a system established, which would inevitably destroy that equilibrium which



was the only guarantee of their commerce, liberty, and even existence itself.\*

Instead of paying any attention to representations of a common danger, so forcibly impressed upon them, the States General treated them with silent indifference, taking care all the while to put in commission their ships of war, and to equip them for service. They did not even condescend to take the least notice of the frequent memorials of the British minister upon the same subject, which were delivered to them in the course of the following year. Nothing else passed between the two governments, but mutual complaints and demands, couched in sullen notes. The mysterious conduct of the Dutch government, was, however, soon developed. By the accidental discovery of some papers, found in the trunk of Mr. Laurens, the President of the American Congress, the British government fortunately obtained possession of a treaty *signed in September, 1778*, by the express order of the pensionary of Amsterdam, and other principal magistrates of that city, between the States General and the United States of North America. This immediately opened the eyes of the nation, and explained the meaning of the obstinate silence of the States General in relation to the reiterated demands, of the British minister. The very terms of this secret treaty conveyed an hostile manifesto on the part of the Dutch, against the maritime power of Great Britain; and the whole was an infraction of public faith, and an attempt against the dignity and sovereignty of the British crown.

It cannot now be matter of wonder that the demand of Sir Joseph York, for the restitution of the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough met with an evasive answer; since it is obvious from the above narrative, that the

\* This memorial was presented by Sir Joseph York to the States General, on the 22d of July, 1779.

government of the United Provinces of Holland was privy to the unprecedented circumstance of a treaty clandestinely negotiated between a part of its subjects, and the Congress of the revolted colonies in North America. It had also opened itself to the insidious practices and intrigues of the agents of France; it had furnished that power, under the sanction of its neutrality, with the naval stores which enabled her so rapidly to equip her fleets, to menace our shores, and to throw the kingdom into confusion and alarm, during the summer.

Although we have gone somewhat beyond the period of the present year, in the history which it was necessary to give of the conduct of the Dutch republic toward England; yet, it was absolutely proper to detail these facts in order the more fully and clearly to elucidate the grounds of those continued refusals to enter into the merits of the demands, especially in the instance of the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, which were repeatedly made by the British minister at the Hague, to the government of the United States. We shall now return to the history of the few remaining naval events of the present year.

The desperate engagement between Captain Pearson and Paul Jones, was soon followed by another, which no less attracted the public interest and admiration. The *Quebec* frigate, of thirty-two guns, Captain George Farmer, in company with the *Rambler* cutter, Lieutenant George, being about fifteen leagues to the south-west of Ushant, discovered at day-break, on the 6th of October, a large French frigate and a cutter. At ten o'clock the frigates closed alongside each other, and began a fierce engagement, which lasted for three hours and an half, when both were totally dismasted and on board of each other. Unfortunately, by firing through her sails which were lying over her side, the *Quebec* took fire, and the flames soon spread over every part of the ship, notwithstanding the utmost efforts that were made to extinguish

them. In this awfully distressing state she continued to burn with unremitting fury until six in the evening, when she blew up with her colours flying: her brave commander, with most of his officers and crew perished. Captain Farmer was severely wounded, and was repeatedly and earnestly solicited to quit his ship; but he remained for a long time determined in the resolution he had taken to share the fate of his gallant companions. At length, however, in compliance with the entreaties of those about him, he threw himself into the sea; but being extremely weak from the loss of blood, he soon perished.

The Rambler was closely engaged with the French cutter, having sixteen six-pounders, and being full of men, till nearly two o'clock, when the enemy crowded all his sails and bore away; but the Rambler having sustained great damage in her rigging and sails, was not in a condition to pursue him. At this moment, she perceived the disabled state of the two frigates, and that the Quebec was on fire. Immediately, every exertion was made to hasten to her relief; but the Rambler being considerably to leeward, with little wind, and a great swell, she was unable to render any other assistance than by sending her boat, which saved two young midshipmen, one master's mate, and fourteen seamen. A Russian vessel fortunately passing the wreck, saved thirteen more of the crew. Nor was the humanity of a brave and generous enemy less distinguished upon the occasion. While in the act of towing their own ship out of the reach of the flames, they saved the lives of Mr. Roberts, the first lieutenant, an excellent swimmer, the second lieutenant of marines, the surgeon, and thirty-six of the crew; who, after experiencing the most humane treatment from the French, were sent back from Brest to Portsmouth, on the 28th of October.

We must not quit this affecting subject without correcting an error, incautiously entertained, in the first instance, and afterwards recorded as a fact in the London Gazette. Lieutenant George, who commanded the *Rambler* in this action, stated in his letter to the admiralty, that the enemy's frigate fired at the boat, which he had sent to the assistance of the *Quebec's* crew, a circumstance which was afterwards fully proved to have been a mistake, as it was the guns of the *Quebec* which went off as they became heated; and the conduct of the enemy, which has been detailed above, sufficiently demonstrates the error into which Lieutenant George had fallen.

As a mark of the public sense entertained of Captain Farmer's gallant conduct, his son was created a baronet, and a pension was settled upon his widow.

Captain Reynolds, of the *Jupiter*, on the 2d of October, fell in with, and captured off the *Lizard*, two French cutters of fourteen six-pounders, and one hundred and twenty men each, one of which was called *Le Pilote*, commanded by the chevalier De Clonard; and the other, *La Mutine*, commanded by the chevalier De Roquefeuil. Intelligence was received about the same time that Captain Bickerton, of his majesty's sloop the *Swallow*, in company with the *Lively* sloop, had taken and carried into Milford-haven, *La Duchesse de Chartres*, a French snow privateer of twelve eight-pounders, and about one hundred men, after some resistance. They had likewise re-taken the *General Dalling*, homeward-bound West Indiaman, which the privateer had captured. The *Swallow* had one man killed and one wounded in the action. On the 22d of October, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy sailed from Spithead, on a cruise with the channel fleet.

The *Tartar* of twenty-eight guns and two hundred men, Captain Fairfax, one of the ships belonging to Commodore Johnstone's squadron, while standing toward

Cape Finisterre, was ordered to give chase to a sail with Spanish colours hoisted. On coming up with the enemy, he began a close engagement; but the Spaniard struck, after exchanging one broadside, and firing some irregular shot. She proved to be the *Santa Margarita* frigate of war, of twenty-six twelve-pounders, and two six-pounders, carrying two hundred and seventy-seven men, and commanded by Captain Andres de Viana. The enemy had one man killed, and three wounded; the Tartar none.

About the 20th of November, Captain Paisley, of the *Sybil*, took and carried into the Tagus, a privateer of Salem, of fourteen guns and ninety men, and the *Patagon*, a Spanish packet, bound from the island of Teneriffe to Corunna, armed with ten carriage guns and fifty-five men, commanded by a king's officer. At the same time, his majesty's ship *Hussar*, of twenty-eight guns, Captain Elliot Salter, in company with the *Chatham*, of fifty guns, Captain William Allen, having under their convoy the trade from Lisbon, fell in with a large Spanish ship, which Captain Salter, after an action of three quarters of an hour, captured. She proved to be the *Nostra Senora del Buen Consejo*, register ship, pierced for sixty-four guns, mounting twenty-six twelve-pounders and one hundred and seventy men, from Lima, bound to Cadiz; and notwithstanding her having landed most of the treasure at Fyal, she proved a valuable prize; the remainder of her cargo consisting of copper, pewter, cocoa, Jesuit's bark, beaver and minerals, besides private ventures. The enemy had twenty-seven men killed, and eight wounded; the *Hussar* four killed, and ten wounded.

These were all the actions performed in Europe by the British navy during the year 1779. Our privateers were remarkably fortunate in the captures which they made. They took three Spanish register ships, one of which was the richest vessel captured since the *Manilla* ship, by Lord Anson. In one instance, the crew of a Liverpool

privateer evinced such heroic intrepidity, that it would be a great omission to leave untold, in a naval history of England, an exploit so characteristic of British seamen. The Dragon privateer, of Liverpool, being in latitude 47, longitude 20, took, on the 16th of February, La Modeste, of five hundred tons, from St. Domingo, a French letter of marque, pierced for twenty-four guns, mounted with ten six-pounders and forty men. When she struck, the sea ran so high, it was impracticable to board her, upon which she was ordered to steer toward Ireland, and carry a light; the Dragon keeping close on her quarter, drove her along in this manner until the 19th, when the weather becoming more moderate, an attempt was made to man the prize, in which all the boats belonging to each ship were stove. The impatience of the Dragon's crew was now roused up to the utmost pitch, and, regardless of all danger, five seamen stripped themselves naked, leaped into the sea, swam to the prize, and took possession. The prize-master could not swim, but went alongside on a raft, and, with these five brave British tars, carried the Modeste into Scotland, in company with the Dragon. This unparalleled instance of British courage so astonished the French, that they declared none but Englishmen would so much as have thought of, and much less have undertaken, it.

