THE HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR IN *NORTH-AMERICA*, AND THE *ISLANDS OF THE WEST-INDIES*,

INCLUDING

THE CAMPAIGNS OF MDCCLXIII AND MDCCLXIV AGAINST HIS MAJESTY'S INDIAN ENEMIES.

BY THOMAS MANTE,

ASSISTANT ENGINEER DURING THE SIEGE OF THE HAVANNA, AND MAJOR OF A BRIGADE IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1764.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXXII.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER;

THIS ATTEMPT TO RECORD

THE GLORIOUS ATCHIEVEMENTS

OF THE NAVY AND THE ARMY

EMPLOYED IN THE REDUCTION

OF CANADA, LOUISBOURG, GUADALOUPE,

MARTINICO, THE HAVANNA,

AND THE RETAKING OF NEWFOUNDLAND,

IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

MOST OBLIGED, OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

LONDON, AUGUST 12.
1772.

THOMAS MANTE.

CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

BOOK IV.

BOOK V.

BOOK VI.

letter

BOOK VII.

BOOK VIII.

BOOK IX.

BOOK X.

BOOK XI.

BOOK XII.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

BY the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, the boundaries of the French and Engliſh poſſeſſions in North America were ſo vaguely ſettled, as to allow the court of France new pretexts for extending her dominion in that part of the world, and to make ſuch attempts to encroach upon the Engliſh territories, as would in time totally exclude them from ſo vaſt a continent. Accordingly, the French, with this view, determined to erect a chain of forts on the back ſettlements of the Engliſh, from the river St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſſipi; they purſued, with inceſſant ardour, every method to ingratiate themſelves with the natives, and effectually win them over to their intereſt, whilſt the mother-country liberally contributed all the ſupplies requiſite to carry into execution theſe grand, however unfair, deſigns.

Repreſentations againſt ſuch proceedings were not neglected by the Engliſh. Memorials were delivered to the French miniſtry; and theſe produced the appointment of commiſſioners, who met at Paris, and opened their reſpective commiſſions on the 21ſt of September 1750. M. de la Galiſſioniere and M. de Silhouette were choſen on the part of France; and Mr. Shirley and Mr. Mildmay on that of Great Britain. The deſign of the court of London, in agreeing to this meaſure, was amicably

to ſettle the true limits of the French and Engliſh territories in North America; but it ſoon appeared, it was by no means that of the court of Verſailles. In proportion as the Engliſh commiſſioners advanced in their inquiries, ſuch futile objections were ſtarted, and ſuch unneceſſary delays contrived, by the French, as obliged Mr. Shirley and Mr. Mildmay to break up the conferences and return to England.

In the mean time, the French continued to erect forts on the weſtern frontiers of Virginia, which lie upon the Ohio; nor were they leſs attentive to what ſeemed to be another grand plan, that of encroaching upon ſuch parts of the northern colonies of the Engliſh as were actually inhabited. M. du Queſne, who ſucceeded M. de la Galiſſioniere in the government of Canada, having received inſtructions to take poſſeſſion of the countries on the Ohio for the crown of France, in the beginning of the year 1753, ordered the Sieur de St. Pierre with a detachment to take poſt on the river aux Bœufs, and there to remain until he received farther orders. De St. Pierre took poſt there accordingly, and erected a fort for it's ſecurity. Of this Mr. Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, had early intelligence; which was confirmed by a meſſenger he had diſpatched to explore the encroachments of the French, and reconnoitre their ſituation. This meſſenger reported, that the French had fifteen hundred regular troops in thoſe parts; that they had built three forts on the frontiers; that, as they had not met with any oppoſition, they were reſolved to maintain their ground: to which he added, that, unleſs the Engliſh likewiſe purſued vigorous meaſures, and built forts on the river Miſſiſſipi, the French would, in a ſhort time, fortify themſelves there ſo effectually, as to make it impoſſible to expel them. This

alarming advice induced Governor Dinwiddie to ſend, by Mr. Waſhington, the following ſpirited letter to the French commandant on the river aux Bœufs:

SIR,

THE lands upon the river Ohio, in the weſtern parts of the colony of Virginia, are ſo notoriouſly known to be the property of the crown of Great Britain, that it is a matter of equal concern and ſurprize to me, to hear that a body of French forces are erecting fortreſſes and making ſettlements upon that river, within his Majeſty's dominions. The many and repeated complaints I have received of theſe acts of hoſtility, lay me under the neceſſity of ſending, in the name of the king my maſter, the bearer hereof, George Waſhington, Eſq; one of the adjutants-general of the forces of this dominion, to complain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the ſubjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations, and the treaties now ſubſiſting between the two crowns. If theſe are facts, and you think fit to juſtify your proceedings, I muſt deſire you to acquaint me, by whoſe authority and inſtructions, you have lately marched from Canada with an armed force, and invaded the king of Great Britain's territories, in the manner complained of; that, according to the purport and reſolution of your anſwer, I may act agreeably to the commiſſion I am honoured with, from the king my maſter. However, Sir, in obedience to my inſtructions, it becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure; and that you would forbear proſecuting a purpoſe ſo interruptive of the harmony and good underſtand-

ing which his majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian king. I am, &c.

Williamsburgh,
October the 31st, 1753. ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

With this letter, Mr. Washington received instructions to procure all the intelligence he possibly could of the situation of the French, and the encroachments they had made. It was late in the season, namely, the 22d of November, before he could reach the Monangahela; on his arrival there, he found that the French troops had retired into winter-quarters. Three days after, however, he met some French deserters, who informed him, that they were part of an hundred men who had been sent with eight canoes laden with provisions from New Orleans to Kuskaskas, with a promise of being there joined by a party from the Mississipi to convoy them up the river; that the French had built four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, and garrisoned them with thirty or forty men; that, at New Orleans, near the mouth of the Mississipi, there were thirty-five companies of forty men each, with a fort of six carriage guns; and, at Black Islands, several companies, and a fort of eight guns. They also acquainted him, that there was a small palisadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Ouabach. An Indian trader, who accompanied these deserters, added, that, at Shanaoh town, he had seen a Sachem of the Six Nations, from whom he had learned, that a fort had been erected on Lake Erie; and another, on a small lake about fifteen miles distant, with a good road between them; that three Indian nations, subject to the French, had taken up the hatchet

hatchet againſt the Engliſh; that the French had aſſembled the Mingos and Delawares, telling them, that they intended to have been down the river that Autumn, but were obliged, by the inclemency of the weather, to defer their expedition till the Spring, when they ſhould certainly attack the Engliſh, and doubted not of being able to give a good account of them: at the ſame time ſoothing theſe Indians to their intereſt with ſuch ſucceſs, as to obtain from them a promiſe of aſſiſtance. Mr. Waſhington then proceeded to Venango, where he arrived the 4th day of December. This fort was commanded by M. Joncaire, who conducted Mr. Waſhington to another fort, at which the French commandant, M. de St. Pierre, had taken up his winter-quarters. This gentleman entertained Mr. Waſhington with great politeneſs; and, after ſome conferences on the buſineſs of his commiſſion, gave him the following anſwer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter.

SIR,

AS I have the honour of commanding here in chief, Mr. Waſhington delivered to me the letter which you wrote to the commander of the French troops. I ſhould have been glad, that you had given him orders, or that he himſelf had been diſpoſed, to proceed to Canada, to ſee our general, to whom it better belongs than to me, to exhibit and prove the titles of the king my maſter, to the lands ſituate along the river Ohio, and to examine the pretenſions of the king of Great Britain thereto. I ſhall tranſmit your letter to the marquis du Queſne. His anſwer will be a law to me: and if he ſhall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be

aſſured

assured that I shall not fail to dispatch it forthwith. As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be *your* instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of *my* general; and, I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt, one moment, of my being determined to obey them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer. I do not know that, in the progress of this campaign, any thing has passed, which can be deemed an act of hostility, or any way contrary to the treaties which subsist between the two crowns; the continuation of which is as much the interest of, and as pleasing to us, as the English. Had you been pleased, Sir, to particularize the facts which occasioned your complaint, I should have had the honour of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, the most satisfactory manner.

From the fort on the
river aux Bœufs,
December 16th, 1753.

LEGARDIER DE ST. PIERRE.

With this answer, Mr. Washington set out on the 16th of December, from M. de St. Pierre's quarters. On his return, he very providentially escaped being treacherously murdered by an Indian who attended him in the double capacity of guide and interpreter. This wretch, contrary to the usual custom of his countrymen, kept up a continual whooping, the whole way, in spite of all Mr. Washington's orders and entreaties to make him desist; and, one day in particular, greatly protracted the ordinary time of marching, so as to afford Mr. Washington just reason to suspect that he had hopes of being joined, with no

no friendly design, by some other Indians. Nor did he suspect more mischief than was intended. One evening, as Mr. Washington, and Mr. Guest his companion, were moving on, the guide, who was at a small distance from them, suddenly presented his piece, and fired at Mr. Washington, but luckily missed him. Upon this, Mr. Guest proposed immediately to destroy the Indian; but was prevailed upon by Mr. Washington to desist, as the Indian countries through which they had passed knew they were attended by this man, and, on missing him, would conclude, notwithstanding any arguments that could be used to prove the contrary, that they had wantonly murdered him. Therefore, to avoid any new disputes with the savages, which, they knew, could not but be attended with very ill consequences, particularly at this juncture, they contented themselves with immediately separating from him. However, to avoid farther treachery, they marched full sixty miles without halting. At length, after encountering many difficulties and dangers, they arrived safe at Williamsburgh, on the 16th January, 1754.

The contests on the subject of the French and English possessions on the Continent of North America, from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to this time, were chiefly confined to memorials and representations. No part of the occurrences within that period can be considered as immediately appertaining to the history of the war. Nevertheless, I thought it would not be improper to present my readers with this introductory detail; especially, as some of these transactions gave rise to the events, which, agreeable to my engagements with the public, I am now to relate.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK I.

The province of Virginia prepares to oppose the encroachments of the French.——Mr. Washington takes the field; defeats M. Jumonville; is defeated, in his turn, by M. Villier.——Major General Braddock arrives; is defeated by M. Dumat, and dies of his wounds: defence of his conduct.——Major General Shirley takes upon him the command of the English forces; proceeds to Oswego; returns to Albany. ——Major General Johnson's expedition; he is attacked by M. le Baron Dieskau, but is victorious; he erects Fort William-Henry; puts his army into winter-quarters, and returns to Albany.——Distress of the English Back-settlers; military operations undertaken to protect them.—Obstinacy of the Pensylvanians in not agreeing to any warlike preparations; they yield at last to the prayers and threats of the Back-settlers, and pass a militia act.——The act.——The other colonies very remiss in preparing for their defence.——Remonstrances and instructions of the distressed inhabitants of the back settlements.——Council of war at Albany.——General Shirley endeavours to unite the divided colonies, and conciliate the affections of the Indians.——Measures agreed to in consequence thereof.——General Shirley ordered to England.

THE hostile designs of the court of France being sufficiently apparent, from the transactions we have related in the introduction, Mr. Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of 1754.

1754. Virginia, the province moſt expoſed, thought it his duty, without any freſh orders from Great Britain, to employ all the authority with which he was already inveſted, to put a ſtop to their encroachments. For this purpoſe, he prevailed on the aſſembly of Virginia to vote the ſum of 10,000 *l.*; and, likewiſe, propoſed the levying of a regiment of militia; and that the Ohio company of merchants, who had procured an excluſive grant from the crown to ſettle the lands on the Ohio, ſhould, in compliance with their engagements with government, immediately raiſe thirty men, and ſend them to take poſt at the forks of that river, a ſpot which, from its ſituation, was ſuppoſed to be that the French would firſt endeavour to ſeize upon. Theſe men were accordingly raiſed; and immediately proceeded to the place of their deſtination, where, on their arrival, they began to execute their orders by laying the foundations of a fort; but, on the 18th of April, 1754, when it was ſcarcely above the ſurface of the ground, M. de Contrecœur appeared before it with a body of twelve hundred men, and ſummoned the commanding officer to retire, which he accordingly did, for want of ſufficient ſtrength to defend himſelf. In the mean time, the provincial troops propoſed to be raiſed in Virginia, were nearly completed; and part of them ordered to reinforce thoſe of the Ohio company. The colonel of this body dying ſoon after he took the field, the command devolved on the lieutenant-colonel, Mr. Waſhington; who, continuing his rout, met the Ohio company on their return home at Wills creek.

On the 27th, in the evening, Colonel Waſhington being encamped on the great meadows, Monacatootha and the Half King, two principal Sachems of the Five Nations, brought advice,

advice, "That a party of French had been ſent to intercept him, but had miſſed him in the woods; that they had retired to a ſmall diſtance, and were that night encamped in a very thick and ſecret place about half a mile out of the road." Colonel Waſhington, on receiving this intelligence, prepared his men for action, and in the night ſet out with them to attack the French. At the dawn of day he arrived at their encampment, and immediately attacked it: out of the whole party, which conſiſted of M. Jumonville and forty-five men, but one eſcaped; the reſt were either killed or taken priſoners. The colonel then erected a ſmall fort, which, from the reaſon of his erecting it, he called Fort Neceſſity, as it was to protect him till the arrival of a body of men which were to follow from the provinces of New York and the Carolinas. Soon after, he was joined by the remainder of the Virginia troops, and a company from South Carolina, which increaſed his little army to four hundred effective men: this number however being too ſmall for any farther offenſive operations, he employed them in clearing a road to Red-Stone Creek; there he received advice that M. de Contrecœur had detached M. de Villier with a thouſand regular troops, and an hundred Indians, to demand ſatisfaction for the attack on M. Jumonville. Upon this, Colonel Waſhington immediately returned to Fort Neceſſity, where he determined to wait the arrival of the troops promiſed by the province of New York. But, on the 3d of July, the enemy appeared before the fort, and at about eight in the morning, began to attack it ſo warmly, that by eight in the evening of the ſame day, Mr. Waſhington thought proper to agree to a ceſſation of arms propoſed by M. de Villier, which terminated in the following extraordinary capitulation: 1754.

1754. *Capitulation granted the 3d of July, 1754, by M. de Villier, Commandant of his most Christian Majesty's forces, to the English troops in Fort-Necessity, built on the lands within the king's dominions.*

Art. I. We give the Engliſh commander leave to retire with all his garriſon, and return peaceably into his own country; and promiſe to prevent his receiving any inſults from the French troops under us, or from the ſavages with us, as much as ſhall be in our power.

II. The Engliſh ſhall likewiſe have leave to carry off all that belongs to them, except the artillery, which we reſerve.

III. We will allow them the honours of war; that is, to march out, drums beating, with a ſwivel gun; being willing to ſhew them that we conſider them as friends.