The fleet under Sir George Brydges Rodney, who was appointed to the chief command in the West Indies, sailed from Portsmouth on the 26th of December, and was joined off Plymouth by eight sail of the line, two frigates, the Topaquer cutter, and several transports with troops on board. A day or two after, Commodore Fielding, with a squadron under his command, put to sea in order to intercept a Dutch convoy which was expected to pass down the channel, bound to Brest with naval stores. The commodore fell in with this fleet, under the convoy of Admiral Count Byland, with a squadron of five ships and frigates

of war. Captain Fielding desired permission to visit the merchant ships, which was refused; and upon sending his boats to visit them, they were fired at. Immediately he fired a shot a-head of the Dutch admiral, who returned a broadside: Captain Fielding did the like, and then the Dutch instantly struck their colours. Such of the merchant ships as had naval stores on board were detained; and the Dutch admiral was told that he was at liberty to hoist his colours, and to prosecute his voyage. He accepted the former, and saluted, but declined the latter, and accompanied the ships that were under his convoy to Spithead. The Dutch fleet consisted, at first setting out, of seventeen sail of Dutch merchant-men, under convoy of Admiral Byland, with two ships of the line and two frigates. Seven only of the merchantmen were taken, besides their convoy, laden with naval stores; the other ten had parted company and arrived safely in Brest.

During this year, the half pay of the masters in the royal navy was increased, as follows; the twenty-five senior masters, if qualified for first and second rates, three shillings and six-pence per day; the next seventy-five three shillings per day.

Although the appearance of things was by no means favourable this year; yet our resources seemed to grow with our necessities. The menace of invasion occasioned a great exertion in England, which, from a state very much unprepared, became, at length, powerfully armed. The regular progressive growth of the enemy's naval force, not only in number of ships, but also in naval skill, was a subject of great alarm to all thinking men. This had been too much overlooked in the beginning, from our confined attention to the American war. Hence, we not only had to encounter the ancient spirit and gallantry of our neighbour rivals, but likewise that artificial and dangerous courage, arising from a consciousness of professional knowledge and ability; and our sea-

men could not but be amazed, to see some of their own peculiar characteristics, with respect of maritime skill and dexterity, suddenly transferred to the enemy.

In this state of danger from without, and of discontent within the kingdom, the ministers seemed as little united among themselves, as any class or part of the people who were committed to their government. Some changes soon followed in the administration. The people, however, coincided in the general opinion, and were resolved, whoever might have the management of affairs, to defend their country against the ambition of the house of Bourbon. With this view, very large sums of money were subscribed in all the great trading towns of the kingdom, for manning the navy, and for raising independent companies or corps. The East India company were among the foremost to display their liberality and patriotism, and behaved with a magnificence, suited to their greatness, and to the apparent prosperity of their affairs; they not only offered a bounty for the raising of six thousand seamen, but built, at their own expense, for government, three fine seventy-four gun ships, which they named the Ganges, Carnatic, and Bombay Castle.

In the MEDITERRANEAN, the British squadron, under the command of Vice-admiral Duff, had no opportunity of effecting any thing of importance. The only official mention of the operations of this squadron is in the London Gazette, of August 31st, where we are told that Admiral Duff, having received intelligence, about the latter end of July, that five xebecs, with a number of Spanish vessels under their convoy, lay in the road of Malaga, ordered the Panther and Enterprize, the only ships then at Gibraltar, to slip their cables, and go in pursuit of the xebecs, two of which were endeavouring to rescue one of their convoy that had been taken by two privateer cutters. But, the moment the xebecs discovered the ships to be in motion, they hauled their wind, and, with a



few of their convoy, escaped to Ceuta ; and the other three, with some armed vessels, made off to the eastward, leaving their convoy effectually dispersed, four of which were taken by the cutters already mentioned, and one destroyed and two more taken by his majesty's ships. These, with eight others before taken, were all laden with commodities useful for the garrison of Gibraltar.

It is much to be regretted that we had not, at that time, a larger force in the Mediterranean, which might have enabled our government to act as mediator between Russia and the Porte. Notwithstanding the brilliant successes of her arms, Russia had discovered some symptoms of internal weakness, which the rebellion of Pugatscheff served only to demonstrate more fully. The empress, therefore, was very willing to receive any mediation, consistently with her dignity. France had the address to avail herself of this situation. The French minister was the friendly mediator and the successful negociator in effecting an accommodation ; Great Britain, the ancient ally of Russia, was not even consulted in the negociation. It certainly excited general astonishment, that Great Britain, which had been so long and so closely united in the strictest bands of friendship, and apparent political communion of views and interests, with Russia, and which had even gone some extraordinary lengths during the late war in her favour, should not have undertaken the friendly office of mediator ; by which means she would likewise have had an opportunity of wearing off that, not unfounded, jealousy, which the Porte could not but entertain of her late conduct. On the other hand, a strong jealousy had for several years subsisted between France and Russia ; and their political interests and regards so much clashed with respect of that war, that all the world knew it was, in a good measure, the apprehension of England which prevented the house of Bourbon from

taking a decided part against Russia, upon her sending a fleet into the Mediterranean.

But, we may easily account for this extraordinary deviation from the line of our true policy. Engaged in the wranglings of party, and entirely wrapt up in the prosecution of the American war, we seemed to have absolutely and voluntarily renounced all interest in the general affairs of Europe; and, being too feeble in the Mediterranean to appear with any lustre as a mediator, France availed herself of our distracted circumstances, to acquire an ascendancy at St. Petersburg. From that moment, the credit of Great Britain at the court of St. Petersburg proportionably declined; and the French interest continued to gain ground and to preponderate, until its influence was openly felt in that extraordinary measure adopted in the north of Europe; where Russia, however great in other respects, was of inferiour note in a maritime view, was seen dictating a new code of maritime laws to mankind, in many respects essentially differing from those which had, for several hundred years, been established among commercial nations, and going directly to the overthrow of that sovereignty, or pre-eminence on the ocean, which had been so long claimed and maintained by this country. But, the further investigation of this interesting topic will fall more properly under our history of the year 1780. \*

\* The squadron in the Mediterranean, commanded by Vice-admiral Duff, in 1779, consisted of the following ships:

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Panther.....	64 ..	{ Robert Duff, vice-admiral of the blue Captain Henry Stanhope
Chatham ....	50 ....	William Allen
Montreal ....	32 ....	Stair Douglas
Thetis .....	32 .....	J. Gell
Enterprize ..	28 ....	Sir Thomas Rich, Bart.
Levant .....	28 .....	Hon. G. Murray
Raven .....	14 .....	John Stanhope

Pursuing the range of warlike operations geographically, until we arrive at the principal scenes of action, we must give some account of the successful expedition sent by France to the coast of Africa, at the beginning of the year. The squadron employed upon this service was commanded by the marquis de Vaudrevil, and a land force, much greater than was necessary, but both taking Africa only in their way to reinforce D'Estaing in the West Indies, was commanded by the duke de Lauzun. As the garrisons in that quarter were totally incapable of making any resistance, the British forts, settlements, factories, and property, at Senegal, in the river Garibia, and other parts of that coast, fell, without trouble, into the hands of the enemy, between the latter end of January and that of February. The French, upon that success, abandoned the island of Goree, which they had recovered by the late peace, and transported the artillery and garrison to strengthen Senegal. Sir Edward Hughes, who sailed, as we have already mentioned, early in March, on his passage to the East Indies, seized and garrisoned the island of Goree; and as he had a body of troops on board the squadron, it was eagerly expected and hoped by the public at home, that he would have recovered those settlements which we had so recently lost. But as no attempt of that sort was made, it was concluded that that officer's orders did not extend so far; and it was not perhaps an object so important as to risque upon it the much greater objects which were then in view.

The small British naval force in the East Indies, commanded by Sir Edward Vernon, which had engaged the French squadron, under M. de Tronjolly, and had rendered such signal service in the reduction of Pondicherry last year, was joined by a more powerful squadron under the command of Sir Edward Hughes. But, our navy had no opportunity, during the whole of the year 1779, of performing any essential service in the East Indies. We

must therefore quit this quarter of the globe, and content ourselves with giving a list of the British squadron in those seas, after the arrival of Sir Edward Hughes.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Superb.....	74 ..	} Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. } rear-admiral of the blue } Captain Siminton
Exeter .....	64 ....	
Worcester ..	64 ....	George Talbot
Burford ....	64 ....	Peter Rainier
*Asia .....	64 ....	George Vandepnt
Bellisle .....	64 ....	John Brooks
Eagle .....	64 ....	Ambrose Riddel
*Rippon.....	50 ....	Sir Edward Vernon, commodore
Coventry ....	28 ....	Captain Benjamin Marlowe
*Seahorse ....	20 ....	George Farmer
*Cormorant...	14 ....	George Young
Weazle.....	14 ....	Charles Hope

\* Returned home.

The war in North America afforded no opportunity for the navy to undertake any separate service. Accordingly, we find our squadrons uniformly acting in co-operation with, or in subordination to, the movements of our armies. But, even in this less brilliant species of service, their assistance was of the greatest importance to the public cause, and their exertions contributed materially to the progress of our arms. Early in the month of January, the town of Savannah capitulated, and the whole province of Georgia was reduced to obedience by the successful operations of an expedition under the orders of Commodore Hyde Parker and Colonel Campbell, who were despatched from New York on the 27th of November, 1778, on this particular service. The squadron employed in the reduction of this province consisted of the

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Phoenix.....	44 .....	Captain Hyde Parker
Vigilant.....	20 .....	—— H. C. Christian
Greenwich sloop ..	10 .....	Lieut Walbeoff
Keppel brig .....	12 .....	—— Witworth
Comet galley.		

The loss sustained by the navy during the attack amounted to only one killed and five wounded: sixteen sail of vessels of different descriptions were taken or destroyed.

Rear-admiral Gambier having returned home, the command of his majesty's squadron devolved on Sir George Collier, who, on the 5th of May, sailed from New York, with a squadron of ships of war, and several transports, having on board a body of troops, under the command of Major-general Matthew. The expedition was destined for the Chesapeake, and to make a descent on the coast of Virginia. Having proceeded with the most propitious winds, the squadron, on the fourth day, made the capes of Virginia, and having entered Hampton road, Sir George Collier shifted his broad pendant to the *Rainbow*, and proceeded with the fleet up Elizabeth river, the great draught of war of his own ship, the *Raisable*, not admitting of her going further with convenience. On the following day, the enemy retreated, and our troops, who had been previously landed, took possession of the town and fort of Portsmouth, and also of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, without the least opposition. Several ships and vessels also fell into our hands; some vessels were burned by the enemy themselves, among which were two large French ships, laden with one thousand hogsheads of tobacco. Apprehending that many more rebel vessels had proceeded up the river, Sir George Collier despatched the *Cornwallis* galley, two gun boats, four flat boats, manned and armed, together with four privateers, which had desired to receive orders from Sir George, under the command of Lieutenant Bradley, assisted by Lieutenants Hitchcock and Johnson, in pursuit of them. This enterprise proved very successful, our people having taken and burnt a great number of the enemy's vessels, many of which were on the stocks ready for launching. Among the captures was the *Black Snake*,

a rebel privateer of fourteen guns, which, after being cannonaded by the gun boats, was carried by boarding, with the loss of some of the rebels; on our side two men were wounded.

In the mean time, some small ships, under the direction of Captain Creyke, of the Otter, were ordered up the main branch of the Chesapeak, and their movements were so judiciously conducted, that the enemy were extremely harassed and distressed; many of their vessels having been destroyed and others captured.

The Reasonable, remaining stationed before the town of Hampton with some armed tenders, blocked up that port and the navigation of James river. Elizabeth river was already secured by the squadron which had gone up with Sir George Collier; and Captain Creyke's little squadron rendered the ingress and egress of the Chesapeak almost impracticable for the rebel vessels.

Thus, within a fortnight from the arrival of our fleet and army upon the coast, the Americans suffered a most prodigious loss. Several thousand barrels of pork, with other provisions in proportion, which had been prepared for General Washington's army, and a great quantity of stores were destroyed at Suffolk and at Shepherd's. In other places these articles were brought off. Above one hundred and thirty ships and vessels of all sorts were destroyed or taken: of these seventeen prizes were brought away; among those destroyed or taken were some privateers and vessels of force. All those upon the stocks were burned; a considerable quantity of naval stores were brought off; and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships, that was not conveniently portable, was destroyed.

The great success which this well planned expedition met with, and the present favourable aspect of affairs, infinitely exceeding the most sanguine expectations of both the naval and military commanders, together with

the flattering hopes which the loyalists, according to their usual custom, held out, of the general disposition of the people of that colony to return to their obedience, forcibly influenced the mind of Sir George Collier, in his letter to General Sir Henry Clinton, to urge the advantages which would accrue from converting Portsmouth into a place of arms, and rendering it an exceedingly safe and secure asylum for ships against an enemy, and not to be forced even by great superiority. This opinion Sir George Collier declared that he delivered as a sea officer; and certainly no one was better competent to decide upon such a subject.\* Accordingly, he observed that the retention of the harbour of Portsmouth in our hands appeared to him of more real consequence and advantage than any other which the crown then possessed in America; for, by securing this, the whole trade of the Chesapeake would be at an end, and, consequently, the sinews of the rebellion destroyed.

It does not appear that General Clinton saw these matters in the same light in which they were viewed by Sir George Collier. Portsmouth was certainly a place removed from succour, and, in a manner, surrounded with the greatest forces of the enemy. General Clinton sent an order for the immediate return of the expedition.† Accordingly, having first demolished fort Nelson, and set fire to the store-houses, and all the other buildings in the dock-yards at Gosport, the fleet and army, with their prizes and booty, arrived safely at New York on the 29th of May, after a most favourable passage of little more than three days.

The squadron which had so successfully performed these

\* London Gazette, No. 11,989.

† It is not unlikely that General Clinton might have been determined to the more speedy recall of the forces from the Virginia adventure on account of an expedition, which he was on the point of undertaking, up the North river.

various operations, was composed of the following vessels :—

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Raisable . . . .	64 . . . .	Sir George Collier, commodore
Rainbow . . . . .	44 . . . .	
Ottei . . . . .	14 . . . .	Captain Richard Creyke
Diligent . . . . .	14 . . . .	Lieutenant Walbeoff
Haerlem . . . . .	12 . . . .	————— Rogers
Cornwallis galley . . . .		————— Spry

And some private ships of war and 22 transports.

Sir George Collier's squadron had no sooner returned than it was employed on a very important operation up the North river, in concert with a detachment of troops, under the command of Major-General Vaughan. The object of this expedition was to obtain possession of the two important posts of Verplanks Neck, and Stoney Point, posts which were on nearly opposite points of land; the first being on the east, and the other on the west side of North river, and were of the utmost importance for keeping the communication open between the eastern and western colonies, the great pass called Kingsferry, lying directly between them. Sir Henry Clinton observing that the enemy were bestowing great labour and expense in constructing very strong works at these important posts, resolved to attack them when they should be nearly completed, and thus enable himself with little work and few materials to establish a post of tolerable security. The expedition sailed on the 30th of May, and was crowned with immediate and complete success. The squadron consisted of the Raisable, Camilla, Vulture sloops, Cornwallis, Crane, Philadelphia galleys, and two gun boats. The army having landed in the neighbourhood of fort La Fayette, their attack was supported by Sir George Collier, who advanced the galleys and gun boats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued on all sides during the day; and, as soon as it was dark, Sir George ordered the Vulture and Cornwallis galley to pass



the fort, and anchor above it, in order to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. This had the desired effect, the enemy surrendered at discretion.\*

Having accomplished this object, the squadron returned to New York, and was soon after engaged in another expedition of a very different character. The numberless small cruizers, whale-boats, and other craft of that nature, from the Connecticut coasts, which infested the sound, lying between that colony and Long Island, were so watchful and constant by their depredations, and their situation afforded them such opportunities, that they had nearly destroyed the trade to and from New York on that side, to the very great inconvenience and distress of that city, as well as of the fleet and army. Upon this account, General Sir Henry Clinton and Sir George Collier determined on a course of desultory invasions along that coast, with a view of curing the evil, by cutting off the means of depredation by the destruction of their piratical craft, and, so far as it could be done, of their other vessels and materials for building.

The squadron anchored off Newhaven on the 5th of July; the transports which accompanied it on this service, having on board a body of troops consisting of two thousand six hundred men, under the command of General Tryon, and Brigadier-general Garth, an officer of distinguished merit and activity. The *Renown*, *Thames*, *Otter*, and two armed vessels, were sent to block up New London, and the east entrance of the Sound; and Sir George proceeded by the way of Hell-gates, with his majesty's ships *Camilla*, *Scorpion*, *Halifax* brig, and *Hussar* galley, together with the transports, and landed the troops in two divisions at the town of Newhaven, which, after an irregular resistance from the Americans, was taken possession of by the British, with

\* London Gazette, No. 11,995.

a small fort at the entrance of the harbour. After destroying many warehouses, filled with naval and military stores, together with several vessels and whale boats, the troops were re-embarked, and, two days afterwards, our flat boats, covered by the galley and gun boats, landed the army near Fairfield, though opposed by the militia and some continental troops. The whole town and several whale boats were burnt: and the troops, having re-embarked without molestation, were landed three days after in three divisions, at the town of Norwalk, which, on account of the treacherous conduct of the Americans, in murdering the troops from windows of houses, after safeguards were granted them, was destroyed, together with five large vessels, two privateer brigs on the stocks, twenty whale boats, two saw mills, a considerable salt work, and several warehouses of stores and merchandizes. The town of Greenfield suffered the same chastisement. The navigation of the Sound having been thus cleared for some time from the numerous pirates who infested it, and the passage to Rhode island rendered more safe and secure, the fleet returned to New York, on the 13th of July, having lost in this expedition not more than one hundred and fifty men in killed and wounded.\*

The American privateers at this time abounded upon the coasts; and his majesty's armed sloops *Diligent* and *Haerlem*. commanded by the lieutenants Walbeoff and Rogers, were both taken by them; the former after an obstinate action, the latter by a very superior force of armed vessels. †

The surprize of Verplanks and Stoney Point, had drawn General Washington and his army from the Jerseys, to the high, strong, and mountainous country above those posts, and on both sides of the North river. In this

\* London Gazette. September 24, 1779. † Ibid.

position he remained, notwithstanding the utmost effort on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, to draw him down into the flat country, for the purpose of bringing on a general engagement.