IV. As ſoon as the articles are ſigned on both ſides, the Engliſh are to ſtrike their colours.

V. To morrow, at break of day, a detachment of French ſhall be admitted to ſee the garriſon file off, and take poſſeſſion of the fort.

VI. And, as the Engliſh are not well provided with oxen or horſes, they are free to hide their effects, and come and ſearch for them when they have met with their horſes; they may even for this purpoſe leave watchmen behind them, in what number they pleaſe, on condition they give their word of honour not to work upon any buildings in this place, or on this ſide of the mountain, during a year, to be reckoned from this day: And, as the Engliſh have in their power an officer of our's, two cadets, and moſt of the common men

made prisoners at the *assassination* of the Sieur de Jumonville, (an officer charged with a summons, as appears by his writings,) they are to promise to send them back to Fort du Quesne, situated on the Ohio. And, as a security for their performing the whole of this capitulation, and the present article in particular, Mr. Jacob Vanbraam, and Mr. Robert Stobo, both captains in the English service, shall be left as hostages till the arrival of the Canadians and French abovementioned. We oblige ourselves, on our part, to furnish these two officers with an escort, to convey them safe home. We expect our countrymen shall be restored us in two months and a half at fartheſt; a duplicate being made upon one of the posts of our blockade the day above. 1754.

CON. VILLIER.

This capitulation was written in French; and, as neither Mr. Washington nor any of his party understood that language, a foreigner was employed to read it to them in English. But, instead of acting the part of a faithful interpreter, when he came to the odious word *assassination*, he translated it "the defeat of M. Jumonville." This I have the best authority to assert; the authority of the English officers who were present. Indeed, the thing speaks for itself. It cannot be supposed that these gentlemen should know so little of what they owed to themselves, both as men and as soldiers, as not to prefer any extremity rather than submit to the disgrace of being branded with the imputation of so horrid a crime.

After all, had they been really guilty of this charge, they could scarce have been worse used than they were: the capitulation:

1754. tulation was ſcarcely ſigned, when it was moſt ſhamefully broken; the officers were kept priſoners for ſome time; the whole of their baggage was plundered; and all their horſes and cattle killed on the ſpot. However, at length, Colonel Waſhington retired in as good order as his ſituation would admit. On his return, he met the New-York and North-Carolina companies at Winchester. Had they joined him at the appointed time, there is no doubt but that he would have ſecured a poſt till he had received ſuch farther reinforcements as would have enabled him to diſlodge the French, and drive them from the country they had uſurped. To compenſate as much as poſſible for this diſappointment, he halted at Wills Creek, and aſſiſted in erecting a fort there, which was afterwards called Fort Cumberland. Meanwhile, the governor of the Engliſh colonies loſt no time in tranſmitting to London an account of theſe tranſactions; and, in conſequence of which, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris had immediate orders ſent to him to remonſtrate ſeriouſly againſt them, as ſo many infractions of the treaty of peace ſubſiſting between the two nations. But the French miniſtry, far from paying any regard to theſe remonſtrances, no longer took any pains to conceal their hoſtile intentions. They publicly gave orders for the ſpeedy reinforcement of their colonies with men and military ſtores; that of Quebec in particular, in order to enable it to follow, without loſs of time, the blow they had already ſtruck in that part of the world; and M. le Baron Dieſkau, and M. de Vaudreuil, actually embarked for Canada with troops and orders to attack Oſwego. But the Engliſh miniſtry contented themſelves with ſending cautionary inſtructions to their governors to unite in their defence, and ordering, that, in caſe the ſubjects of any foreign prince ſhould

ſhould preſume to make any incroachments on the dominions of the king of England, by erecting forts on his lands, or committing any other act of hoſtility, and ſhould, after being required to deſiſt from ſuch proceedings, ſtill perſiſt in them, they ſhould then draw out the armed force of their reſpective provinces, and uſe their beſt endeavours to repel force by force. The Engliſh governors were likewiſe ordered to form a confederacy; and Mr. Delancy, lieutenant-governor of New York, was appointed to confer with the chiefs of the Five Nations, and endeavour, by preſents and every other means, to ſecure them firm to the Britiſh intereſt. Commiſſioners were accordingly deputed from the ſeveral provinces to form this congreſs, which was appointed to be held at Albany on the 14th of June, 1754; but few Indians repaired to it, and theſe, inſtead of ſhewing any great willingneſs to aſſiſt, made no ſcruple openly to blame the conduct of the Engliſh, and as openly applaud that of the French, who had been ſo diligent to maintain their ſettlements, and protect their allies; whilſt the Engliſh, they ſaid, left both their ſettlements and their allies expoſed to ruin and deſtruction. They however accepted the Britiſh preſents, renewed their ancient treaties, and expreſſed a deſire to receive vigorous aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, in order to drive the French from their invaded territories. 1754.

At this meeting, meaſures were propoſed for forming a general union between the colonies, and eſtabliſhing a fund, by way of military cheſt, for defraying all the extraordinary expences incident to a ſtate of war. But the claſhing intereſts of the provinces, in matters of much leſs moment, prevented theſe ſalutary meaſures being properly adopted.

Whilſt

1754. Whilſt the congreſs was yet ſitting, Mr. Shirley, as governor of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, prevailed on that province to build a fort near the head of the river Kennebec, and make proviſion for eight hundred men, to protect it from the inroads of the enemy. He took the field with theſe troops; and, with the conſent of the Indians, erected Fort Weſtern, about ſeven-and-thirty miles from the mouth of the Kennebec river; and Fort Hallifax, about fifty-four miles down the ſame river. An account of theſe tranſactions being tranſmitted to the Engliſh miniſtry, together with the preſent ſtate of that part of the continent, Governor Shirley not only received the thanks of the king his maſter in council, but was ordered to concert meaſures with Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence for attacking the French ſettlements in the bay of Fundy. But the ſeaſon happened to be too far advanced, when they received theſe orders, to commence hoſtilities in that quarter till the enſuing ſpring: they therefore contented themſelves with making all the extraordinary preparations for that ſervice which the delay of it afforded them. They raiſed two thouſand men, whom government ſupplied with arms. In the mean time, the negociations which had been renewed in Europe for the amicable termination of theſe diſputes, not taking the turn which the court of London thought herſelf intitled to expect, ſhe therefore reſolved to purſue ſtill more vigorous meaſures, and iſſued orders for raiſing two regiments in America, to be commanded by Sir William Pepperel, and Governor Shirley, whilſt Halket's and Dunbar's were ordered from the Iriſh eſtabliſhment with General Braddock, who was, on his arrival in America, to take upon him the command of all the Britiſh forces in that part of the world. The Virginians, in the mean time, completed the fort, which they called Fort Cumberland; and even

even formed a camp on Wills Creek, in order to attack the French on the Ohio. 1755.

Major General Braddock arrived with two regiments from Ireland by the latter end of February, 1755; and, as ſoon after his arrival as he poſſibly could, ſummoned the different governors of the Engliſh ſettlements on the continent to meet him at Alexandria in Virginia, in order to deliberate with him on the moſt proper meaſures to recover, by force of arms, what had been loſt in fruitleſs remonſtrances; and thereby reſtore the credit of the Engliſh amongſt the Indians. Various were the plans propoſed for this purpoſe. At length, it was agreed, "That, for the preſervation of Oſwego, and the reduction of Niagara, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments ſhould proceed to Lake Ontario; and that one or more armed veſſels, of about ſixty tons each, ſhould be built on that lake, to command it. Governor Shirley was charged with the execution of this ſervice; Colonel Johnſon with that of inveſting Crown-Point with ſome provincial troops; and General Braddock was to attack Fort du Queſne.

While theſe plans were proſecuting with the greateſt diligence, that which had been concerted between Governor Shirley, and Governor Lawrence, was carrying into execution; the aſſembly of the Maſſachuſets having not only laid a ſevere embargo to prevent all correſpondence with the French at Louiſbourg, and, by their means, with thoſe on the Continent, but raiſed a body of men. About the end of May, Governor Lawrence detached Lieutenant Colonel Monckton with about two thouſand men againſt the French ſettlements in the Bay of Fundy, whilſt Captain Rous, with three frigates and a ſloop, was diſ-

1755. patched up the bay to give his assistance by sea. When the colonel arrived at the river Massaguash, he found a number of regulars and neutral Acadians determined to oppose his passage; to which end, they had mounted some cannon in a blockhouse, and thrown up a breast work of timber. In this situation he attacked them, and, in less than an hour, obliged them to retire, leaving the river clear for the passage of our troops, who thereupon marched, without farther interruption, to the ground intended for their encampment. From thence he proceeded to the attack of Fort Beausejour, which, though well fortified, desired to capitulate on the 16th of June after a bombardment of four days only, and without putting the English to the trouble of erecting a single battery against it. Upon this, Colonel Monckton granted the French the following terms:

"The commander, officers, staff-officers, and others, in the service of the French king, and the rest of the garrison of Beausejour, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating.

"The garrison shall be sent directly by sea to Louisbourg, at the expence of the king of Great Britain.

"The garrison shall be provided with sufficient provisions for their passage to Louisbourg.

"With regard to the Acadians, as they have been forced to take up arms on pain of death, they shall be pardoned the part they have taken on this occasion.

"Lastly, the garrison shall not bear arms in America for the space of six months.

"The

"The terms abovementioned are granted upon condition, that the fort ſhall be delivered up to the troops of the king of Great Britain at ſeven o'-clock in the afternoon." 1755.

Colonel Monckton, on taking poſſeſſion of this fort, called it Fort Cumberland, and, leaving a garriſon in it, proceeded next day to reduce another ſmall fort on the river Gaſpereau. Here the French had their principal magazine for ſupplying the inhabitants and Indians, and he accordingly found a great quantity of proviſions and military ſtores of every kind: he then diſarmed the inhabitants to the amount of about fifteen thouſand. In the mean time, the French abandoned their fort on St. John's river, which Captain Rous with his ſhips deſtroyed, together with all the other works which the French had raiſed on that river. By this expedition, which was attended with very little loſs, the Engliſh ſecured to themſelves the peaceable enjoyment of that fine and extenſive country known by the name of Nova Scotia.

This firſt ſucceſs of the Engliſh military operations was conſidered as a happy prelude to thoſe which were expected to follow, notwithſtanding the many difficulties General Braddock had to encounter, through the want of neceſſaries for the ſubſiſtance of his army, which, in deſpite of every obſtacle, he conducted to Fort Cumberland on the Potawmack river: and here he was obliged to halt till he ſhould receive a freſh ſupply of proviſions, waggons, and horſes, that had been promiſed him. Whilſt he was anxiouſly expecting the arrival of this aſſiſtance, he received various accounts of the enemy. At length, ſuccours came, but far ſhort of what he depended upon; inſtead of one hundred and fifty waggons he received only fifteen, and in lieu of three hundred horſes

1755. no more than one hundred. This already very ſevere diſappointment was greatly increaſed when, upon unloading the waggons, the proviſions were found to be in ſo bad a ſtate, that nothing but the keeneſt hunger could induce any one to eat of them. However, means were found to procure a new and ſound ſupply by the 10th of June, when General Braddock, having nothing now to retard his march, once more ſet forward for Fort du Queſne, the reduction of which formed the principal object of his expedition. On reaching the little meadows, he received ſuch intelligence as convinced him he could not arrive too early at the place of his deſtination, in order to prevent the French from throwing any reinforcements into it. Therefore, leaving behind him Colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men, and the greateſt part of the waggons and ſtores, with orders to follow him as faſt as the nature of the ſervice would permit, and thereby judiciouſly leſſening his line of march, he proceeded himſelf at the head of twelve hundred men with ten pieces of cannon. On the 8th of July he found himſelf within ten miles of Fort du Queſne, whilſt marching on with his flanks properly ſecured, his advanced guard, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, unexpectedly received a few ſtraggling-ſhot, without being able to diſcover from what kind of an enemy they came. Troops, unuſed to this kind of ſervice, are, if their officers be not extremely careful and attentive, in perpetual danger of being ſeized with a panic on the firſt alarm, and of courſe thrown into diſorder. Such was now the caſe. On the firſt fire the advanced-guard, after diſcharging a few rounds from their cannon, fell back on the main body, and general confuſion enſued. The Indians, animated by this haſty retreat of the Engliſh, and ſeaſonable reinforcements of the French, redoubled from one moment to another their galling fire on the

the enemy, who all this while could ſee nothing but trees and buſhes to direct their vengeance againſt; in vain therefore did General Braddock employ all his authority to reſtore order. The attempt coſt him his life, and moſt of his officers were either killed or wounded: a muſket ſhot through his right arm and lungs gave him a mortal wound, of which he died the fourth day after. What now remained of the regulars thought it high time to conſult their ſafety by flight. But this flight was ſo well favoured by the cool bravery of the Virginian provincials, that moſt of thoſe who muſt otherwiſe have fallen immediate victims by general confuſion, lived to reach Colonel Dunbar's party. They carried their fears along with them; and theſe fears proved of ſo infectious a nature, that the Colonel's party immediately caught them; the conſequence of which was, that neither the one nor the other ſtopped to look behind, till they found themſelves ſheltered by the walls of Fort Cumberland. Beſides the general, the Engliſh loſt in this affair twenty officers, amongſt whom was Sir Peter Halket; twenty-ſeven were wounded; about two hundred rank and file were killed, and about four hundred wounded. General Braddock's cabinet, and, what ſcarce need be mentioned, all his artillery and ſtores, fell into the hands of the victors. After this ſignal victory, M. Contrecœur, the commanding officer of the French, returned to Fort du Queſne, and proceeded to render that poſt ſo reſpectable as to make the Engliſh juſtly conſider, as an object of the firſt conſequence, the gaining poſſeſſion of it, and driving the French from that part of the Continent which it commanded. 1755.

Few generals perhaps have been ſo ſeverely cenſured for any defeat, as General Braddock for this. But if we ſuffer ourſelves coolly and impartially to conſider what were in all probability

1755. bability the motives that influenced him on this occasion, we may discover in them sufficient reason to acquit him of the ill-conduct with which he is charged. To lighten the turf of those who, with all their faults, it must be allowed, fell bravely, is a task so incumbent on humanity, that, independent of my duty, as an historian, to investigate and record the truth, I may presume on leave to oppose a few remarks to that torrent of blame with which General Braddock has been so universally loaded.

It must be allowed, that the certain intelligence he had received of the garrison of Fort du Quesne expecting a speedy reinforcement, was a sufficient motive for his dividing his forces, and leaving his heavy baggage behind him; as without doing so it must have been impossible for him to have reached the fort time enough to have prevented the enemy from entering it. And it must be considered, that General Braddock's opinion of his own military skill could not have been so excessive as to make him wholly neglect the instructions of a so much older and more experienced general as the late Duke of Cumberland: and that he must have totally neglected such instructions, to be justly censured for the defeat he sustained, will appear from the following directions, which were given to him by his Royal Highness:

Instructions to Major General Braddock.

"SIR,

"His Royal Highness the Duke, in the several audiences which he has given you, entered into a particular explanation of every part of the service you are about to be employed in; and, as a better rule for the execution of his Majesty's instructions, he, last Saturday,

Saturday, communicated to you his own ſentiments of this 1755.
affair; and ſince you expreſſed a deſire not to forget any part thereof, he has ordered me to deliver them to you in writing. His Royal Highneſs has this ſervice very much at heart; and it is of the higheſt importance to his Majeſty's American dominions, and to the honour of his troops employed in thoſe parts. His Royal Highneſs takes likewiſe a particular intereſt in it, as it concerns you, whom he recommended to his Majeſty to be nominated to the chief command.

" His Royal Highneſs's opinion is, that, immediately after your landing, you conſider what artillery and other implements of war it will be neceſſary to tranſport to Wilkes's Creek, for your firſt operation on the Ohio, that the ſervice may not be interrupted by any failure of them; and that you form a ſecond field-train, with good officers and ſoldiers, to be ſent to Albany, and be ready to march for the ſecond operation at Niagara. You are to take under your command as many as you think neceſſary of the two companies of artillery that are in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, as ſoon as the ſeaſon will allow, taking care to leave enough to defend the laſt of theſe places.

" When Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments are near complete, his Royal Highneſs thinks you ſhould cauſe them to encamp; not only that they may be the more ſpeedily diſciplined, but alſo to draw the attention of the French, and keep them in ſuſpenſe about the place you really deſign to attack.

" The moſt ſtrict diſcipline, at all times extremely requiſite, is more particularly ſo in the ſervice you are engaged in. Wherefore, his Royal Highneſs recommends to you, that it be conſtantly obſerved among the troops under your command,

1755. and that you be particularly careful to guard againſt their being thrown into a panic by the ſavages, whom the French will certainly employ againſt them. His Royal Highneſs recommends to you the viſiting of your poſts night and day; that your colonels and other officers be careful to do it; and that you yourſelf frequently ſet them the example, and give all your troops plainly to underſtand, that no excuſe will be admitted for any ſurprize whatſoever.

" Should the Ohio expedition continue any conſiderable time, and Pepperell's and Shirley's regiments be found enough to undertake, in the mean while, the reduction of Niagara, his Royal Highneſs would have you conſider, whether you could be there in perſon, leaving the command of the troops on the Ohio to ſome officer on whom you might depend, unleſs you ſhall think it better for the ſervice to ſend to thoſe troops ſome perſon whom you had deſigned to command on the Ohio. But this is a nice affair, and claims your particular attention.

" If, after the Ohio expedition is ended, it ſhould be neceſſary for you to go with your whole force to Niagara, it is the opinion of his Royal Highneſs that you ſhould carefully endeavour to find out a ſhorter way from the Ohio thither than that of the Lake, which, however, you are not to attempt under any pretence whatever, without a moral certainty of being ſupplied with proviſions, &c. As to your deſign of making yourſelf maſter of Niagara, which is of the greateſt conſequence, his Royal Highneſs recommends to you to leave nothing to chance in the proſecution of that enterprize.

" With regard to the reducing of Crown Point, the provincial troops being beſt acquainted with the country, will be of the moſt ſervice. After the taking of this fort, his Royal Highneſs

Highneſs adviſes you to conſult with the governors of the neighbouring provinces, where it will be moſt proper to build a fort to cover the frontiers of thoſe provinces. As to the forts which you think ought to be built, (and of which they are perhaps too fond in that country,) his Royal Highneſs recommends the building of them in ſuch manner that they may not require a ſtrong garriſon. He is of opinion, that you ought not to build conſiderable forts, caſed with ſtone, till the plans and eſtimates thereof have been approved by the government here. His Royal Highneſs thinks, that ſtockaded forts, with paliſades and a good ditch, capable of containing two hundred men, or four hundred upon an emergency, will be ſufficient for the preſent. 1755.

" As Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, who commands at Nova Scotia, hath long projected the taking of Beau-Sejour, his Royal Highneſs adviſes you to conſult with him, both with regard to the time and the manner of executing that deſign. In this enterprize, his Royal Highneſs foreſees, that his Majeſty's ſhips may be of great ſervice, as well by tranſporting the troops and warlike implements, as intercepting the ſtores and ſuccours that might be ſent to the French, either by the Bay Françoiſe, or from Cape Breton by the Bay Verte.

" With regard to your winter-quarters, after the operations of the campaign are finiſhed, his Royal Highneſs recommends it to you to examine, whether the French will not endeavour to make ſome attempts next ſeaſon, and in what parts they will moſt probably make them. In this caſe, it will be moſt proper to canton your troops on that ſide, at ſuch diſtances, that they may eaſily be aſſembled for the com-

1755. mon defence. But you will be determined in this matter by appearances, and the intelligence, which it hath been recommended to you to procure by every method immediately after your landing. It is unneceſſary to put you in mind, how careful you muſt be *to prevent being ſurpriſed.* His Royal Highneſs imagines, that your greateſt difficulty will be the ſubſiſting of your troops: he therefore recommends it to you, to give your chief attention to this matter, and to take proper meaſures relative thereto with the governors, and with your quarter-maſters and commiſſaries. I hope that the extraordinary ſupply put on board the fleet, and the thouſand barrels of beef deſtined for your uſe, will facilitate and ſecure the ſupplying of the troops with proviſions, *&c.*"

It has been aſſerted, that General Braddock, in direct contradiction to theſe inſtructions, led on his men, without ſo much as ſecuring his flanks, or ſending out ſcouts to reconnoitre the country. But I have authority to affirm, that this aſſertion is abſolutely falſe. His flanking parties were driven in by the enemy, and no detachments were made from the advanced guard to repel the attack on its flanks.

Had ſuch detachments been made in proper time, they moſt certainly would have beaten off the enemy. This was by no means the General's fault; for the advanced guard fell into confuſion before it was poſſible that the General could ſend his orders to put into execution what ought to have been done without any orders from him. Had it not been for this neglect, inſtead of the confuſion, ſlaughter, and flight we have been relating, we ſhould have had to tell of the triumphant entrance of the Engliſh into Fort-du-Queſne, as will appear by the following narrative.

As ſoon as M. de Contrecœur, who commanded at that fort, received certain intelligence of General Braddock's ſtrength, he gave over all thoughts of acting offenſively; well knowing that a ſtockaded fort, garriſoned with a handful of men, could make no oppoſition but what might irritate an enemy. He, therefore, confined himſelf to the getting of a ſingle piece of cannon mounted, in order to make ſuch a ſhew of reſiſtance, as might entitle himſelf and his garriſon to the honours of war. In the mean time, he detached M. Dumat, with a few French and Indians, to obſerve the motions of the Engliſh. This party he covered himſelf, with the greateſt part of the garriſon of the fort, to which he intended to retire before the Engliſh: but the party of M. Dumat diſcharging ſome random-ſhot upon their enemy, without expecting any material advantage from it, till they ſaw the advanced guard give way; they then put up the war-yell, which being both extremely terrible in itſelf, and altogether new to the Engliſh regulars, cauſed ſuch an abatement in the fire that was returned by them, as made M. de Contrecœur conclude, that they were retiring. Upon this he advanced briſkly to the aſſiſtance of M. Dumat; and ſoon after joining him, found himſelf ſurpriſed into a victory over troops, to whom, a few hours before, he was making every preparation to become their priſoner of war. And that this was, in the ſtricteſt terms, a ſurpriſe into victory, is evident from M. de Contrecœur's not being able to improve the advantage by purſuit, for his numbers were ſcarcely ſufficient to ſecure the ground on which it was gained, and the ſtores left behind by the fugitives, eſpecially as his Indians had too much work, in their own horrid way, to attend to any thing elſe. They immediately fell upon all the poor wretches left on the field of battle, and promiſcuouſly ſcalped, not only the dead and the dying, but even thoſe who, though unable to fly, might

1755.

1755. have otherwiſe recovered: at leaſt we have heard but of one exception; and that owing to ſuch an uncommon degree of humanity, as ſhould not be forgot, even in a hiſtory peculiarly dedicated to the commemoration of what are deemed very different virtues. Amongſt the wounded was Captain Treby, of the 44th regiment. His wounds, indeed, were not mortal; but they were ſuch as effectually prevented his crawling from the field of battle. But, fortunately for him, Mr. Farrel, then a volunteer, now a captain in the 62d regiment, happening to be appriſed of his ſituation, and knowing the terrible conſequences of it, caught him up on his back, and conveyed him, at the moſt imminent peril of his own life, to ſome diſtance from the field of battle, and then procured him ſuch farther aſſiſtance, that, diſabled as he was, he had the good fortune to reach Fort Cumberland with the other fugitives.

But to return to General Braddock: Had he been ever ſo incautious; had he been guilty of the greateſt neglect; had Fortune but favoured him, cenſure, in all probability, would never have dared to open her peſtilential mouth againſt him. But the aſhes of the dead were treated with indignity, to prevent the eye of ſcrutiny from penetrating into the conduct of the living.

Notwithſtanding the inability of the conquerors to purſue the advantage they had gained, the conquered army continued its flight, as I have before related, till it reached Fort Cumberland; and even then, the troops were ſo little recovered from their panic, that they had not preſence of mind enough to ſtop there, and enlarge the works of the place, as they might very well have done; for they ſtill conſiſted of ſixteen hundred regulars, and two provincial companies. Had this

this meafure been purfued, it might have been fuch a check upon the French and their fcalping Indians, as would have effectually prevented many of thofe favage cruelties that were committed during the enfuing winter, upon the weftern borders of Virginia and Pennfylvania. Inftead of this, Colonel Dunbar left none in the fort but the fick and wounded, whom it was impoffible to remove, with the two companies of provincial troops, by way of garrifon. He marched out, or rather evacuated the place, on the 2d of Auguft, with the remainder, for Philadelphia, where his troops could be of no fervice. They were foon ordered from thence to Albany, in the province of New-York, by Major-General Shirley, on whom the command in chief of the Britifh forces in North America was now devolved, by the death of General Braddock; whofe defeat, however detrimental in itfelf to the Englifh affairs in that part where he commanded, was rendered ftill worfe by its evil influence wherever the news of it reached.

1755.

At the conference held at Alexandria in Virginia, it was refolved, that General Shirley fhould conduct the operations againft Niagara, with his own regiment, Sir William Pepperel's, the Jerfey Blues, commanded by Colonel Schuyler, and a detachment of the royal artillery, who were all to affemble at Albany; and that fome veffels fhould be built there, not only to fecure the place from, but render it a terror to, the French. Accordingly Captain Bradftreet fet out for that place, with two companies, fome fwivels, and the firft fet of workmen, early enough to reach it by the 27th of May. Three days before his arrival, thirty French boats had paffed within fight of it, and two days after eleven more. Thefe boats might contain fifteen or fixteen men each; a force, in the whole, more than fufficient to maftER the fort in a few hours,

1755. with the aid of a ſingle mortar, as the French themſelves well knew, for all its ſtrength conſiſted of no more than eight four-pounders, and one hundred men, under the command of Captain King. Theſe were followed, on the 29th, by eleven more; but Captain Bradſtreet, who now commanded, though ſpurred on with the moſt irreſiſtible inclination, dared not to attack them, his boats being too ſmall for that purpoſe. On the 7th of June, the ſhip-carpenters arrived from Boſton; and on the 28th of the ſame month, they launched the firſt Engliſh veſſel that lake ever carried. She was a ſchooner, forty feet in keel, mounting twelve ſwivel guns, and made to row, when neceſſary, with fourteen oars. This veſſel, with three hundred and twenty men, was all the force at Oſwego, in the beginning of July 1755. The men were victualled at the expence of the province of New-York; and happy, indeed, it was that colony had taken ſo much precaution; for ſo little had been obſerved in forwarding the government's proviſions, that when the forces under General Shirley arrived there, they muſt have periſhed for want, if they had not found a ſupply which they had no reaſon to expect. Theſe circumſtances the French were well acquainted with; but they thought it not ſo much their intereſt to make themſelves maſters of Oſwego, as to purſue their projects on the Ohio. Beſides, they would have forfeited the friendſhip of the Indians, as the Engliſh had already done, by interrupting the trade carried on at Oſwego.

General Shirley now commenced his part of the operations he was to conduct againſt Niagara.

In the beginning of July, the Jerſey Blues began their march. But before Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments could be put in a condition to follow, the melancholy accounts of Mr. Braddock's

dock's defeat arrived. This ſo diſpirited theſe regiments, that numbers deſerted from them; and it had ſuch an effect upon the boat-men in particular, that almoſt the whole of them diſperſed, inſomuch as to render it impoſſible to keep ſufficiently ſupplied with proviſions even the few troops that had not ſuffered themſelves to be infected by this almoſt general panic. General Shirley, however, left Albany before the end of July, with as many of the troops and ſtores as he could find methods of conveying. He depended on being joined by numbers of Indians of the Five Nations, through whoſe country he was to paſs: but his expectations were too ſanguine. Inſtead of complying with his requeſt, they remonſtrated againſt his committing any hoſtilities on that ſide of the country, alledging, "That Oſwego was a place eſtabliſhed for traffick, as it really was; and that therefore the peace of the country ought not to be diſturbed by either the Engliſh or the French." A few, however, joined him, and with theſe he proſecuted his rout to Oſwego, which he reached, with part of his troops, the 18th of Auguſt: but it was the laſt day of that month before the reſt arrived, when their ſtore of proviſion was found too ſhort for the whole to proceed againſt Niagara. He therefore determined to make an attack upon that place with ſix hundred men, eſpecially as by leaving the remainder at Oſwego, there would be the leſs danger of its being ſurpriſed by the French from Fort Frontinac, which happened at that time to be powerful, and the French could eaſily bring great part of that force over Lake Ontario. But, upon a cloſer examination of the ſtores, they were found inſufficient even for this ſmall body, till, on the 26th of September, there arrived juſt enough for that purpoſe, after twelve days ſhort allowance was reſerved for the troops who were

1755.

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1755. to remain behind. A council of war was therefore held to consider of the present situation of the army, in which it was resolved, that as the season for action was so far elapsed, the attempt upon Niagara should be deferred till the next year. The little that remained, however, was employed in securing the possession of this important post. The troops began to erect two new forts; the old one, though dignified by that name, being no better than a stone-house, originally built for the convenience of trade, at the particular desire of the Five Nations of Indians. There could be no situation at this place, however advantageous for trade, but what was so much the worse for the purpose of defence: the forts, as they were situated, could not be made tenable but against small arms, being entirely commanded by adjacent eminences.