While the hostile armies were thus watching each other's motions, a body of Americans, under the command of General Wayne, surprised and stormed the important post of Stoney Point. Immediately, Sir George Collier moved with the frigates and transports, on board the latter of which part of the army was embarked. On the appearance of the ships, the enemy evacuated the post, burnt the works, and carried off part of the cannon, and all the mortars. Our troops recovered possession of the pass, and strengthened it against future attacks.

On the 16th of June, Colonel Maclean, having previously sailed from Halifax with six hundred troops, escorted by the Albany, North, and Nautilus, sloops of war, landed and established a strong post, extremely well chosen, for annoying the enemy, on the river Penobscot, in the eastern confines of New England, where that colony borders on Nova Scotia. Alarmed at this transaction, the Americans immediately equipped an expedition to the Penobscot, for the purpose of dislodging our troops; and the command of their land and sea forces was committed to General Lovell and Commodore Saltenstall. On the 25th of July, the enemy's fleet, amounting to thirty-seven sail, appeared in sight, and, at two in the afternoon, their armed vessels commenced a fire upon our three ships of war and a battery of four twelve pounders, which Colonel Maclean had thrown up on the bank of the river, for the protection of the shipping. Their fire was returned with so much warmth, that they were soon compelled to retire. However, they renewed the attack on the following day, but met with the same success. On the night of the 25th, and during the 26th

and 27th, the enemy made several attempts to land, but were constantly repulsed by our troops. On the morning of the 28th, however, under cover of a very heavy cannonade, they effected their purpose. Our people were thus reduced to the necessity of defending the works which they had hastily constructed; and, as the enemy had erected a battery on an island, at the entrance of the harbour, near our shipping, our ships removed higher up the river. The attack was carried on from the 30th of July, to the 12th of August, with great spirit, by the Americans; and the defence was no less vigorous on the part of the British. On the morning of the 14th of August, at four o'clock, Colonel Maclean, being without the fort reconnoitring, and perceiving an unusual degree of quiet in the enemy's camp, sent a small party to make a more close examination; but, to their surprise, they found that the enemy had abandoned their works, and had embarked all their artillery and men during the night. While our troops were proceeding to increase the confusion manifest among the enemy's shipping, a fleet appeared in sight, which soon explained the mystery of their sudden re-embarkation. This was the fleet commanded by that brave, vigilant and indefatigable seaman, Commodore Sir George Collier, who, immediately on receiving the intelligence of the attack at Ponobscot, sailed from Sandy Hook on the 3d of August, to its relief. At first, the American commodore drew up his squadron, and made a shew of resistance; but, on the approach of the British frigates, his resolution forsook him, and a most ignominious flight followed, which terminated in the capture and destruction of the whole American squadron, amounting to nineteen armed vessels, and twenty-four transports.

NAVAL HISTORY

*Squadron at Ponobscot, under the command of Sir George Collier in August, 1779*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Reasonable.....	61 .....	} Sir George Collier, commodore } Captain
Greyhound.....	32 .....	
Blonde .....	32 .....	— And. Barclay
Virginia .....	32 .....	— John Orde
Galatea .....	20 .....	— Robert Biggs
Camilla .....	20 .....	— Henry Collins
Otter .....	14 .....	— Richard Creyke.
* Albany . . . . .	14	
† North .....	1½	
* Nautilus .....	18	

\* Were at Ponobscot before the arrival of Sir George Collier

*American Naval Force at Ponobscot commanded by Commodore Saltenstall, and how disposed of, in August, 1779.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	HOW DISPOSED OF.
Warren .....	32	} Blown up.
Monmouth .....	24	
Vengeance .....	24	
Putnam.....	22	
Sally .....	22	
Hector .....	20	
Black Prince .....	18	
Sky Rocket .....	16	

	BRIGS.	
Active .....	16	} Blown up.
Defence .....	16	
Hazard .....	16	
Diligence.....	14	
Tyrannicide.....	14	
Providence (sloop) .....	14	
Springfield (schooner).....	12	} Taken.
Hampden .....	20	
Hunter .....	18	
Nancy .....	16	} Taken by the squadron on its passage to Ponobscot.
Rover .....	10	

Besides twenty-four sail of transports and victuallers which were destroyed, and some provision vessels taken.

Having successfully frustrated the designs of the enemy in this quarter, Sir George Collicr returned to New York, and soon after Vice-admiral Arbuthnot arrived from England, and assumed the command of the fleet.\* Sir George Collier embarked on board the *Daphne*, Captain Chinnery, which left New York for England, on the 3d of November.

Admiral Count D'Estaing, having been ordered by his court to quit the West Indies, where we shall find he did not signalize himself greatly, proceeded with a strong fleet, to the coast of North America. His first object, which was expected to be accomplished with little difficulty, was the destruction of the small force under General Prevost, and, consequently, freeing the southern colonies from all their present danger and alarm. The second was of greater importance, and likely to be attended with much greater difficulty and danger; and that was, a design to attack, in conjunction with General Washington, the British force at New York, by sea and land at the same time: and thus, by the reduction of that island and its dependencies, along with the consequent ruin of the opposite fleet and army, to bring the war on that continent to a final conclusion.

Hitherto, the French had done little or nothing for their new allies, the Americans: and it was deemed essential that the expectations of the latter should not be disappointed. With this view, Count D'Estaing arrived on the coasts of America, in all the pride and ostentation of a conqueror, and anchored with the French fleet, on the 9th of September, off the bar of Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah. This sudden and unexpected appearance of the French fleet on the coasts of

\* The American force destroyed in this expedition, was little, if at all, inferior, whether with respect of ships or guns, to the royal navy of England, for several years after the accession of Queen Elizabeth

South Carolina and Georgia, occasioned some unavoidable losses to the British navy. For, the *Experiment* man-of-war, of fifty guns, commanded by the gallant Sir James Wallace, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the attack upon the French squadron in Concale bay,<sup>\*</sup> on her passage from New York to the Savannah with supplies, had the misfortune to fall in with the French fleet; and, although she had been already dismasted in a violent storm, she made a gallant and desperate resistance, against an irresistible superiority of force, in view of the hostile fleet. The *Ariel*, of twenty guns, Captain Thomas Mackenzie, also shared the same fate, after a sanguinary and most obstinate action.

Soon after D'Estaing's arrival, the French troops were landed, and formed a junction with the American forces from Charlestown, under General Lincoln. This was no sooner done, than Count D'Estaing sent a most haughty summons to the garrison at Savannah, demanding its immediate surrender. General Prevost, who commanded in the town, having only a small part of his force with him, endeavoured to parry off the necessity of returning a final answer, and to gain time, in the hope, that, in the interim, he should be joined by the remainder of his troops. This manœuvre, succeeded; and before the time which had been granted for deliberation had elapsed, Colonel Maitland and Lieutenant Gainsborough, of the navy, having surmounted the greatest difficulties, arrived in the garrison with a reinforcement from the island of Port Royal. Their junction gave fresh strength and spirits to the defenders; and an answer was accordingly returned to Count D'Estaing, that they were unanimously determined to defend themselves to the last man. Nothing could prevent the sailors, who had been all drawn from the ships to construct and man the batteries, from ex-

<sup>\*</sup> See page 457.

pressing their usual ardour, by giving three loud cheers, upon firing the signal gun for the recommencement of hostilities.

His majesty's ships the *Rose* and *Savannah* brig were sunk on the bar, at the entrance of the river, to prevent the approach of the enemy's ships. The siege was prosecuted with the greatest vigour by the combined forces of France and America; and the spirit, vigour of exertion, and perseverance in toil, which were displayed in carrying on the works of defence, were never surpassed by any event of the same kind recorded in history. From the general to the private centinel; from the commanders of the royal frigates to the common seamen; every man, without distinction, was employed in the hardest labour, and cheerfully underwent his share of the toil. The enemy were repulsed with great slaughter in all their repeated attacks; and though the houses were destroyed, and many women, children, and negroes were sufferers by the bombardment, yet the works, amidst all this violent cannonade, daily acquired additional strength, not only by the labour and exertion bestowed upon them, but by the judgment employed in their direction.

On the 9th of October, the allies made a general assault on the British lines, with their utmost force, and with great fury. But, being repulsed with the loss of nearly twelve hundred men, of which the French acknowledged forty-four officers, and about seven hundred private men, on their side only; nothing was thenceforward thought of but the means of getting away. In little more than a week, after the failure of this assault, it was discovered, upon the clearing up of a fog, that the French and Americans had abandoned their camps in the preceding night; and, lest they might be pursued by the victors, during their retreat, they broke down all the bridges in their rear, and prosecuted their respective routes with the greatest celerity.



D'Estaing found his fleet as much out of condition and as dispirited as his army. He accordingly re-embarked the wreck of the French troops and on the 1st of November, proceeded with the greater part of his fleet to France, having sent the remainder to the West Indies.