The fleet, which so much industry had put afloat, now consisted of a decked sloop of eight four-pounders and thirty swivels; a decked schooner, of eight four-pounders and twenty-eight swivels; an undecked schooner, of fourteen swivels and fourteen oars; and another, of twelve swivels aud fourteen oars. But these vessels were ordered to be unrigged, and laid up, whilst the French still kept cruising on the lake with theirs; and all the benefit that was expected from a superior fleet, was lost to the English, by disabling it so soon. Oswego was now not only deprived of the protection of the vessels, but, on the 24th of October, after a quantity of provision having arrived, the General withdrew himself from thence with all his forces, except seven hundred men, who were left under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, to finish and defend the forts; without a possibility, however, of being relieved, should they be attacked during the

the winter-ſeaſon. And this, there was ſome reaſon to apprehend, would be the caſe. Indeed the French would have endeavoured to gain it in the ſpring, had not their attention been diverted, by tranſporting ſtores to Niagara, for the uſe of Fort-du-Queſne, which they then conſidered as an object of the firſt magnitude. 1755.

The laſt reſolution of the council of Alexandria now claims our attention; namely, the expedition concerted againſt Crown-Point. Although this expedition had the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs, eſpecially from the want of experience in the general, and of diſcipline in his troops, it was that which terminated with moſt honour to the Engliſh arms. The good ſenſe of General Johnſon, his conciliating manner of treating the Indians, his humanity and generoſity, had procured from the forces under him ſuch confidence as to compenſate the want of almoſt every other advantage, and create the greateſt, where there was ſcarce the leaſt hope of, ſucceſs.

The troops for the ſervice of this campaign were compoſed of the militia of the northern provinces, commanded by Major-General Lyman, till the arrival of General Johnſon. They were aſſembled at the carrying-place between Hudſon's river and Lake George, to the number of about two thouſand two hundred. During the interval between their arrival and that of General Johnſon, they were employed in throwing up ſome works to ſecure the landing-place: theſe works will hereafter be called *Fort Edward*. General Johnſon, on his part, was employed at Albany in collecting and forwarding to Fort Edward ſuch ſtores as the ſervice demanded; and on the 8th of Auguſt, he ſet out from thence with ſeveral boat-loads of artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, and joined General

1755. Lyman time enough to be able to put his little army in motion by the latter end of the ſame month, leaving Colonel Blanchard, with about three hundred provincials, as a garriſon in Fort Edward. The artillery and ammunition happening to meet with ſome delay, the General thought proper to encamp at Lake George till their arrival, when he reſolved to proceed againſt Ticonderoga. The ſituation he choſe was advantageous, on an eminence, flanked by buſhy ſwamps; Lake George was in his rear; whilſt the ordinary guards ſufficiently ſecured his front. From the aſcendency he had gained over the Indians who compoſed part of his army, and which he improved to the greateſt advantage, as they were thoroughly acquainted with every path, he conſtantly employed a number of them as ſcouts, to prevent all poſſibility of ſurprize. Accordingly, in conſequence of this prudent meaſure, he, on the 7th of September, received intelligence, that a body of the French were on their march from Ticonderoga, with an intention to attack Fort Edward. Upon this he immediately ſent off an officer expreſs to Colonel Blanchard, with orders to withdraw his out-poſts, and keep his whole force within his works: but this officer happening to fall in with ſome of the advanced parties of the French, had the misfortune to be killed. About midnight, an Indian whom the General had ſent to look out for, and to obſerve his enemy, returned with advice, that he had diſcovered them, but without being able to tell their numbers, which happened to be too great for the arithmetic of an Indian, who has no means to expreſs the difference betwixt five hundred and as many thouſands; ſo that the General ſtill continued at a loſs for what it moſt imported him to know. He therefore immediately called a council of war, which unanimouſly approved of his ſending

a detachment early the next morning, of one thousand provincials, under the command of Colonel Williams, and two hundred Indians under the direction of old Hendrick, the Mohock Sachem, with orders to attempt cutting off the retreat of the French in their return from Fort Edward, whether they succeeded or miscarried in their designs against it. This was on the 8th of September. About nine in the morning, Colonel Williams marched his detachment from the camp; about two hours after, a smart firing was heard by those in the camp, which grew louder from one moment to another, so as to afford the General sufficient reason to apprehend, that Colonel Williams was attacked by the enemy, and defeated. He, therefore, immediately ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, with a detachment of three hundred men, to check the supposed pursuit of the enemy, and to cover the retreat of his friends. This well-timed order rescued many of them from destruction. He likewise ordered the stumps of some trees that had been burned down, to be piled up in his front; and most of his men being expert at the axe, such whole trees as stood convenient for the purpose were soon felled, and added to the stumps, so as to form with them a breast-work, with as much regularity as the confusion of the time would admit. Such as it was, it was scarcely finished, when the remains of Colonel Williams's party soon arrived at the camp: that the French had beat them, was the only certain account which they could give; as to the numbers of the enemy in particular, they represented it so differently, as to increase the confusion rather than lessen it. But soon the French themselves made their appearance in front, moving up to the English in one large column, and in good order, with their bayonets fixed, and a steady countenance; till discovering some cannon, they halted

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1755. halted for a moment, not without ſhewing ſigns that their ardour was a little abated by a ſight ſo unexpected. However, the cannon of the Engliſh did not appear more diſagreeable to them, than that of their bayonets to the Engliſh, who, from ſome ſtrange neglect, were not provided with any. When the French had recovered themſelves a little, they ſet forward again; and about noon, at the diſtance of one hundred yards from the breaſt-work, began a regular platoon-firing: but by this time, the Engliſh troops, having equally recovered themſelves, plied their muſketry and cannon ſo well, and thereby gave the French ſuch a ſhock, that their Canadians and Indians abandoned the front-attack, and crept behind the trees, upon the flanks of the Engliſh; and from thence continued firing, but with very little execution, as by this time the flanks had received an additional ſecurity of a breaſt-work. The French, finding themſelves thus deſerted, thought proper to alter their platoon-firing to the Indian method, and take ſhelter behind the trees. In this manner they advanced their front-attack to within fifty yards of the breaſt-work, where they continued firing near two hours; till diſcovering that they could not make the leaſt impreſſion on the front, they again altered their plan, and made an effort, firſt on the right wing, and then on the left: but theſe attacks proving equally unſucceſsful with that upon the front, and numbers of men having fallen on every ſide, the remainder abandoned their hopes, and retired about four o'clock in the afternoon. The chief loſs that the Engliſh ſuſtained in this affair, conſiſted of thoſe who had fallen in the retreat, or rather flight, of Colonel Williams's detachment. The breaſt-work effectually preſerved all thoſe who were covered by it; and the cannon prevented,

prevented, in all human probability, the defeat of the Engliſh; for the French were ſuperior to them in numbers, who, from ſixteen hundred effective men, were reduced to thirteen hundred by the defeat of Colonel Williams; whereas the French conſiſted of two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians, and ſeven hundred Indians of different nations. After the diſaſter that attended the party of Colonel Williams, not a ſingle Indian would ſhew himſelf in favour of General Johnſon; much leſs could any of them be prevailed upon to exert themſelves offenſively. In this affair the Engliſh had about one hundred and thirty killed, amongſt whom were Colonel Williams, Colonel Titcumb, Major Aſtley, ſix captains, and old Hendrick, the Mohock chief; ſeveral were wounded, and the General received a ball in his thigh. The French had about two hundred and ſixty killed, amongſt whom was M. de St. Pierre, who commanded the Indians; about thirty were taken priſoners, together with the Baron Dieſkeau, who commanded the whole of the French troops. The Engliſh commander, ſatisfied with his victory, abſtained from all purſuit. This omiſſion had nearly proved fatal to a party of about one hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Macginnis, who had been detached from Fort Edward to reinforce General Johnſon's camp. About three hundred of Baron Dieſkeau's troops having rallied, and being in one body, met Captain Macginnis near the place where Colonel Williams had been defeated the preceding day. But as Captain Macginnis obſerved the greateſt precaution in his march, and was informed by one of his ſcouts of the enemy's approach, he immediately made a diſpoſition to receive them, and not only repulſed their firſt attack, but ſo vigorouſly charged them in his turn, that he ſoon put them to flight, and entirely diſperſed

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1755. perſed them, with the loſs of only two men killed, eleven wounded, and five miſſing. Captain Macginnis was wounded; of which wounds he died in a few days after his arrival in General Johnſon's camp.

If we muſt allow, that General Johnſon committed ſome overſights in the courſe of this campaign, we may ſafely affirm, that the Baron Dieſkeau committed much greater. When General Johnſon received intelligence of the enemy's march, he did not take his reſolutions, nor make his diſpoſitions, with that celerity which circumſtances ſeemed to demand. Delays, always dangerous, are ſeldom otherwiſe than fatal in the buſineſs of war. Unleſs opportunity be ſeized at the very inſtant it preſents itſelf, it is gone, never to return. In the interval, between General Johnſon's receiving certain intelligence of the approach of the French, and his making the detachment to attack them, there was undoubtedly time enough given to Baron Dieſkeau, if his deſign had been againſt Fort Edward, to ſtrike his blow againſt it; and whether he ſucceeded or not, to have retreated beyond the reach of Colonel Williams. Not proſecuting his victory by a briſk purſuit, was ſtill more blameable: by it he muſt have deſtroyed, or taken priſoners, a great number of the fugitive French; and Captain Macginnis's party would have been freed from the danger which they ſo narrowly eſcaped, the next day.

As to Baron Dieſkeau, when he left Ticonderoga, his intentions were to cut off the garriſon at Fort Edward; but when he approached within three or four miles of that place, his troops, prepoſſeſſed with the notion of its being well fortified with cannon, remonſtrated againſt the execution of his deſigns. They, however, from the ſame principle of averſe-

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nefs to contend with cannon, declared themfelves willing to attempt the furprifing of General Johnfon's camp, which they fuppofed to be deftitute of artillery. This confideration alone would have been fufficient to make Baron Diefkeau employ them in this fervice, fince, by its being their own choice, their honour would be moft engaged to execute it properly. But he had ftill another motive: he had learned by an Englifh prifoner, that a few days before, when he had left the Englifh army, it was unprovided with cannon; and in fact, no cannon had at that time reached them: fo that every thing confpired to infure him fuccefs. The defeat of Colonel Williams flufhed his troops with new hopes, and gave them additional fpirits. Had he therefore pufhed on, without halting the fhort time that he did, and rufhed forward with fixed bayonets, during the confufion in which he might eafily guefs the defeat of Colonel Williams's party had thrown the Englifh camp, he muft have redoubled that confufion, and of courfe fucceeded in his attempt. His halting, however fhort it was, gave the Englifh time to recollect themfelves, and increafe their defence to fuch a degree, as to deftroy every advantage that could arife from his men being armed with bayonets; from his fuperiority of numbers, and the fpirits which his troops had acquired by the defeat of Colonel Williams: or had the Baron retreated in good order, as he might eafily have done, on account of his fuperiority in numbers and arms, as foon as he found the Englifh were provided with cannon, and defended by a breaft-work, and that they had fufficiently recovered their fpirits to avail themfelves of both, he might ftill have carried his point againft Fort Edward.

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1755. The moſt uſeful weapon in ſudden aſſaults, either for attack or defence, is the ſcrewed bayonet. There was not a ſingle bayonet in General Johnſon's army; whereas every man amongſt the French was provided with one; and it was impoſſible for the Engliſh to march as faſt with their cannon as the French with ſmall arms only; ſo that the defence of the former muſt be confined ſolely to the firelock, a machine of very little utility when the fixed bayonet can be properly uſed.

Few battles, it may be ſafely averred, have been fought, but that, in the courſe of the action, there generally preſented themſelves certain advantages, which, if ſeized at the critical moment, would have rendered it much more deciſive.

We are not, therefore, to be ſurpriſed at General Johnſon's committing ſome errors; for, ſo far from pretending to the knowledge of military buſineſs, he always profeſſed an ignorance in that ſcience; but an ardent deſire of ſerving his country was his chief motive for accepting the command: the confidence of his troops, and the opinion that he entertained of their courage, gave him the moſt confident hope of ſucceſs. It was, perhaps, owing to this his modeſt opinion of himſelf, that he had the ſingular ſatisfaction of returning victorious with his provincials, when the army, compoſed chiefly of regulars, ſent againſt Fort-du-Queſne, met a total defeat; and that deſigned againſt Niagara, conſiſting of regulars alſo, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Yet it is a debt we owe to candour to confeſs, that if theſe troops had been properly led on, it is moſt probable they would have met with equal ſucceſs.

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The account of General Johnſon's ſucceſſes no ſooner reached England than the king, as an acknowledgment for his ſervices, created him a baronet; and the parliament, to reward them, preſented him with five thouſand pounds. Nor were theſe ſervices overpaid. The Engliſh troops were ſo afraid of their enemy that they always expected defeat; this advantage gained by General Johnſon reſtored them a little to a confidence in themſelves, and taught them to regard the enemy with a leſs degree of apprehenſion than they had done for ſome time paſt; yet they did not immediately acquire that martial turn of mind by which they afterwards became ſo diſtinguiſhed. This alteration alone would have ſufficiently compenſated for a much greater loſs than that which General Johnſon ſuſtained in the action with the Baron Dieſkeau, had there been no other advantages gained by it; which was very far from being the caſe. The ſucceſs of General Johnſon gave ſecurity to the northern provinces, by diſabling the French troops, and obliging them to retire: On the contrary, had he been defeated, the French might have penetrated even to Albany without oppoſition, and have deſtroyed the whole country. General Shirley might alſo have been attacked in a ſituation, when neither courage or conduct could have been ſufficient to ſave him. 1755.

General Johnſon, after this affair, turned his thoughts to the ſecuring of the country from the incurſions of the enemy when he ſhould retire into winter quarters; and the erecting of a fort at his encampment appearing the beſt meaſure that he could take for that purpoſe, he immediately gave orders for the conſtructing of one, which he called Fort William Henry. Captain Robert Rogers, of the new Hampſhire regiment, a

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1755. perſon well acquainted with the woods of North America, and with the Indians in the intereſt of the Engliſh, having by this time joined General Johnſon, he was ordered on different ſcouts to diſcover the number of the enemy, and how they were employed. On the 24th of September he was ſent to Crown Point, where he found the French were in number about five hundred, and were erecting a battery at the ſide of the fort. On the 7th of October he was ordered to Ticonderoga, where he diſcovered about two thouſand French, who had thrown up an intrenchment, and prepared a large quantity of hewn timber in the adjacent woods; he was even a witneſs to their laying the foundations of a fort on the point which commands the paſs between Lake George and Lake Champlain.

Theſe diſcoveries were ſufficient to convince General Johnſon of the impracticability of attacking the enemy at Ticonderoga with any proſpect of ſucceſs. From their great ſuperiority of numbers he had reaſon to expect they would again attack him, ſtrengthened with cannon; he therefore reſolved to act on the defenſive, and direct his whole ſtrength towards finiſhing Fort William Henry. Continuing this work as long as the ſeaſon would permit, he was then obliged to enter into winter-quarters, leaving a regiment of provincials and Captain Rogers's company to garriſon that place and Fort Edward; and on the 24th of December retired to Albany, and from thence diſperſed the remainder of his army to their reſpective provinces. Thus then, though the plan of military operations agreed upon in the council of war held at Alexandria, was attempted in its utmoſt latitude, the aſpect of the Engliſh affairs on the continent was very little, if at all, improved by it. The defeat of General Braddock, and the withdrawing

withdrawing of the troops from Philadelphia, the moſt central of the Engliſh colonies, by General Shirley, gave the French an opportunity, in ſpite of General Johnſon's ſucceſs, to improve their ſituation on the Ohio, eſpecially by enlarging and ſtrengthening the forts they had already erected to ſecure their claim to that part of the country; and make from thence ſuch excurſions into the Engliſh back-ſettlements as obliged the wretched inhabitants to abandon them, and to retire for ſafety into the more inhabited parts. The tedious delays in preparing military ſtores for the ſiege of Niagara, and the ſcandalous neglect in forming proper magazines of proviſions for the ſame purpoſes, begot an uncommon ſpirit of enterprize in the French, and encouraged their Indians to aſſiſt them in carrying deſtruction into the back-ſettlements of the Engliſh. 1755.

To put a ſtop to theſe depredations the government of Virginia ordered, that the militia of the counties of Dumfries, Prince William, and Fairfax, ſhould be draughted, and one hundred and ſixty of them ſhould march towards the ſouth branch of the Potomack, which had been lately the ſcene of ſeveral cruel murders. About the middle of October, five hundred more were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Cumberland, to prevent further outrages from the French in that quarter.

But all theſe meaſures proved only local and temporary remedies. As faſt as the French, and particularly their Indians, were curbed or chaſtiſed in one place, they broke out, and committed freſh outrages in another, eſpecially on the ſide of Philadelphia. On the 3d of November, the governor of that

1755. province informed the aſſembly, by meſſage, That a moſt formidable body, compoſed of fourteen hundred Indians, and one hundred French, were on their march from the Ohio, with an intention to divide, as ſoon as they ſhould come within a certain diſtance of the frontiers, into ſeparate parties; ſome againſt Shamekin, others againſt Jurnata, and a third party againſt Harris's ferry; and, in that manner, ſpread themſelves in ſmall companies quite over the province of Pennſylvania, ſo as to be able to take up their winter-quarters quietly at Lancaſter; that they were now encamped on the Saſquehanah, within ſo little diſtance as eighty miles of Philadelphia; That they had ingratiated themſelves to ſuch a degree with the Delawares and the Shawaneſe as to make them take up the hatchet againſt the Engliſh, and declare they would not lay it down whilſt there was any Engliſh alive to uſe it againſt. The governor added, That he could have put the province into a poſture of defence, and prevented all the miſchief which had been already done by this party, had his hands been properly ſtrengthened; but that he had neither money, nor arms, nor ammunition, at his diſpoſal; that there was no militia; and that he could not form the back-ſettlers into ſuch regular bodies as the preſent exigencies required. He, therefore, earneſtly recommended it to them to grant the proper ſupplies of money for theſe important purpoſes, and prepare a bill for eſtabliſhing a militia, with a clauſe in favour of thoſe who, from truly conſcientious motives, ſcrupled the bearing of arms; as it was impoſſible, without ſuch a law, to prevent confuſion and diſorder, and anſwer the purpoſes of government, however conſiderable the mere pecuniary ſupplies granted for that purpoſe might be.

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To this meſſage the aſſembly avoided giving any explicit anſwer. The leading men amongſt them, being Quakers, did all that lay in their power to obſtruct every propoſal for complying with the moſt material part of the governor's meſſage, that of raiſing men as well as money. Some of them went ſo far as to vindicate the enemy, and adviſe forbearance, as the beſt meaſure they could take to ſecure both their liberty and property. To confirm this ſpirit of deluſion that had ſeized upon the majority of the repreſentatives, many ſpeakers or preachers, both men and women, ran about, with more than common aſſiduity, proteſting againſt all warlike preparations, and declaring, that whatever evils might come upon the Engliſh provinces, it was of their own ſeeking; that the French were ſettled on their own lands; and that the defeat of the Engliſh troops was a judgment for diſturbing the French in their peaceable habitations; that their colony was under the immediate protection of Heaven; and that therefore it was as unneceſſary to take any ſteps to keep the French out of Pennſylvania, as it had been wicked to attempt the driving them out of their own poſſeſſions. The governor, therefore, was obliged to ſend them another meſſage to the ſame purport, with the alarming news that the ſettlement at the Great Cove was utterly deſtroyed, and all the ſettlers killed or taken priſoners. But they ſtill held out. On the 10th, therefore, of the ſame month, the governor further informed them, in the moſt pathetic manner, That the Indians who ſtill continued true to the Engliſh had publicly required the aſſiſtance of the province, declaring, that, unleſs it was immediately granted, they muſt, in their own defence, take part with the French, as they were not themſelves able to make head againſt them. The governor ſpiritedly added, That he was 1755.

1755. fully resolved, with the advice of his council, to set out in person for the back-settlements, in order to assist the wretched inhabitants who were still left alive, with his presence, and put them in the best order he could to defend themselves, as he had no hopes left of being able to do any thing for their interest in concert with the assembly, though bound by many more ties than himself to consult it.

One would imagine that this message left no room for any other; notwithstanding which, much fruitless altercation passed between the governor and assembly, even about pecuniary supplies. In a message which the governor sent the assembly on the 18th, he acquainted them that the Indians had driven away the inhabitants of Tulpekochen, and then destroyed the settlement itself; and observed, that the ways and means of supply they had under consideration were of too dilatory a nature, as no money could be raised in consequence of them in less than six weeks, by which time great part of the province might be laid waste. He, therefore, again urged them for an immediate supply, and an immediate law to render that supply effectual, by establishing and regulating a militia, and subjecting it to military discipline. These applications were considerably reinforced by the unexpected arrival at Philadelphia, the very next day, of many hundreds of the back-settlers. These wretched fugitives demanded, in a body, that relief they were entitled to by the laws of God and Nature, from the protection of government. They first applied to the governor, who gave them an account of his messages to the assembly in their behalf; and shewed them an order from the proprietaries for a considerable sum to be laid out as a free gift in the defence of the province.

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Upon this, they hurried to the ſtadt-houſe with a waggon loaded with the dead bodies of their friends, who had been ſcalped only about ſixty miles off by the Indians; and ſet them down at the door of the aſſembly-houſe, curſing the Quakers and their principles, and bidding the committee of aſſembly behold the fruits of their obſtinacy, and confeſs, that their pretended ſanctity could not ſave the province without the aſſiſtance of the arm of fleſh. To theſe arguments they added threats to come down again on the ſame errand; adding, That in caſe they found no effectual ſteps taken for their protection, the conſequences ſhould be fatal. Theſe declarations were made with ſuch marks of grief and deſpair in their faces, for the loſs of their wives and children, and the labours of their whole lives, that the aſſembly, either moved by the diſtreſs, or over-awed by the menaces, of the injured people, immediately dropt all their diſputes, paſſed a money-bill for ſixty thouſand pounds, and likewiſe a militia-bill, too new and curious in its kind to be here omitted. It is as follows: 1755.

An Act for the better ordering and regulating ſuch as are willing and deſirous to be united for military purpoſes within the Province of Pennſylvania, paſſed November 25th 1755.

"*WHEREAS* this province was firſt ſettled by (and a majority of the aſſemblies have ever ſince been of) the people called *Quakers*; who, though they do not, as the world is now circumſtanced, condemn the uſe of arms in others, yet are principled againſt bearing arms themſelves; and to make any law to compel them thereto, againſt their conſciences, would not be only to violate a fundamental principle in our conſtitution, and be a direct breach of our charter of privileges, but would

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1755. alſo in effect be to commence perſecution againſt all that part of the inhabitants of the province; and for them, by any law, to compel others to bear arms, and exempt themſelves, would be inconſiſtent and partial: Yet foraſmuch as, by the general toleration and equity of our laws, great numbers of people of other religious denominations are come among us, who are under no ſuch reſtraint, ſome of whom have been diſciplined in the art of war, and conſcientiouſly think it their duty to fight in defence of their country, their wives, their families, and eſtates; and ſuch have an equal right to liberty of conſcience with others.

" *And whereas* a great number of petitions from the ſeveral counties of this province have been preſented to the houſe, ſetting forth, That the petitioners are very willing to defend themſelves and their country, and deſirous of being formed into regular bodies for that purpoſe, inſtructed and diſciplined under proper officers, with ſuitable and legal authority; repreſenting withal, That unleſs meaſures of this kind are taken, ſo as to unite them together, ſubject them to due command, and thereby give them confidence in each other, they cannot aſſemble to oppoſe the enemy, without the utmoſt danger of expoſing themſelves to confuſion and deſtruction.

" *And whereas* the voluntary aſſembling of great bodies of armed men from different parts of the province on any occaſional alarm, whether true or falſe, as of late hath happened, without call or authority from the government, and without due order and direction among themſelves, may be attended with danger to our neighbouring Indian friends and allies, as well as to the internal peace of the province.

" *And*

1755.

"*And whereas* the governor hath frequently recommended it to the aſſembly, that in preparing and paſſing a law for ſuch purpoſes, they ſhould have due regard to ſcrupulous and tender conſciences, which cannot be done where compulſive means are uſed to force men into military ſervice; therefore, as we repreſent all the people of the province, and are compoſed of members of different religious perſuaſions, we do not think it reaſonable that any ſhould, through a want of legal powers, be in the leaſt reſtrained from doing what they judge it their duty to do for their own ſecurity and the public good; we, in compliance with the ſaid petitions and recommendations, do offer it to the governor to be enacted, *and be it enacted* by the Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, Eſq; with the King's royal approbation, lieutenant-governor, under the Honourable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Eſquires, true and abſolute proprietors of the province of Pennſylvania, and of the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex upon Delaware, by and with the advice and conſent of the repreſentatives of the freemen of the ſaid province, in general aſſembly met, and by the authority of the ſame, That from and after publication of this act, it ſhall and may be lawful for freemen of this province to form themſelves into companies, as heretofore they have uſed in time of war without law; and for each company, by majority of votes in the way of ballot, to chuſe its own officers, to wit, a captain, lieutenant, and enſign, and preſent them to the governor or commander in chief for the time being, for his approbation; which officers, ſo choſen, if approved and commiſſioned by him, ſhall be the captain, lieutenant, and enſign of each company reſpectively, according to their commiſſions; and the ſaid companies being

1755. divided into regiments by the governor or commander in chief, it ſhall and may be lawful for the officers ſo choſen and commiſſioned for the ſeveral companies of each regiment, to meet together, and by majority of votes, in the way of ballot, to chuſe a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, for the regiment, and preſent them to the governor, or commander in chief, for his approbation; which officers ſo chóſen, if approved and commiſſioned by him, ſhall be the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major of the regiment, according to their commiſſions, during the continuance of this act.

" *Provided always*, That if the governor or commander in chief ſhall not think fit to grant his commiſſion to any officer, ſo firſt choſen and preſented, it ſhall and may be lawful for the electors of ſuch officer to chuſe two other perſons in his ſtead, and preſent them to the governor or commander in chief; one of whom, at his pleaſure, ſhall receive his commiſſion, and be the officer as aforeſaid.

" *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforeſaid, That as ſoon as the ſaid companies and regiments are formed, and their officers commiſſioned as aforeſaid, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the governor, or commander in chief, by and with the advice and conſent of the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors of all the regiments, being for that purpoſe by him called and convened, or by and with the advice and conſent of a majority of the ſaid officers that ſhall be met and preſent together on ſuch call, to form, make, and eſtabliſh articles of war, for the better government of the forces that ſhall be under their command, and for bringing offenders

ers against the same to justice; and to erect and constitute courts-martial, with powers to hear, try, or determine any crimes or offences by such articles of war, and inflict penalties, by sentence or judgment of the same, on those who shall be subject thereto, in any place within this province. Which articles of war, when made as aforesaid, shall be printed and distributed to the captains of the several companies, and by them distinctly read to their respective companies; and all and every captain, lieutenant, ensign, or other freeman, who shall, after at least three days consideration of the said articles, voluntarily sign the same, in presence of some one justice of the peace, acknowledging his having perused or heard the same distinctly read, and that he has well considered thereof, and is willing to be bound and governed thereby, and promises obedience thereto, and to his officers accordingly, shall henceforth be deemed well and duly bound to the observance of the said articles, and to the duties thereby required, and subject to the pains, penalties, punishments, and forfeitures that may therein be appointed on disobedience and other offences. 1755.

" *Provided always*, That the articles so to be made and established, shall contain nothing repugnant, but be as near as possible conformable to the military laws of Great Britain, and to the articles of war made and established by his Majesty, in pursuance of the last act of parliament for punishing mutiny and desertion; the different circumstances of this province compared with Great Britain, and of a voluntary militia of freemen compared with mercenary standing troops, being duly weighed and maturely considered.

1755. " *Provided alſo*, That nothing in this act ſhall be underſtood or conſtrued to give any power or authority to the governor or commander in chief, and the ſaid officers, to make any articles or rules that ſhall in the leaſt affect thoſe of the inhabitants of the province who are conſcientiouſly ſcrupulous of bearing arms, either in their liberties, perſons, or eſtates; nor any other perſons, of what perſuaſion or denomination ſoever, who have not firſt voluntarily and freely ſigned the ſaid articles, after due conſideration as aforeſaid.

" *Provided alſo*, That no youth under the age of twenty-one years, nor any bought ſervant or indented apprentice ſhall be admitted to enrol himſelf, or be capable of being enrolled in the ſaid companies or regiments, without the conſent of his or their parents or guardians, maſters or miſtreſſes, in writing under their hands firſt had and obtained.

" *Provided alſo*, That no inliſtment or enrolment of any perſon, in any of the companies or regiments to be formed or raiſed as aforeſaid, ſhall protect ſuch perſon in any ſuit or civil action brought againſt him by his creditors or others, except during his being in actual ſervice in field or garriſon; nor from a proſecution for any offence committed againſt the laws of this province.

" *Provided alſo*, That no regiment, company, or party of volunteers, ſhall, by virtue of this act, be compelled or led more than three days march beyond the inhabited parts of the province; nor detained longer than three weeks in any garriſon, without an expreſs engagement for that purpoſe, firſt voluntarily entered into and ſubſcribed by every man, ſo to march or remain in garriſon.

This

"This act to continue in force until the 30th day of October next, and no longer." 1755.