Thus terminated, in precipitate and disgraceful flight, an expedition which was vauntingly destined to effect the conquest of Georgia and, that the world may form a correct judgment of the skill and valour exhibited by the British, I have given an exact list of the respective naval forces employed, by which it will appear, that the French were infinitely superiour to us in ships, men, and weight of metal.

*A List of the French Fleet off Savannah.*

FIRST DIVISION.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS	GUNS
Le Guennet .....	74	Le Provence .....	64
Le Magnifique.....	74	Le Maisnillois .....	64
Le Cæsar .....	74	Le Fantasque .....	64
Le Vengeur .....	74		

SECOND DIVISION.

La Languedoc .....	96	Le Valliant . . . . .	72
Le Robuste .....	74	L'Artisan .....	64
L'è Zelé .....	74	Le Sagittane .....	54
L'Hannibal .....	74		

THIRD DIVISION.

Tonnant.....	80	Le Dauphin Royale..	70
Le Diademe .....	74	Le Reflexé .....	64
L'Hector .....	74	Le Rodenque, armé	
Le Fendant .....	74	en flute .....	54

FRIGATES.

La Fortuné .....	40	La Chumere .....	36
L'Amazon .....	36	La Bondeuse .....	36
L'Iphigeme .....	36	La Bricole.....	36
La Blanche .....	36	La Lys .....	18

*A List of the Ships and Vessels under the command of Captain John Henry, at Savannah, when it was attacked by the French, under the Comte D'Estaing, in September, 1779 —*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Fowey .....	20 .....	Captain John Henry
Rose .....	20 .....	—— John Brown
Vigilant .....	20 .....	—— H. C. Christian
Keppel (brig) .....	12 .....	Lieutenant T. Whitworth
German (A. S.) ....	12 .....	—— Moubiay
Savannah (A. S.) ....	14 .....	—— Fisher.

GALLEYS.

Comet	Vindictive
Scourge	Viper.

HALF GALLEYS.

Thunder	Hornet.
Snake	

These were the whole of our naval transactions in North America during the present year. But, before we quit this quarter of the world, it will be proper to observe that the secret expeditions, which sailed from Cadiz early in the present year, and which I have before considered as a marked indication of the hostile mind of Spain, and of the culpable ignorance of the British ministry, had all safely reached their places of destination before the rupture between the two countries.\* It was also afterwards ascertained, from various concurrent circumstances, that the Spanish governors and commanders, in America and the West Indies, were acquainted with the intended war between Spain and England long before the declaration presented on the 16th of June, by the Marquis D'Almadovar to the court of London. They were even informed of the precise time at which that event would take place: for war was declared in the island of Porto Rico a few days after the delivery of the Spanish rescript in London; and it is certain that English vessels were carried into the Havannah, as prizes, before any intelligence of that mea-

\* See what has been said on this subject in page 253.

sure could have been possibly received in America. Plans were accordingly laid, and preparations made to the time, which afforded advantage at the commencement of hostilities. In no instance was the effect of this pre-intelligence so apparent, and so ruinous, as in the loss which it occasioned of the British settlements on the Mississippi, along with the capture of the troops destined for their protection. Our settlements in that part of Louisiana fell an easy conquest to the Spanish governor, Don Bernardo de Galvez.

Our small squadron on the Newfoundland station was very active in protecting the fishery and trade, from the depredations of the enemy's privateers, although Rear-admiral Edwards, who commanded it, had only three ships of war for this service. These were the *Portland*, of fifty guns, Rear-admiral Edwards, *Licorne*, thirty-two guns, Honourable Captain Cadogan, *Surprize*, twenty-eight guns, Captain Samuel Reeve. On the 14th of July, Captain Reeve, lying in St. John's harbour, received intelligence of an American privateer being off that port; he immediately slipt his cables, and, after a short chase, captured her. She proved to be the *Wild Cat*, from Boston, mounting fourteen guns and seventy-five men, and had taken on the preceding day the *Egmont* schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Gardener, who, with twenty of his men were on board when she surrendered. Captain Reeve also captured, on the 13th of October, on the banks of Newfoundland, the *Jason* and *Monmouth* American privateers, the former a ship of twenty guns, nine-pounders, and one hundred and twenty men; the latter, a brig of fourteen guns, and sixty-five men. The *Licorne*, also, commanded by Captain Cadogan, took, after an action of half an hour, *L'Audacieuse*, French privateer of twenty-four six-pounders, and one hundred and ninety-four men, twenty-two of whom were killed and seventeen wounded. On the same cruize, he cap-

tured, the General Sullivan American privateer, twenty-four six-pounders, and one hundred and six men.

Our attention must, in the next place, be directed to the Naval operations in the West Indies, where Vice-admiral Byron arrived, on the 6th of January, and joined Rear-admiral Barrington, at St. Lucia, with nine sail of the line. The opportune arrival of Admiral Byron, just after the double repulse which D'Estaing had met with at St. Lucia, and the surrender of that island to Admiral Barrington, enabled our fleet to assume a superiority over the French in that quarter. No means were accordingly spared to draw M. D'Estaing to an engagement; but though our fleet repeatedly insulted him in the harbour of Port Royal, with a view of provoking him to quit the security afforded him by that fastness, their endeavours were fruitless. There was little, if any, disparity of force between the two fleets; but the British naval fame was still strong in memory; and the event of the attempt upon Admiral Barrington served to impress it with yet greater force. Count D'Estaing's expectation of daily reinforcements, justified his conduct.

M. de Grasse, notwithstanding the vigilance of our commanders, arrived safely, with a large convoy, and a considerable force, at Martinique; and, about the same time, Admiral Rowley joined the British squadron, with several ships of war from Europe. Although these reinforcements produced no great difference in the comparative strength of the hostile fleets, which were still pretty equally balanced in that respect; yet nothing could induce D'Estaing to hazard a general engagement. Indeed, he adhered so pertinaciously to this conduct, that when, upon different occasions of separation in the British squadrons, or other circumstances which seemed to offer advantage, he sometimes ventured to sail out of Port Royal; yet he more than once, under circumstances of apparent disgrace, retreated again into that harbour, from

the eager pursuit and insult of an enemy, who was not at all superiour to him, either in force or in number.\*

On the 30th of January, his majesty's sloop the *Weazle*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Captain Lewis Robinson, with despatches on board, was captured off St. Eustatia, by *La Boudeuse*, French frigate, of thirty-six guns. Captain Vincent, in the *Yarmouth*, of sixty-four guns, being on a cruize off the island of Antigua, discovered, and chased, six sail, about five o'clock in the evening, on the 7th of March. At nine, he came up with the largest, which, upon being hailed, hoisted American colours, and fired a broadside into the *Yarmouth*. The engagement continued for about twenty minutes, when, on a sudden, the American blew up, and being very near to the *Yarmouth*, a great part of the wreck fell on board her, which cut her rigging and sails to pieces, killed five men, and wounded twelve others. On the 12th, Captain Vincent being in chace, saw a large piece of a wreck with four men on it, upon which he gave up the chace, and bore down to pick them up. They were the only surviving part of the unfortunate crew of the ship which had blown up, while engaging the *Yarmouth*; and it was ascertained from them, that the ship was the *Randolph*, American privateer, of thirty-six guns, and three hundred and five men.

An occasion now offered, which fully demonstrated the propriety and judgment of M. D'Estaing's conduct, in avoiding a general action with the British fleet, and amply rewarded the perseverance with which he adhered to his system. About the middle of June, a very considerable and valuable fleet of merchant-men, having assembled at St. Christopher's, from the different West India islands, bound to England, induced Admiral Byron to convoy them

\* Ann. Reg. 1779, p. 200. It will be presently seen, from a list of the respective fleets, that we were not superiour to the enemy in force.

with his whole squadron, a considerable part of their way. Accordingly, he sailed with his whole force about the end of the month. Indeed, no separation of it could have been ventured upon with any degree of safety; for we had no port in those islands of sufficient strength to have afforded protection to the remaining division of the fleet, against the great superiority of land as well as naval force, which D'Estaing had in his hands. On the other hand, the French commander would have had it in option to pursue the convoy, and if he even failed of overtaking it, he could scarcely fail to intercept the squadron on its return, which had been sent for its protection. The measure of affording a strong protection to the trade was the more indispensable, as it was known that M. de la Motte Piquet was then on his way from France, with a strong reinforcement to D'Estaing; and no common or ordinary convoy would have been sufficient for the protection of the trade, in case of its falling in with his squadron.

No wisdom in the design, or judgment in the execution, can at all times prevent measures from proving unfortunate, as the present did, in a high degree. The first consequence of the departure of the fleet was the loss of the valuable island of St. Vincent, which was taken by an handful of French, from Martinique, under the command only of a naval lieutenant. The disgraceful capitulation of this island, garrisoned by seven companies of regular troops, under the conduct of a British lieutenant-colonel, to a body of four hundred and fifty Frenchmen, without the firing of a single shot on either side, has never been satisfactorily accounted for. The oppression and inhumanity, which the inordinate covetousness of the planters had induced them, some years before, to exercise upon the Caraihs, and the circumstance of that people having immediately joined the French upon their landing, may have contributed to the immediate surrender of the

island; for we find, in the articles of capitulation, that the inhabitants regarded the Caribs with so much terror, that they claimed with fervency, the protection of the French against them. The conditions were sufficiently favourable to the inhabitants, being in general drawn upon the model of those at Dominique.