After all, we must remark, in justice to the Quakers, that the rest of the English colonists, who held no religious tenets which could obstruct their councils, or tie up their hands, were very far from being properly united, or even so much as agreed, regarding the grand point of raising the necessary supplies of men and money for their common safety. Those indeed, who were nearest the seat of danger presented several spirited remonstrances to their rulers, and instructions to their representatives, setting forth, "That when they saw the views of an ambitious and potent prince extended, in open violation of the most solemn treaties with the native Indians and the crown of Great Britain, and his subjects seizing lands undoubtedly within the limits of the English territories, fortifying themselves thereon, assisted by all the native forces of Canada, a large number of veteran soldiers from France; and thereby opening a short and easy passage to the back-settlements of the English: That when they reflected on these intruders, who were the avowed enemies of the property and trade, the liberty, laws, and religion of the English, the utter extirpation of which could only satisfy them: That when they considered this, it plainly appeared to be the grand leading view in all their ambitious designs, and the only way, in their opinion, to establish an arbitrary and tyrannical empire, and with it a bloody and persecuting religion, throughout the whole continent of North America: That when they observed them, in pursuance of this plan, to act in one uniform manner, guided by one steady council, and directed to one fixed and unalterable point; their strength consisting in union, and their prospect

1755. of employing that ſtrength ſucceſsfully, founded on the preſent unhappy disjointed ſtate of the Engliſh colonies; a circumſtance ſo evident even to the Indians in alliance with the Engliſh, that ſelf-preſervation had induced many of their warriors to go over to the French, believing, that either the affairs of the Engliſh were deſperate, or that the Engliſh themſelves were an eaſy, effeminate, and daſtardly people, and conſequently not to be relied on, either for prudence to provide againſt, or courage to oppoſe, the impending dangers.

" That when they ſeriouſly conſidered and obſerved all theſe things, they could not forbear being alarmed at a ſituation ſo ſhocking to every true ſubject of Great Britain: adding, That it was with the utmoſt concern they had ſeen thoſe evils, from ſmall beginnings, grow, though by ſlow degrees, to a moſt alarming height; and that they could not help attributing this their monſtrous growth to the private views and diſunion, the irreſolution and inaction, of the ſeveral legiſlatures of Britiſh America; ſo that an invaſion, which, conſidering the natural ſtrength of the Engliſh colonies, if properly united, might have been heretofore repelled at an eaſy expence, was now become a matter of the moſt ſerious concern to themſelves, as well as of the greateſt importance to the mother-country, by requiring a provincial aſſiſtance in men and money, far beyond what, in caſe of an early junction and ſpirited meaſures, would have been amply ſufficient."

Theſe remonſtrances and inſtructions had, in a great meaſure, the deſired effect, by diſpoſing the minds to whom they were directed to liſten to the advice, and obey the injunctions of the court of London to the ſame ſalutary purpoſe. General Shirley,

Shirley, who arrived at Albany on the 4th of November, on the 2d of the following month, wrote circular letters to the ſeveral Engliſh governors upon the continent, to meet him at that place, in order to hold a council of war; which, by order of his maſter, the King of Great Britain, was to conſiſt of as many Engliſh governors and field-officers as could poſſibly attend at it. As ſoon as this council met, Mr. Shirley laid before them the inſtructions that had been given his predeceſſor General Braddock; and then exerted the utmoſt of his abilities to eſtabliſh a good harmony amongſt the Engliſh colonies; and was particularly happy in effecting an union between the governments of New-England and New-York, towards the common cauſe of defence againſt the incroachments of the French: and, what was of ſtill greater conſequence, he conciliated to the Britiſh intereſt many of the Indians who had already gone over to the French, or had given juſt reaſon to ſuſpect their intending it. 1755.

The firſt fruits of this ſucceſs were, that the meaſures he propoſed, in conſequence of General Braddock's inſtructions, were cheerfully agreed to. Theſe were, To ſecure, at all events, the navigation of Lake Ontario; and employ ſix thouſand troops againſt the French forts on that lake, and ten thouſand againſt Crown-Point. It was likewiſe propoſed to renew the expedition againſt Fort-du-Queſne, and attack the French on the river Chaudiere: but theſe operations were approved merely on condition they did not interfere with the principal expeditions already agreed to. The council then unanimouſly declared it to be their opinion, That it would be impoſſible to recover and ſecure his Britannic Majeſty's juſt rights, without an additional number of regular forces; and,

1755. as the French were building veſſels at Frontenac, they alſo ordered a ſnow, a brigantine, and a ſloop to be built at Fort Oſwego.

The executing of theſe meaſures required no ſmall degree of military ſkill; and, whatever merit General Shirley might be poſſeſſed of as a negotiator, he had not, in the courſe of his command, diſcovered any great abilities as a ſoldier. The court of London, therefore, thought proper to ſuperſede him in his command, and ordered him to England, before he could have an opportunity of carrying any of his winter-councils into execution.

Notwithſtanding the defeat of M. Dieſkeau, there ſtill remained a great number of the French regulars, which the Baron and M. de Vaudreuil had brought over with them, to the amount of three thouſand men and upwards. Theſe troops, with the Canadians, who were as well, if not better, qualified for ſervice in that country, than the French regulars, joined to the numerous tribes of Indians in the French intereſt, being conducted by one chief, formed an infinitely more formidable power than the regular and provincial troops of the Engliſh, who could not unite their ſtrength on account of the jarring intereſts of the different provinces.

The poſts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point were effectually ſecured by the French, who likewiſe continued to uſe the greateſt diligence in conſtructing veſſels at Fort Frontenac; they alſo ſtrongly garriſoned Niagara, and ſtationed a ſufficient number of troops on the communication between that place and Fort-du-Queſne, ſo as to ſecure either from ſurprize

prize, and which would at the ſame time admit of their making detachments, in conjunction with the Indians, to attack the ſettlements of Virginia and Pennſylvania that were neareſt to their forts. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon having forced the main body of the French army into winter-quarters, the French commander in chief purſued ſuch meaſures with the Indians as effectually conciliated many of them to his intereſt; and then, in concert with them, formed a plan for the operations of the enſuing campaign. 1755.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK II.

Lord Loudon appointed commander in chief of the British troops in North America.——Major-General Abercromby sent thither to command till his arrival.——Bradstreet attacked on the Onondaga river.——Lord Loudon arrives at Albany.——Number and position of the English and French forces.——Oswego taken by the French, who demolish it.——Successful operations of the English under Governor Lawrence.——Fort Granville surprised by the Indians.——Kittanning surprised by the English.——Treaties concluded by the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia with the Indians.——Measures taken for the security of the English colonies during the winter.——Major Rogers employed in making prisoners.——Fort Loudon built by the English.——They are joined at Fort Cumberland by a body of Cherokees.——Drop their design upon Crown-Point, with a view of attacking Louisbourg.——M. de Montcalm's winter-operations.——Fort William-Henry attacked by the French.——They defeat a detachment of the English.——Embargo laid on the shipping by Lord Loudon, to favour his attack on Louisbourg.——He sails from New York; anchors at the Hook.——Disposition for the defence of the frontiers in his absence.——Fort William-Henry besieged by the French.

French.——Capitulates.——Lord Loudon ſails for Haliſax.——Admiral Holborne arrives there from England.——Troops embark to attack Louiſbourg.——The ſtrength of the French diſcovered.——The Engliſh alter their plan of operations.——Lord Loudon returns to New York;—is recalled;—ſucceeded in his command by General Abercromby.

THE Britiſh provinces having applied for a reinforcement of troops, the court of London determined to increaſe her efforts in North America. The Earl of Loudon was therefore appointed commander in chief in that part of the Britiſh empire; but, as he would be neceſſarily detained ſome time in England, Major-General Abercromby was ordered to proceed immediately to North America, and take the command of the troops, till his Lordſhip ſhould arrive. The Earl of Loudon, already colonel of a regiment, was nominated to another, which was to conſiſt of four battalions, to be called the *Royal Americans*, and to be officered chiefly by foreigners; an act of parliament having paſſed for that purpoſe. He was likewiſe conſtituted governor of Virginia; and was, moreover, inveſted with ſuch powers as were thought neceſſary, by giving a greater latitude to his authority, to enable him to promote an union amongſt the Engliſh colonies. In the mean time, the neceſſary preparations were made in Britiſh America to forward the execution of the plans agreed upon in the council of war that had been held at Albany. The militia of the ſeveral provinces were aſſembled at that place; but there remained, for want of a commander in chief, till the latter end of June, when General Abercromby joined them in that capacity. The General having brought with him the thirty-fifth regiment, and the forty-ſecond, or Lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders, the Britiſh troops now in North America conſiſted of theſe two corps,

1756.

1756. corps, Pepperel's, Shirley's, the forty-fourth and forty-eighth regiments; with four independent companies from New York; four from Carolina, and a considerable body of provincials.

Though General Abercromby approved of the plan of operations agreed upon by the Albany council of war, he conceived it by far too extensive to be carried into execution by the forces under his command. He, therefore, thought proper to wait the arrival of Lord Loudon; but, in the mean time, ordered the provincials to march immediately for Fort William-Henry, under the command of General Winslow.

The French diligently availed themselves of this inaction of the English, and M. de Montcalm, who had arrived in Canada, with about three thousand regulars, detached a party to attack Fort Bull on Wood-Creek, in the country of the Five Nations; the whole garrison of which, except two, were scalped. He likewise formed a camp at Ticonderoga, and strengthened the post at Crown-Point. Moreover, being sufficiently apprised that the British forces were not to act offensively till Lord Loudon should take the command, and knowing that his Lordship could not arrive before the season would be elapsed for attacking Crown-Point, or relieving Oswego if attacked by the French, Montcalm resolved to carry into execution a plan formed by M. de Vaudreuil against that fort; and, to insure success to his operations, he placed ambuscades, in order to prevent its receiving any kind of supplies, either of men or provision, from Schenectady.

In the mean time, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet was exerting himself to carry into execution the resolutions of

of the Albany council of war, to form, at Oſwego, ſuch magazines of military and other ſtores as the importance of the place ſeemed to require; and having left Schenectady on this ſervice, with about three hundred boat-men, the French got intelligence of his proceedings, and formed an ambuſcade to intercept him, either in his way to Oſwego, or as he ſhould be returning from that place. The detachment for this purpoſe were to proceed to the north ſhore of the Onondaga river; and were ordered to fire into the Engliſh boats that would paſs before the men could land, or make any diſpoſition for their defence. But this body loſt their way in the woods, and did not reach the banks of the river, from whence they were to fire on Colonel Bradſtreet, till he had paſſed that place. However, as no proper meaſures had been taken by the Engliſh to ſcour the country well, the French found means to continue unnoticed in the woods till the Colonel's return. Boats on this kind of ſervice muſt always be expoſed to an attack, from the impoſſibility of having troops on ſhore to cover them. Upon theſe occaſions, therefore, it is neceſſary to make ſuch diſpoſitions as may the ſooneſt enable them to retire from an ambuſcade, or give them an opportunity of forming in a manner ſo as to be able to oppoſe it. Such was the diſpoſition made by Colonel Bradſtreet. He divided his boats into three diviſions, with orders to keep at a proper diſtance aſunder, to be the better able to land and ſupport each other. He himſelf headed the firſt. Whilſt he was ſtemming the ſtream of the Onondaga in this order, on the 3d of July, he was ſaluted with the war-whoop, and a volley of muſket bullets, from the northern ſhore. 1756.

Upon this, he ordered his men to land on the oppoſite banks; and then, recollecting that there was a little iſland juſt above him where the enemy might ford the river, and attack his

1756. his men before they could form, he inſtantly rowed to it with ſix men only. But he had ſcarce got on ſhore when he was attacked by at leaſt twenty. Theſe, however, he ſoon repulſed; and, being joined by more of his party, beat them off a ſecond and a third time. The French, therefore, deſpairing of being able to paſs the river at this place, marched in a body along the northern banks to attempt another ford about a mile higher, and Colonel Bradſtreet kept moving along the oppoſite ſhore with two hundred men to oppoſe their paſſage; till, ſeeing that another detachment had already croſſed the river, and poſted themſelves in a ſwamp, he fell upon them with ſo much fury as to leave them no proſpect of ſecurity but in flight. Many of them, however, fell in their way to the river, and many more were driven into it and drowned. This proved a critical advantage to the Engliſh; for the other French party had, by this time, paſſed the ford; but it was only to experience the ſame diſgrace. The Colonel marched up to them, forced them to give way, drove them to the north ſhore of the river, and there totally routed and diſperſed the whole detachment. This affair continued warm for about three hours, during which the Engliſh had above ſixty killed and wounded; and the French about one hundred killed, and ſeventy taken priſoners; and had not a heavy rain come on that night, and continued all the next day, few, if any, of the French would have eſcaped the ſame fate; though the French concerned in this affair conſiſted originally of ſeven hundred men, and the Engliſh they had to deal with were wholly undiſciplined. But actions of this kind are ſo irregular, as to make reſolution in the men more than compenſate for any want of military knowledge. And this was the caſe of Colonel Bradſtreet's party, which was compoſed of raw

raw Hibernians. They had indeed that confidence in their commander and themfelves which is generally a fure fign of victory. 1756.

The very night after this affair, Colonel Bradftreet was joined by Captain Patten with a company of grenadiers, in his way from Oneida to Ofwego; and the next day by a detachment of two hundred men from the garrifon of Ofwego; but, before the rain, and the floods, occafioned by its fwelling all the adjacent rivulets, would permit them to ftir, all the French who had efcaped, and were able to march, had got back to Lake Ontario, and either taken refuge on board the veffels which had brought them from Fort Frontinac, or joined a large body of French, which, by the reports of the prifoners, were encamped on the eaft fide of that lake, and made part of an army deftined againft Ofwego. The detachment, therefore, from that place, marched back to it with Captain Patten and his grenadiers, whilft Colonel Bradftreet returned to Schenectady, where, without meeting with any further moleftation, he arrived the 14th of July. The next day, he fet out for Albany, and communicated to General Abercromby the intelligence he had received from his prifoners concerning the defigns of the French upon Ofwego.

The General, upon this, immediately ordered Colonel Webb to march with the forty-fourth regiment to reinforce the garrifon there; but, fomehow or other, this body was delayed till the 26th of July; when Lord Loudon being arrived at New-York, immediately proceeded to Albany, and took upon himfelf the command of the Englifh army, which now confifted of three thoufand regulars and upwards, befides the provincials. The garrifon at Ofwego was infenfibly increafed to fourteen hundred

1756. hundred men; and ſeveral parties were ſtationed on the road between it and Schenectady, in order to preſerve an open communication between them. The French, on their ſide, had about three thouſand men at Crown-Point and Ticonderoga. But they had poſted their chief ſtrength at Fort Frontinac, in order from thence to carry on their deſigns againſt Fort Oſwego.

The loſs of this place would not only render abortive the grand ſcheme, which had been ſo long in agitation by the Engliſh, to reduce Niagara, but leave the French maſters of the navigation of Lake Ontario, and thereby ſecure to them a free and eaſy communication with their forts on the upper lakes, and on the Engliſh back-ſettlements; and by that means rivet to their intereſt the Indians inhabiting thoſe countries. Theſe conſiderations required that no time ſhould be loſt by Lord Loudon in purſuing the moſt vigorous meaſures to improve the intelligence obtained by Colonel Bradſtreet. The ſeaſon, indeed, was too far advanced to attempt Niagara this ſummer; but had part of the Engliſh army, which, as we have before obſerved, continued all this time moſt ſhamefully inactive at Albany, marched to Oſwego on the firſt advice of the motions making by the French, they might have ſufficiently fortified themſelves there, by intrenchments and other works, ſo as to have ſecured that place, and the large magazines formed in it, and have been ſo far in their way, and in readineſs to attack Niagara. But, tho' theſe were objects of the utmoſt conſequence to the ſucceſs of the future operations of the war, the detaching of any troops to anſwer them was ſtrongly oppoſed by a party at Albany, who thought, that whilſt Crown-Point continued in the hands of the French, there could be no ſecurity for the province of New-York.

General

General Winſlow, who was to command an expedition againſt Crown-Point, was already more than ſufficiently ſtrong for that purpoſe, yet this party inſiſted on his being reinforced with two or three regiments of regular troops; and that an army ſhould likewiſe continue at Albany to defend it, in caſe the troops ſent againſt Crown-Point ſhould happen to be defeated. Nay, they ſtrongly oppoſed the departure of the regiment which General Abercromby had already ordered for Oſwego. Some of the New-England colonies joined that of New-York in this oppoſition; ſo that it was not without the greateſt difficulty Lord Loudon, who did not think proper to do any thing material without their approbation, could ſo much as prevail upon them to let Colonel Webb depart for Oſwego. Therefore it was the 12th of Auguſt before that officer could leave Albany; and, by the time he reached the carrying-place between the Mohawk's river and Wood-Creek, he received the diſagreeable news that Oſwego had been beſieged and taken. Thus the public ſafety of the whole Britiſh Empire in North America was made to yield to the private views, or rather blind prejudices, of ſome leading people in the provinces of New-England and of New-York. 1756.

This unexpected intelligence ſtruck ſuch a panic into the Colonel, that he ordered the navigation of Wood-Creek to be deſtroyed, in order to prevent the French from coming to attack him; whilſt they were equally buſy in filling up the mouth of the ſtream, to prevent their being attacked by the Engliſh.

It muſt be owned, however, that the aſſiſtance of this regiment alone could not have ſaved Oſwego; the delay of it,

1756. therefore, cannot be deemed an unhappy circumſtance. But, unfortunately for the province of New-York, doomed, as it were, to feel the firſt bitter fruits of the loſs of Oſwego, as ſhe had been the firſt to contribute to that loſs, Colonel Webb retreated to Burnett's Field, and from thence to Schenectady: in conſequence of his ſo doing, inſtead of remaining at the German Flats; this, the fineſt and moſt plentiful part of that province, became an eaſy prey to the French and their Indians. Such of the inhabitants as could not fly from them, were either ſcalped or made priſoners, their plantations deſtroyed, and their houſes burnt to the ground.

From the little attention beſtowed on the preſervation of Oſwego, it is no way ſurpriſing that it fell ſo eaſily into the hands of the French; but then it is very extraordinary, that a place of ſo much importance ſhould be ſo neglected. The vaſt magazines of warlike and other ſtores, that had been formed there, conſtituted, alone, an object of the utmoſt conſequence. Either no ſuch magazines ſhould have been eſtabliſhed there, or proper fortifications ſhould have been erected to ſecure them. However, it might be reaſonably expected, that, as theſe overſights and neglects were chiefly owing to the extraordinary care and circumſpection uſed to enable General Winſlow to act vigorouſly againſt Crown-Point, they would be counterbalanced, in ſome meaſure, by his ſucceſs againſt that place; and that, in conſequence of ſuch ſucceſs, the Engliſh, by the end of the campaign, would find themſelves maſters of all the French forts on Lake Champlain. But all the preparations made for theſe important purpoſes terminated in ſtrengthening Fort Edward and Fort William-Henry without ſtriking, or even attempting to ſtrike

ſtrike a ſingle blow to retrieve the Britiſh affairs, or the glory of the Britiſh arms, notwithſtanding moſt of the French troops had been drawn out of Canada, to reinforce thoſe originally intended againſt Oſwego. In the beginning of November the provincial troops returned to their reſpective provinces, and the regulars to their quarters at Albany; leaving in Fort Edward and Fort William-Henry a garriſon of five hundred men each, to ſecure the paſſage between Lake George and Hudſon's river, and protect the northern frontiers of New-England and New-York againſt any further incurſions the French might undertake during the winter. 1756.

We are now to give ſome account of the plan formed by the French againſt Oſwego, and the execution of it, to which the deſtruction of Fort Bull, and the attack of Colonel Bradſtreet, were the preludes. This plan had been formed early in the ſpring; and accordingly, as ſoon as the river St. Lawrence became navigable, the troops intended for the execution of it, were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Frontinac, on Lake Ontario. Thirteen hundred regulars, and ſeventeen hundred militia, with a body of Indians, aſſembled there, in conſequence of theſe orders; and, on the 29th of July, were joined by the Marquis de Montcalm, who, immediately on his arrival at Fort Frontinac, diſpatched two armed veſſels to cruize off Oſwego; the one of twelve, the other of ſixteen guns; in order to prevent the garriſon's receiving any intelligence of his deſigns by water; and, at the ſame time, detached a numerous body of Canadians and Indians, with orders to poſt themſelves between Oſwego and Albany, for the purpoſe

1756. of intercepting any meſſenger that might attempt to paſs from either of theſe places to the other. Soon after, he ordered his advanced guard to proceed to a creek called *Anſe-aux-Cabannes*, three leagues from Oſwego; and the firſt diviſion of it arrived there the 10th of Auguſt in the morning, and in the afternoon proceeded through the woods, and took poſt at another creek, within half a league of Oſwego, in order to favour the debarkation of the reſt of the troops as near as poſſible to the object of their operations. For this purpoſe they, immediately on their arrival there, began to erect a battery pointing to Lake Ontario, in order to protect the ſhips and other veſſels that were coming after them. The 11th and 12th they employed in making faſcines, gabions, and ſuch other things as could be made on the ſpot, and were requiſite to forward the uſe of their artillery, and in cutting a road through the woods to the place where they intended to break ground againſt the fort. On the 12th, the remainder of the troops arrived with the artillery and proviſions: which being landed, the ground intended for the firſt parallel, and where the firſt batteries were to be erected, was immediately traced out, at about two hundred yards from Fort Ontario. But before we proceed any further with the beſiegers, it is neceſſary we ſhould ſee what the beſieged were doing to oppoſe them.

It was ſo late before the Engliſh at Oſwego diſcovered the French who came to attack them, that, inſtead of having time to conſtruct their batteries with common materials, they were forced to employ barrels of pork for that purpoſe, and intrench themſelves with what few tools they had, on the eminence which commanded the fort, at about two hundred yards diſtance. This work, which the French ſhould have found

found ready to receive them, employed the Engliſh till the 13th, by which time the French had completed a battery of ten cannon, under cover of a wood, within two hundred yards of Fort Ontario. Upon this, Colonel Mercer ordered part of Pepperel's regiment, which was poſted there, to ſpike up their guns, deſtroy their ammunition and proviſions, and retreat in ſome whale-boats he had ſent for them. This diſagreeable taſk was performed in good order; and, when the troops arrived at the Oſwego ſide, they marched up to the new intrenchments on the eminence which we juſt now mentioned. 1756.

The French being, by this retreat, maſters of Fort Ontario, they immediately began to work on a battery, from which, the next morning, they fired into the old fort, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, with two twelve-pounders. To theſe they ſoon added two others, and one hawitzer, which enfiladed the fort ſo effectually, that all the officers and men, except theſe on duty, were ordered out of it, and were put under cover of a breaſt-work. In about two hours after, three guns, which had been mounted on one of the batteries conſtructed with barrels of pork, were diſmounted, and ſeveral of the ſmall mortars burſt. The guns, however, were re-mounted on other carriages, in ſpite of a heavy fire from the French; but they were again diſmounted in a very ſhort time. Upon this the Marquis de Montcalm increaſed his fire in the ſame proportion as that of the Engliſh ſlackened, and ordered a conſiderable body of men to paſs the river, and take poſt on the Oſwego ſide of it, in order to be in readineſs to ſtorm the fort, in conjunction with another body, which was to advance againſt it in boats, under cover of their ten-gun battery.

Colonel

1756. Colonel Mercer, who had been very careful to obſerve the motions of the French, ordered Colonel Schuyler, with five hundred men, to diſpute the paſſage of the river with them; but he had ſcarcely delivered theſe orders, when, going into the fort, to give ſome others equally neceſſary, he was killed by a cannon-ſhot. Upon this, Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales, upon whom the command now devolved, ſeeing that the French had already paſſed the river, and were forming, ordered Colonel Schuyler back, and called a council of war, compoſed of the captains as well as the field-officers, to be the better able to determine what was to be done in ſo critical a conjuncture. Mr. Mackeller, the chief engineer, being then aſked, How long he thought it was poſſible for the place to hold out? and anſwering, "An hour," the fort was voted not tenable; and that therefore it would be the heighth of folly to wait a ſtorm by ſuch ſuperior numbers. But this did not appear to be the ſenſe of the reſt of the garriſon, or at leaſt the common men. Theſe could hardly be prevailed upon to think of ſurrendering to the French. However, the chamade was beat, and two officers were ſent to M. de Montcalm, to know what terms he would grant them, without any inſtructions to aſk, themſelves, ſuch as a brave garriſon had a right to inſiſt upon. The French took the advantage of this ceſſation of arms. They brought up more cannon, advanced their main body within muſket-ſhot of the place, and made every other preparation neceſſary to ſtorm it; and M. de Montcalm was himſelf ſo ſure of carrying his point, that all the anſwer he condeſcended to give the Engliſh officers ſent out to him, was, That he was willing to receive a capitulation upon honourable terms. But theſe terms, when he

he came to explain himſelf, proved as mortifying as he well could make them, viz. That the Engliſh ſhould give up their forts, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; in which light he indeed aſſured them of all the regard they could expect from the politeſt of nations. Then, keeping Mr. Drake, one of the officers charged with the meſſage to him, as an hoſtage, till the capitulation ſhould be ſigned, he ſent M. de Bougainville, one of his aids-de-camp, to receive ſuch articles as Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales might think proper to propoſe to him, conſiſtent with the terms already mentioned. However, M. de Bougainville ſoon returned with the following paper: 1756.

Conditions required by the Commandant at Oſwego, from the Marquis de Montcalm, Army and Field Marſhal, and Commander in Chief of the troops of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in North America.

ARTICLE I. The garriſon ſhall ſurrender priſoners of war, and ſhall be conducted from hence to Montreal, where they ſhall be treated with humanity; and every one in a manner ſuitable to his rank, according to the cuſtoms of war.

II. The officers, ſoldiers, and others, ſhall have their baggage and clothes belonging to them as individuals; and ſhall be allowed to carry away theſe their effects with them.

III. They ſhall remain priſoners of war till exchanged.

To theſe propoſals, M. de Montcalm gave the following anſwer:

" I agree to the above articles, in the name of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, on condition, that the beſieged ſhall give

1756. up, faithfully, the fortifications, artillery, ammunition, magazines, barks, and boats, with their appurtenances.

"I give full power to M. de le Pauze, Major-General, to reduce this present capitulation into form, and settle the manner in which our troops are to be put in possession of the forts, and the proper steps for securing the English from any insult.

"Given at the camp before Oswego, the 14th day (at eleven o'clock in the morning) of the month of August 1756.

"MONTCALM."

M. de le Pauze having performed the task assigned him in the above answer of M. de Montcalm, the garrison laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Their loss, in killed and wounded, during this siege, was never ascertained; that of the French was so inconsiderable as scarce to deserve the name. It consisted of one engineer, and one gunner, one French and one Canadian soldier, killed; with about twenty regulars and provincials slightly wounded. The loss of the English, during the siege, was not equal to what followed the surrender of the place. The French neglected to relieve the sentries over the English hospital, all the sick and wounded it contained were scalped; as was likewise Lieutenant De la Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, though under the protection of a French officer. Nay, the Indians were permitted, in open contempt of the capitulation, to insult the officers and soldiers as they stood defenceless on the parade, and even to rob them of their baggage, and murder some of them. The

The ſurviving Engliſh officers were indeed ſent off to Montreal the next day, but without their men: there they were treated in a manner not to leave any room for complaint; and, in the courſe of the year, moſt of them were exchanged. 1756.

The conquerors began to demoliſh the forts as ſoon as they could remove the magazines contained in them. Theſe were too vaſt not to merit a particular enumeration. They conſiſted of one hundred and thirty-five pieces of artillery, of different kinds; a quantity of ſmall arms; twenty-three thouſand weight of powder; eight thouſand weight of lead and iron, in balls and bullets; one hundred and fifty bombs, with other ſmaller ſtores in proportion; and twelve months proviſions for four thouſand men. The little fleet, which had been put afloat on Lake Ontario, became likewiſe the prize of the conquerors, with ſome veſſels that were on the ſtocks. This fleet conſiſted of the Halifax ſnow, pierced for eighteen guns on her main deck, but never finiſhed; the London, a brig, pierced for ſixteen guns, twelve of which were mounted; two ſloops; viz. the Mohawk, pierced for ten, and the Ontario, for ſix guns; the Oſwego, a ſchooner, of ſix four-pounders; and a ſmall ſchooner, of twelve ſwivels; with a number of boats, and a great quantity of cordage and other naval ſtores. If the accumulating of ſuch magazines in a place not only juſtly deemed untenable in itſelf, but ſituated out of the reach of immediate aſſiſtance, is not ſufficient to impeach the honeſty of thoſe who were concerned in the contracts, it is at leaſt more than enough to prove, that there exiſted ſomewhere a degree of miſconduct, which alone might account for the miſcarriage of the beſt laid plans.