The loss of the valuable island of St. Vincent was immediately followed by a still greater loss, in the capture, by the enemy, of the island of Grenada. D'Estaing, having been reinforced by M. de la Motte, with a supply of troops, and of naval and military stores, during the absence of Admiral Byron's fleet, immediately commenced offensive operations, by directing his whole force against Grenada, off which island he arrived on the 2d of July; and, as its whole defence consisted only of about one hundred and fifty soldiers and artillery men, and three or four hundred armed inhabitants, against ten thousand land forces, and a powerful fleet, Lord Macartney, the governor, found it necessary to surrender at discretion, after a short, but vigorous resistance.\*

In the mean time, Admiral Byron had returned to St. Lucia, where he arrived on the 1st of July; his fleet being weakened by the convoy which he had sent with the trade to England. It was at St. Lucia that the admiral received the first intelligence of the fate of St. Vincent; upon which, he resolved, in concert with General Grant to proceed, without delay, with the land and naval forces, for its recovery. In their passage, they received intelligence that D'Estaing had attacked Grenada; but this intelligence was extremely imperfect, Lord Macartney having been represented to them as capable of holding out for several days, while the French fleet was not stated at any thing near its real force. Nor were they yet apprized of the arrival of M. de la Motte, and of his

\* London Gazette, No. 12,015.

junction with the French commander in chief. Accordingly, they altered their design of attempting the recovery of St. Vincent, and steered their course for the relief of Grenada. \*

In this ignorance of the real state of things, the British fleet came within sight of the French, at the break of day, on the 6th of July. The French who had been at anchor off the harbour of St. George, having received information of the approach of the British fleet, were then, for the most part, getting under weigh, and stretching out to sea; and those which had not already hoisted their anchors, immediately slipped their cables, and pursued the same course.

The object of the British admiral was to bring on a close and general engagement, on account of that mode of action being most congenial to the nautical character of British seamen; and because, in the event of success, the conquered islands would be recovered at one blow, and we should obtain a decisive superiority in those seas. M. D'Estaing, on the other hand, sought to avoid a general action, that he might not forfeit the new possessions which he had acquired; and the experience he had of the prowess of British seamen, in the battle with Admiral Barrington, at the close of the preceding year, made him cautious of risking, in the doubtful issue of a bloody and desperate conflict, if it could be avoided, the advantages he had already acquired.

Such were the motives of the hostile commanders; whence, it is evident, that, as the French ships were cleaner, and, consequently, sailed much better than the English, the choice, with respect of the mode of fighting, was thrown, in a great measure, into their hands, whether it should be partial or general.

Admiral Byron discovering the intention of the enemy,

\* London Gazette, No. 12,012.



made the signal for a general chase, and for the ships to engage, and to form as they could get up. As the enemy formed their line of battle, their strength and superiority were plainly perceived, and the signals for chase and close engagement being still kept abroad, a partial action commenced at about half-past seven, A. M. between Vice-admiral Barrington, in the Prince of Wales, supported by the Boyne, Sultan, Grafton, Cornwall, Lion, and Monmouth, with almost the whole of the French fleet, whose advantage in sailing, enabled them to elude every effort of the British commander to bring on a general and decisive engagement. Nothing could surpass the spirit and resolution with which Admiral Barrington and his colleagues, made and supported the attack. Being obliged to sustain the whole fire of the enemy, for a considerable time before they could be supported, they suffered extremely, both in damage to the ships, and in loss of men. This was the case with other ships which were engaged; for the superiority of the French ships in sailing, enabled them to elude every effort that was made by the British commanders to bring on a close and decisive action. It sometimes happened, that the engagement was close and warm, but this was only in particular instances, and when the evolutions on both sides, and the eagerness on one, threw a few of the British ships into a situation which obliged them to endure a conflict with a much greater number of the enemy. Thus, the Grafton, Captain Collingwood, the Cornwall, Captain Edwards, and the Lion, Captain Cornwallis, sustained the whole fire of the French fleet as it passed them successively on a tack; and Captain Fanshaw, of the Monmouth, having gallantly attempted, singly, to arrest the progress of the enemy's van, hoping to bring on, by that means, a general action, it will not be wondered at, that, as his design failed, his ship should be little better than a wreck. The Suffolk, Rear-admiral Rowley, who had been left

originally for the protection of the transports, with the *Fame*, Captain Butchart, suffered likewise considerably in similar situations.

From the peculiar circumstances and situations of the fleets, together with the opposite views of the commanders, the action ceased about twelve o'clock; and, although it was partially renewed at two, and a random firing was kept up at other times, during the evening, when the fleets had increased their distance about three miles, yet nothing essential was done on either side.

The object of the British admiral was now totally changed from what it had been at the commencement of the action. The superiority of the enemy had been discovered very soon after the engagement had begun; nevertheless, some of our ships had pushed boldly during the heat of the action, to the very entrance of the harbour of St. George, thinking by that manœuvre, to administer courage at least, if not succour, to their supposed friends in the garrison. Their astonishment and mortification may be well conceived, when they beheld French colours on the fort, and saw themselves fired at by the batteries. Their main object, in the relief of the island, no longer existed. The island was lost; and their vast inferiority, by sea and land, rendered them utterly incapable of attempting its recovery. The care of the transports was a constant impediment to them during the engagement; and their protection now, together with that of the disabled ships, was the great and only object of consideration.

Three of the disabled ships were at a great distance a-stern; and one of them, the *Lion*, had suffered so extremely, that, being incapable of attempting to rejoin the fleet, she was obliged to bear away singly, in the best manner she could, before the wind; and had the good fortune to arrive some time after at Jamaica, although, in point of condition, little better than a wreck. The

French might have cut off the two other disabled ships; but they would not attempt it, lest it should bring on a close and decisive engagement. Indeed, M. D'Estaing appears to have been actuated throughout the whole of his naval operations by the same inflexible determination not to hazard a general action. His conduct was obviously swayed by reasons of state, not by military feelings; for, with such a manifest superiority in his line of battle ships, and such a number of large and stout frigates, he neither attempted to cut off the transports nor the two disabled ships; nor would even venture to detach a single ship in pursuit of the *Lion*.

Such was the state of things, at the end of the firing. The British Admiral sent instructions in the evening to the *Monmouth*, which was in nearly as disabled a condition as the *Lion*, and to the transports, to make the best of their way to Antigua or St. Christopher's; while his line, reduced to nineteen ships, several of which were greatly disabled, was drawn up at the close of the evening, at about three miles distance from the enemy, in full expectation of being attacked in the morning, not thinking it possible that, with so great a superiority, the French commander would suffer the transports to be carried off without pursuit or molestation. But, M. D'Estaing persevered in his system, and returned, during the night, with his fleet to Grenada.

It was singular enough, that the two wrecks, the *Monmouth* and the *Lion*, should fall in with each other at sea; and that, being mutually disfigured, Captain Cornwallis, mistook the opposite for an enemy, and was accordingly bringing up his torn vessel, with the greatest eagerness, to the encounter of the other, which was not quite in so bad a condition. \*

\* Letter from Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker, commander in chief of his majesty's ships at Jamaica, to the Admiralty. London Gazette, No. 12,018.

The loss of the British fleet was moderate, amounting to one hundred and eighty-three killed, and three hundred and forty-six wounded; but the other circumstances of the action were exceedingly grievous; for the great damage sustained by the ships, particularly in their masts and rigging, for which the distant fire of the enemy was so well calculated, was a misfortune which could not be remedied without great difficulty, in that quarter, and loss of time. The consequences were, that it was no longer possible to dispute the empire of the sea in the West Indies, against so prodigious a superiority of force as the French possessed; and that a general panic was spread through all the British islands. But, although Count D'Estaing did not follow up his new conquest, by any further attempts; yet, upon learning the weak state of his enemy, he did not neglect to return the former visits he had received at Martinico, by parading, for a day, with his whole force in sight of the island of St. Christopher, as if it were to challenge him to action.

The French loss in the action was prodigious. Their own account, published by authority, in which they claimed a victory, and for which the French king ordered a general thanksgiving, gives no farther specification of their loss than what relates to the officers, which could not be concealed. The number of officers killed or wounded, according to this list, was considerable, both in the naval and land departments. Of the naval, three commanders of ships were killed: and a captain and five lieutenants fell in one ship. All the accounts, however, concur in describing the French loss of men as immense; and it is estimated, at the lowest computation, at two thousand seven hundred men, of whom twelve hundred were slain. So great a slaughter was attributed to the vast number of troops which were crowded on board the ships.

Not long after this action, Vice-admiral Byron returned to England, and was succeeded in the command by Rear-

admiral Hyde Parker; and Count D'Estaing, as we have already seen; proceeded to North America for the relief of Georgia, in which object, his good fortune wholly deserted him, and he also returned to Europe.

*A list of the Fleet at the Leeward islands, under the command of Vice-admiral Byron, and the line of battle, in the action with the French Fleet, under the Comte D'Estaing, off Grenada, on the 6th of July, 1779.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.	COMMANDERS	K.	W.
Susfolk.....	74	617	{ J Rowley, commodore .. } { Captain H. C. Christian .. }	7	25
Boyne .....	68	520	— Her. Sawyer .....	12	36
Royal Oak ....	74	600	— Fitzherbert .....	4	12
Prince of Wales	74	617	{ Hon Vice-admiral Barington .. } { Captain Hill .. }	26	46
Magnificent....	74	600	— J. Elphinstone.....	8	11
Trident .....	64	500	— A. J. P. Molloy....	3	6
Fame .....	74	600	— Butchart .....	4	9
Sultan .....	74	600	— Alan Gardner .....	16	39
Princess Royal..	98	775	{ John Byron, Vice-admiral } { of the blue..... } { Captain Blau..... }	3	6
Albion .....	74	600	— George Bowyer ....	0	2
Stirling Castle..	64	500	— P. Carkett .....	2	6
Elizabeth.....	74	600	— Truscott .....	1	2
Cornwall .....	74	600	— Tim. Edwards ....	16	27
Monmouth ....	64	500	— Robert Fanshaw....	25	28
Grafton .....	74	600	— C. Collingwood ....	35	63
Medway .....	60	420	— W. Afleck .....	0	4
Lion .....	64	500	— Hon. W. Cornwallis	21	30
Ariadne, 20 guns, Captain Pingle, to repeat signals.					

*A list of the Officers who were killed and wounded.*

KILLED.

Lieutenant Bowen Pary, of the Royal Oak  
 ——— John Hutchins, of the Grafton  
 ——— John Veale, of the Sultan  
 Mr. Nicholas Bowen, gunner, of the Grafton.

WOUNDED.

Honourable Vice-admiral Barrington  
 Lieutenant Bielt, of the Grafton  
 ————— Richards, (Marines) Royal Oak  
 ————— Caldwell, 46th Regiment, Sultan  
 ————— Bowdens, 4th Regiment, Magnificent.

*Ships belonging to the Fleet, not in the action.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Conqueror .....	74 .....	Rear-admiral Hyde Parker
St. Alban's.....	64 .....	Captain Richard Onslow
Nonsuch .....	64 .....	———— Walter Griffith
Vigilant.....	64 .....	———— Sir Digby Dent
Yarmouth.....	64 .....	———— Francis Parry.

*French Fleet in the action of the 6th of July.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Le Languedoc .....	96	Le Magnifique .....	74
Le Tonnant .....	80	Le Valliant .....	74
Le Cæsar .....	74	Le Dauphin Royal ....	70
Le Hector .....	74	Le Province .....	64
Le Guerrier .....	74	Le Fantasque .....	64
Le Protecteur .....	74	Le St. Michael.....	64
Le Marseillois .....	74	Le Refleche .....	64
Le Zelé .....	74	L'Artisien .....	64
L'Hannibal .....	74	Le Vengeur .....	64
Le Dudeme .....	74	Le Sagittaire.....	54
Le Robuste .....	74	L'Amphion .....	54

The close of the year was distinguished by several gallant and successful actions, in these seas. On the 24th of October, Captain John Byron, of his majesty's ship Proserpine, of twenty-eight guns, and two hundred men, being on a cruise off Martin'co, fell in with, and after a short action, captured the Alcmena French frigate of thirty guns, and two hundred and twenty men, commanded by M. de Bonneval. The Cornwall and Actæon were in sight at the time she struck.\* It is remarkable,

\* Captain Byron some time after retook the Sphynx, Captain Sutton, which had been captured by the enemy.

that it was not until the capture of this vessel, that Rear-admiral Hyde Parker, who succeeded Admiral Byron in the command on the Leeward island station, received any certain intelligence of D'Estaing's departure with his fleet to the coast of North America. That vigilant commander, well seconded by Admiral Rowley, preserved so decided a superiority over M. de la Motte Piquet, during the latter part of this year, and the beginning of the ensuing, that they not only severely distressed the French trade, but they took and destroyed the greater part of a convoy within view of Fort Royal. About eight in the morning of the 18th of December, the Preston, being on the look-out between Martinico and St. Lucia, was observed to be standing over with the signal flying, for having discovered a fleet. Rear-admiral Parker, who was lying with the squadron in Gros Islet bay, with wonderful expedition, instantly put to sea, and stretched over to Fort Royal.

The fleet seen was soon ascertained to be an enemy's convoy, which was thrown into the greatest disorder when it perceived the British squadron to be in chase. About four in the afternoon, nine or ten sail of them were run on shore on the coast of Martinico, and set on fire by the boats of our ships. At the same time, one of our ships, the Boreas, had brought a French frigate to action in Fort Royal bay, and most probably would have carried her, had not M. de la Motte slipped his cables with two other seventy-four gun ships, and bore down to her assistance. The French admiral displayed great gallantry and dexterity, in thus putting out to sea; and by engaging the foremost of the British fleet, and again retiring under his batteries, he thereby afforded an opportunity to a considerable part of the convoy, to escape. This bold manœuvre had nearly endangered the admiral himself,

\* Admiral Boscawen had returned to England.

for having stood far out of the bay before he hauled his wind, the Conqueror, which was the headmost and weathermost ship of the British squadron, came up within gun shot of him; and from weathering considerably on each tack, produced a heavy cannonade as they approached and passed each other. The resolute and intrepid conduct of the brave Captain Griffith, cannot be so well described as it has been delineated in Admiral Parker's letter to the admiralty, in which he says, "The  
 "steadiness and coolness, with which, on every tack, the  
 "Conqueror received the fire of those three ships, and  
 "returned his own, working his ship with as much ex-  
 "actness, as if he had been turning into Spithead; and,  
 "on every board, gaining considerably on the enemy,  
 "gave me infinite pleasure; towards sun-set, the Albion  
 "had got well up to second the Conqueror, and the other  
 "ships were in action. The ships having got within the  
 "shoals, and within reach of the enemy's batteries, I  
 "called them off by the night signal, when it was with  
 "inexpressible concern I then heard that Captain Griffith  
 "was killed by the last broadside. The service cannot  
 "lose a better man or better officer."

Exclusive of Captain Griffith, the Conqueror had three men killed, and eleven wounded. The convoy had sailed from Marseilles, and was laden chiefly with provision and merchandize. Eight sail were taken, namely,

SHIPS	CANS.	MON.	TONS.
Le President .....	30	160	550
Le Bethun .....	30	160	550
† Le Monageire .....	30	160	650
L'Hercule.....	30	160	550
Le Marechal de Brisac ....	22	150	400
Le Juste .....	10	35	200
La Cleve .....	3	55	160
Le Jean Henrietta .....	2	30	160

\* London Gazette, March 1, 1780.

† Taken into the service, and named Albemarle.



Rear-admiral Parker having returned with his prizes to St. Lucia, he there received intelligence, on the 20th, that three large ships had been seen from the Morne, steering to the northward. Immediately, Rear-admiral Rowley, in the Suffolk, together with the Magnificent, Vengeance, and Stirling Castle, were detached in quest of them; and, on the 21st, he had the good fortune, after a chase of several hours, to intercept and capture them all. They proved to be three large French frigates, which were on their return from the Savannah to Martinico, La Fortune, of forty-two guns, and two hundred and forty-seven men, commanded by M. Marigny; La Blanche, of thirty-six guns, and two hundred and twelve men, M. Galissoniere; and the Ellis, of twenty-eight guns, and sixty-eight men, M. Fontenaux. These vessels were all added to the British navy. With this event, terminated the operations of the present year, in the Leeward islands. The squadron with which these enterprizes were accomplished consisted of,

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Princess Royal . . . . .	98 . . . . .	Hyde Parker, rear-admiral of the red
Suffolk . . . . .	74 . . . . .	} Joshua Rowley, rear-admiral of the blue } Captain H. C. Christian
Conqueroi . . . . .	74 . . . . .	
Magnificent . . . . .	74 . . . . .	John Elphinstone
Vengeance . . . . .	74 . . . . .	M. Clements
Cornwall . . . . .	74 . . . . .	Tim. Edwards
Sultan . . . . .	74 . . . . .	Alan Gardner
Albion . . . . .	74 . . . . .	George Bowyer
Elizabeth . . . . .	74 . . . . .	Hon. F. Maitland
Grafton . . . . .	74 . . . . .	Thomas Collingwood
Stirling Castle . . . . .	64 . . . . .	Ph. Carkett
Medway . . . . .	60 . . . . .	Wm. Affleck.

The last remaining scene of action, which in due order we have to describe, was on the Jamaica station, where

Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker commanded his majesty's ships. This squadron was composed of the following ships, *viz.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Bristol .....	50 .....	} Sir Peter Parker, vice-admiral } of the blue
Ruby .....	64 .....	
Salisbury .....	50 .....	——— Charles Inglis
Charon .....	44 .....	——— Hon. John Luttrell
Æolus .....	32	
Lowestoffe ....	28 .....	——— Christopher Parker
Pomona .....	28 .....	——— Chas. E. Nugent
Glasgow .....	20 .....	——— Thomas Lloyd
Porcupine ....	16 .....	——— John Pakenham
Jamaica .....	14	
Racehorse.....	10 .....	Lieutenant Trott.

It is evident, from the above list, that the squadron on the Jamaica station, had been considerably augmented since the year 1778. In that year, we had but one ship, the admiral's, there. But, in consequence of the loud and reiterated complaints and petitions of the Jamaica merchants and planters, which were warmly taken up in both houses of parliament, the ministry endeavoured to compensate for their former remissness, by sending a stronger land and sea force, for the protection of that valuable island.

On the 2d of June, the *Æolus*, *Ruby*, and *Jamaica* sloop, fell in with *La Prudente*, a remarkably fine French frigate, of thirty-six guns, and three hundred and fourteen men, off the island of *Gonave*, in the bite of *Leogane*. They fell in with her about one o'clock in the morning, and between seven and eight o'clock she struck; the *Ruby* having some time before got a breeze of wind, which carried her within point-blank shot of the enemy. Captain Everitt and one of the seamen were killed on board the *Ruby*, by random shot. Captain Deane being much

indisposed, Captain Everitt commanded the *Ruby* for a cruise. "By his death," said Admiral Sir Peter Parker, "the king has lost an humane and good officer, whose zeal and abilities to serve his country, placed him high in the esteem of his brother officers." *La Prudente* was added to the navy.

About this time, the bay-men on the Musquito and bay of Honduras shores, as the logwood cutters are called, being hard pressed, and in great danger of an attack from the Spaniards, who had actually landed at St. George's Key, which they plundered, after having treated the inhabitants with great cruelty, the governor of Jamaica despatched Captain Dalrymple with a small force and some arms to their relief. Admiral Parker likewise sent the *Porcupine* sloop of war, Captain John Pakenham, to co-operate with this small detachment for the protection of the settlement.

Sir Peter Parker had detached, about the same time, a small squadron, consisting of the *Charon*, of forty-four guns, Commodore the honourable John Luttrell; the *Lowestoffe*, of twenty-eight, Captain Charles Parker; the *Pomona*, of twenty-eight, Captain Charles E. Nugent; and the *Racehorse* schooner, of ten guns, Lieutenant Trott, to the bay of Honduras, in order to intercept some Spanish register ships, which, however, escaped into the excellent harbour, and under the protection of the strong fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa, where they were found too well secured for any attack by sea, which our small squadron was capable of making.

After the expulsion of the Spaniards from St. George's Key, Commodore Luttrell had the fortune to fall in with the *Porcupine* sloop of war, with Captain Dalrymple and his detachment, under convoy, on their return, having

performed the service on which they had been sent : nothing could have been more opportune. It was now agreed by the sea and land commanders to unite their forces, in an attack by sea and land upon Omoa ; a desperate attempt with their small force, but the success of which would ensure the conquest of the register ships, which still remained under the protection of the fort.

The labour and expense bestowed for many years by the Spanish government on the works of Omoa, ought to have rendered that fortress almost impregnable. The stone of which it was built was raised out of the sea and brought twenty leagues : the out-works were not finished, though a thousand men had been constantly employed upon them for twenty-five years. The walls were about twenty-eight feet high, surrounded by a deep, dry ditch, and the parapets, of solid stone, were eighteen feet in thickness. It was, however, to be considered only as a fort for the defence of the harbour, the town itself being entirely open. Its batteries exhibited forty pieces of artillery ; but it seemed to have been deficient in that respect, as well as in garrison. Our land force, by the junction of the bay-men, and the marines, who were entirely given by the commodore for that part of the service, somewhat exceeded five hundred men ; the defensive force far exceeded the number of the troops who stormed the fort. It being considered that a regular siege would be impracticable, from the want of a train of heavy artillery, and a sufficient number of men, as well as from the intense heat and insalubrity of the climate, it was resolved to attempt the place by escalade.

After having undergone, in his march from Porto Cavallo, fatigues, and surmounted obstacles which would have appalled any but British soldiers and seamen, Captain Dalrymple arrived within sight of the fort, at half a mile distance, on the 17th of October. On the 20th, at three in the morning, every disposition for the assault

by sea and land having been made, Captain Dalrymple, at the head of one hundred and fifty men, carrying the scaling ladders, moved down a neighbouring hill, where he remained waiting the signal from the *Charon*, which was to denote she had got under weigh, and would attack in twenty minutes. A little after four, the expected signal was made, and our brave handful of men advanced under the fire of our own batteries to the attack. The *Pomona* and the rest of the fleet also attracted the notice of the Spaniards by a well directed and terrible fire. The troops advanced in profound silence, arms trailed; and, in order to animate them, the parole was changed to *Bayonnette*, and the counter-sign, *Britons strike home*. In this order, amid the deafening roar of the artillery from the ships, and from our own battery, the heroic little band advanced undiscovered by the Spanish sentries, who were every two or three minutes passing the word *Alerto*, to the entrance of the ditch. There they were perceived by the enemy, and their drum beat to the alarm posts. Our troops were somewhat staggered for a moment; but, instantly recovering themselves, they applied their ladders to the wall, immediately under a battery of five guns. The first ladder was demolished by the flank guns of another bastion, and a midshipman was killed and five men badly wounded: the other ladders were damaged, but not broken. Two seamen got up first by one ladder, levelled their muskets at a body of above sixty Spaniards, drawn up, but retained their fire in perfect obedience to their orders until others had ascended; and such was the panic of the enemy, that these two seamen actually kept them in awe and motionless, while their comrades were mounting the ladders. So great indeed was the consternation of the enemy, that it seemed as if they had lost the use of their arms, although their officers were at their head encouraging them. Our seamen scrambling up the ladders, "down off the parapets they went," and, being

reinforced by marines and seamen, the Spaniards fled to the Casemates, and could not be brought to rally by all the efforts of their officers. The governor and principal officers then came forward and delivered up to Captain Dalrymple their swords, the garrison, and register ships, with the keys of the fort, and asked for their lives.

The prisoners amounted to three hundred and fifty-five rank and file, besides officers and inhabitants. The treasure had been removed from the fort on the approach of the British forces; but that on board the galleons, with the cargoes of other vessels in the harbour, and the value of the ships themselves, were estimated at about three millions of piastres, or pieces of eight. But no part of their loss was so severely felt by the Spaniards, as that of two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, newly arrived from Old Spain; an article so essential to the purification, and to the separation of their gold and silver ores from other bodies, that the value of their mines depended upon its constant supply. This, therefore, they offered to ransom at almost any price. "Their reasons for wishing it, determined me," says Commodore Luttrell, "not to part with a single ounce of quicksilver." Thus, the conquerors preferred the public good to their own private emolument, though the article in question was of no great value to themselves. Upon the same principle, they refused to ransom the fort, for which high offers were likewise made; and left a garrison for its defence; although their generous views were frustrated in this respect, by its subsequent loss, arising more from the unhealthiness of the place, than from any power or vigour exerted by the enemy in its recovery.\*

The characteristics of British seamen are so original and peculiar, that they actually separate them as a

\* London Gazette, No. 12046.

distinct body from all other classes of society. It is needless to say a word of their wonderful intrepidity, their dauntless courage, their unbounded generosity, and humanity. In the course of the storming of Fort Omoa, however, there occurred one scene, of so singular a nature, and exhibiting such a splendid trait of magnanimity, in a common seaman, that it must not be omitted in a Naval History of this empire.

A common sailor had singly scrambled over the wall, during the storming of the fort, and not contented with one cutlass, had taken two with him, one in each hand. Thus equipped, he met a Spanish officer without arms, who was just roused from sleep, and who, in the hurry and confusion, had forgotten his sword. The British tar, disdainng to take advantage of an unarmed foe, and willing to display his courage in single combat, magnanimously presented one of the cutlasses to the Spanish officer, telling him, "I scorn any advantage; you are now on a footing with me." The astonishment of the officer at such a surprising act of generosity, and at the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing less, from the uncouth and hostile appearance of his foe, than that of being cut into pieces, instantly and without mercy, could only be rivalled by the admiration which his relating the story excited in his countrymen.\*

Upon the circumstance being mentioned to Sir Peter Parker, at the return of the squadron, he appointed this intrepid fellow to be boatswain of a sloop of war. A few years after, either in a fit of madness, or of intoxication, he forgot the duties of his station, and struck the lieutenant of the Ferret sloop of war, for which he was tried by a court-martial, condemned to suffer death, and executed.

On the 12th of December, the Salisbury, of fifty guns,

Captain Charles Inglis, being on a cruise, off Port de Sall, in the bay of Honduras, captured, after a smart action, the San Carlos, Spanish private ship of war, mounting fifty guns, and three hundred and ninety-seven men, commanded by Don Juan Antonio Zavelleta, from Cadiz, bound to Fort Omoa. She was laden with brass cannon shot, five thousand stand of arms, and other military stores. The Salisbury had nine men killed, Mr. Millar, the master, and eight men wounded.

The only remaining incident of the present year was the loss of the Glasgow, of twenty guns, Captain Lloyd, while at anchor on the north side of the island of Jamaica. She took fire, through the carelessness of the ship's steward, in drawing off rum in the spirit-room. She was entirely consumed: but the crew were fortunately saved.

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END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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