1756. The loſs of Oſwego was, in ſome degree at leaſt, compenſated to the Engliſh by the ſucceſs of Colonel Lawrence in Acadia or Nova Scotia. He purſued his blow there; and, to make it have the deſired effect, was obliged to uſe great ſeverity, as the French neutrals and Indians, who inhabited that country, refuſed to conform to the laws, or ſwear allegiance to the King of Great Britain: nay, many of them had engaged to join, the enſuing ſpring, the troops that were expected from France, on their own coaſt, or at Louiſbourg; and ſome of which were taken, on their paſſage, with military and other ſtores, by the Engliſh cruizers ſtationed off Cape Breton. Colonel Lawrence purſued thoſe dangerous inmates with fire and ſword, burning their houſes, driving off their cattle, and making one entire deſart of their whole country. At length, ſhocked at the thoughts of utterly extirpating the French neutrals, though he knew they only waited for a fair opportunity to join the open enemies of Great Britain, he conſidered that he might reconcile humanity with what he thought ſound policy, by tranſplanting them to ſome part or another of the Britiſh empire; where, from implacable enemies, they, or at leaſt their children, might, in time, become uſeful ſubjects. He, therefore, diſtributed about ſeven thouſand of them that were left, amongſt the different Engliſh colonies in North America; and thereby eſtabliſhed peace and tranquility throughout the province, to the full extent of its ancient limits, as ſettled in the ceſſion made of it to Great Britain, by the treaty of Utrecht. Things continued here, in this ſituation, till the month of February 1756, when a party of three hundred French and Indians began to appear on the frontiers, with a deſign to make inroads about Chinecto, and cut off the Engliſh wood-cutters, who were carrying on their

bufinefs in a fuppofed ftate of the moft profound fecurity from any hoftile vifit. But Lieutenant-Colonel Scot having got intelligence of their defigns, marched with three hundred provincials in queft of them; and fortunately coming up with them time enough to prevent their furprifing the wood-cutters, wounded a confiderable number, and killed eight Indians on the fpot. 1756.

About the month of Auguft, Fort Granville, an inconfiderable fort on the confines of Pennfylvania, was furprifed by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrifon prifoners; but, inftead of fcalping them, with equal prudence and humanity, loaded them with flour, and drove them into captivity. But the Ohio Morians killed above a thoufand inhabitants of the weftern frontiers. The death of thefe poor people did not remain long unrevenged. Colonel Armftrong, with a party of two hundred and eighty provincials, marched from Fort Shirley, which had been built by the Pennfylvanians on the Juniata river, about one hundred and fifty miles weft of Philadelphia, to Kittanning, an Indian town, and the rendezvous of the Morian murderers, and got near enough to them to difcover their fituation, early in the morning of the fifth day after his fetting out, being the 8th of September, whilft their warriors were regaling themfelves at a dance. Then, halting about one hundred perches below the town, on the banks of the river, he prepared his men to attack them; and led them on for that purpofe as foon as it was light. Captain Jacobs, the chief of the Indians, gave the war-whoop, and defended his houfe bravely, through loop-holes in the loggs with which it was built. Colonel Armftrong offered them quarter; but many of them juftly fufpecting the fincerity of the offer, as the many inhuman murders they had been guilty of were yet

1756. freſh in their memories, they refuſed to ſubmit. Colonel Armſtrong, therefore, ordered their houſes to be ſet on fire, which was immediately done; and many of the Indians were thereby ſuffocated and burnt; others were ſhot in attempting to reach the river: Captain Jacobs, his ſquaw, and a boy called the *King's Son*, met the ſame fate, as they were getting out of the window; and all were ſcalped. Theſe Indians had a great number of fire-arms ready loaded in their houſes, and a large quantity of gun-powder, which went off, blew up their houſes, and killed many of them. Eleven Engliſh priſoners were releaſed from captivity, or, perhaps, a moſt cruel death. Theſe informed the Colonel, that, on that very day, two boats filled with Frenchmen, and a large party of Delawares, were expected to join Captain Jacobs, in order to proceed on an expedition concerted againſt Fort Shirley; and that, with this view, an advanced party of twenty-four warriors had been detached the preceding evening to reconnoitre the country.

This intelligence was ſoon after confirmed by Lieutenant Hogg, who had been left to ſeize on a party of Indians, ſuppoſed not to exceed four, whom Colonel Armſtrong's ſcouts had diſcovered the night before round a fire, but whom he did not chuſe to interrupt, leſt any one of them might eſcape and alarm the town. In the morning, when Mr. Hogg attacked this party, they proved to be the twenty-four who had been detached from Kittanning. The firſt fire that Mr. Hogg gave, killed three of them; but the Indians killed as many of his men in return; upon which the reſt of his detachment fled, leaving him deſperately wounded behind them. Colonel Armſtrong, being informed of this misfortune, ſent out a

party to bring in Mr. Hogg, who, notwithſtanding all the care that could be taken of him, died of his wounds. Severe as this chaſtiſement of the Indians may appear to be, the effects of it proved merely local. On almoſt every other part of the frontiers, parties of them and the French ſtill kept ſkulking, to ſeize an opportunity of maſſacring all the Britiſh ſubjects who might come in their way, without reſpect to age or ſex. The governor of Pennſylvania had indeed the good fortune to conclude a treaty of peace with the Delaware Indians, inhabiting the borders of the Suſquehanna; and ſecured the friendſhip and alliance of the Catawbas. A fort was built at Wincheſter, called *Fort Loudon*; and ſome Cherokees joined the garriſon of Fort Cumberland. 1756.

Experience had taught the Engliſh the folly of any great dependence on theſe alliances with the Indians; yet the preſent created hopes that, with their aſſiſtance, they ſhould be able to proſecute the next campaign in North-America with more vigour than any of the former; eſpecially as reinforcements of regular troops had already landed on that continent. The ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit of any new enterprize againſt the enemy. Lord Loudon, therefore, confined his endeavours to the making of preparations for taking the field early the following ſpring, and in ſecuring the frontiers of the colonies: in forming of an uniform plan of action; and infuſing a ſpirit of concord into the provinces, who were divided in their opinions, or at leaſt acted as if they were, perpetually thwarting each other from illiberal principles of parſimony, at a time when they ought to hazard their whole property to oppoſe the encroachments of thoſe whoſe deſigns extended againſt their liberties and lives.

1756. lives. The Forts Edward and William-Henry were, as we have before obſerved, well garriſoned, and otherwiſe put into a proper poſture of defence; and, excepting ſome ſcouting parties, the remainder of the troops continued in winter-quarters at Albany, where barracks had been built for that purpoſe. The ſame precaution was taken at Halifax in Nova Scotia, and three new forts were erected to ſecure that place againſt any ſurprize.

The French army had likewiſe retired into winter-quarters; ſo that, on that account, as well as the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, nothing material could be expected to happen for ſome months. Thus, then, ended the ſecond campaign between the Engliſh and French in North-America, in which the arms of the former were ſo much diſhonoured by miſconduct and timidity, that they would have been utterly contemptible, had it not been for the conduct and reſolution with which Colonel Bradſtreet behaved when attacked by the French on the Onondaga river. Whilſt preparations were making on both ſides for the next campaign, Captain Rogers, on that of the Engliſh, was conſtantly employed in patroling the woods about the Forts Edward and William-Henry, and obſerving the motions of the French at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point; and this ſervice he performed with ſo much alertneſs, that he made a great number of priſoners, and thereby procured very good intelligence of the enemy. The ſubſtance of this intelligence was, that M. de Montcalm intended to attack Fort William-Henry, as ſoon as the weather would permit him to take the field.

If, from their numbers, the Engliſh had reaſon to hope that they ſhould be able to puſh the enſuing campaign with more

more vigour than the preceding, almoſt every ſubſequent event ſeemed to thwart their expectations. Notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Earl of Loudon to eſtabliſh unanimity amongſt the Engliſh colonies, their private intereſt blinded them to ſuch a degree, as to fruſtrate all the arguments he could think of to effect ſo deſirable a purpoſe. This obliged him to become a mediator, in order to engage them to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for proſecuting the war. But this his laudable zeal was attended with very little ſucceſs: diffidence and diſcord making them procraſtinate thoſe meaſures which required the moſt immediate execution. The French were too wiſe to omit taking advantage of the diſtracted ſituation of the Britiſh colonies. By their ſucceſſes in the laſt campaign, they were become entirely maſters of all the lakes, and thereby were furniſhed with the means of practiſing on the Indians by preſents and promiſes. Every acceſſion to the ſtrength of the French was a real diminution of that of the Engliſh. The French had promiſed the Indians, that they would reduce the forts at Oſwego; and their having ſucceeded in the enterprize, gave them, qualified as they were to judge only by appearances, an idea of their ſuperiority, which M. de Montcalm very well knew how to improve to his advantage. Whilſt the precipitate retreat of Colonel Webb, his filling up of Wood-Creek, and thereby deſtroying the only communication the Engliſh had with that part of the country of the Five Nations, expoſed theſe Indians to the mercy of their enemies, and opened the path for the deſolation and the ruin which attended the German Flats. This, with the deſtruction of the fort at the carrying-place, ſo alienated even the Indians of the Five Nations, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Sir William Johnſon, with all his prudence,

1756.

1757. dence, could restrain them from actually declaring in favour of the French.

In the mean time, the Earl of Loudon exerted himself in collecting a sufficient force to strike a decisive blow. With this view, the resolution to attack Crown-Point, which had been so long in agitation, was now laid aside; the taking of that place being an object of far less importance than the reducing of Louisbourg, which was substituted in its stead. Besides, the strength of the mother-country could be more easily brought against this place; and was not so liable to suffer from the disunion of her colonies.

Accordingly preparations were making in England for this grand design, with the greatest vigour and celerity. In the month of January 1757, a considerable body of troops, under Major-General Hopson, as commander in chief, and the Colonels Perry, Forbes, Lord Howe, and other able officers, with a detachment of artillery, were ordered to rendezvous at Cork, and there wait the arrival of a formidable fleet fitting out to escort them to America, and assist them in their operations there. Yet notwithstanding all the dispatch that could be used, it was the 26th of April before this fleet arrived at Cork, when the armament formed thereby consisted of the following land and sea forces.

LAND-

LAND-FORCES.

1757.

The 2d battalion of the Royal	1000
Seventeenth regiment -	700
Twenty-ſeventh - -	700
Twenty-eighth - -	700
Forty-third - - -	700
Forty-ſixth - - -	700
Fifty-fifth - - -	700
	5200

SEA-FORCES.

Name.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Newark -	80	Admiral Holborne, Captain Holborne
Grafton -	68	Commod. Holmes, Captain Cornwall
Bedford -	64	Captain Fowke
Invincible -	74	Captain Bentley
Terrible -	74	Captain Collins
Captain -	64	Captain Amherſt
Naſſau - -	64	Captain Sawyer
Northumberland	68	Captain Lord Colville
Orford - -	68	Captain Spry
Tilbury -	60	Captain Barnſley
Defiance -	60	Captain Baird
Kingſton -	60	Captain Parry
Centurion -	54	Captain Mantell
Sunderland -	60	Captain Mackenzie
Port-Mahon -	24	
Otter ſloop		
Hawk		
Furnace bomb -		Captain Philips
Lightening fire-ſhip		Captain Martin

1757. This force, in conjunction with that already in North America, was to assemble at Halifax in Nova-Scotia, and from thence proceed to the attack of Louisbourg.

It was not without a jealous eye that the French beheld the preparations of the English; nor were they ignorant of the object these preparations were levelled against. Thoroughly sensible of the importance of Louisbourg to their possessions and trade in North America, and particularly to their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, they gave immediate orders for equipping, with the utmost expedition, three several squadrons, to cover and defend that place, as well as to strengthen their forces on the continent. One of these squadrons was fitted out at Toulon, and found means to steal out of the Mediterranean, in spite of all the vigilance of Admiral Saunders, who was stationed off Gibraltar to intercept it; and the other two, which were equipped in the French ports of the ocean, had got to sea, before a powerful fleet, which was destined to attack them, could be made sufficiently ready for that purpose.

Whilst the French were preparing for the next campaign with so much vigour at home, M. de Montcalm vied with them, to the utmost of his power, in Canada. He kept continually on foot, during the whole winter, several small parties, whose business it was to scour the woods, procure intelligence, intercept the supplies of provisions which the English might attempt to send to their out-forts, and harass their back-settlements.

The season being now somewhat advanced, the French were as good as their word respecting Fort William-Henry. M. de Regaud

Regaud was ordered to proceed against that place, with a detachment of about twelve hundred men; and arrived before it on the 19th of March; when, advancing against it without any precaution, his troops were so warmly received with a brisk discharge of cannon and musketry, that they thought proper to retire, after having endeavoured in vain to set fire to a sloop and the boats belonging to the fort. From the implements which they left behind them, it appeared, that their hopes were founded on the success of a general assault. Accordingly, notwithstanding this first disappointment, they made their appearance soon again, in such a disposition as indicated a design to surround the fort. They advanced, for some time, with a great deal of bravery, through a continual discharge of cannon and small arms; but they again retreated. On the 20th, about midnight, they resumed the attack, fully resolved to storm the fort with their whole force; but this attempt succeeded no better than the former. They were driven back a third time; and, after setting fire to two sloops and several boats, retired at day-break. About noon, they seemed to take the rout of Ticonderoga; but, all on a sudden, sent back two men with a red flag towards the fort; from whence an officer and four men were ordered out to meet them. This party carried one of the Frenchmen into the fort, with a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, directed to the commanding officer of Fort William-Henry, and importing, "That he had sent M. le Chevalier de la Merciere, commander of the artillery, to acquaint him with his resolutions; and that he might give entire credit to what that gentleman should say to him in his behalf." M. de la Merciere, who was the other person, was, upon this, brought into the fort, blindfolded. His message was, in substance, "That M. de Vaudreuil, being very averse to the shed-

1757.

1757. ding of human blood, ſhould be glad to put an end to the war; and therefore, for this good purpoſe, as the Engliſh had been the aggreſſors, by encroaching upon the territories of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and building forts upon them, he propoſed, that the ſaid forts might be delivered up to him in a peaceable manner; in which caſe the garriſons ſhould be allowed all the honours of war, and be permitted to carry away all their valuable effects, leaving only ſomething to gratify the Indians, from whom they had nothing to fear, as there were regulars enough to protect them from any violence that might be offered: That, if theſe terms were not accepted, the French would make a general aſſault; in which, ſhould they ſucceed, the garriſon muſt take the conſequences." To this extraordinary ſummons, Major Eyres, the commanding officer, returned the following ſhort anſwer: "That it was his fixed reſolution to defend his Majeſty's fort to the laſt extremity." M. de la Merciere was then diſmiſſed, and conducted back blindfolded. Soon after he arrived at his own army, the French wheeled about, and prepared every thing for a general aſſault. But neither their threats nor ſuperior numbers could intimidate the garriſon. Both men and officers behaved with the greateſt vigilance, and ſhewed the greateſt reſolution, fully determined to die rather than yield; and they had occaſion for it all. The French returned to the attack; but were again obliged to retire for the fourth time. Nevertheleſs, as though this was a ſervice to be executed at all events, they once more prepared for an aſſault; and in the night made a general attack; but ſtill without ſucceſs. Upon this, they ſet fire to ſeveral ſtore-houſes belonging to the provincial troops, and to all the huts of the rangers, which were conſumed. They afterwards burnt a ſloop on the

the ſtocks; and then totally diſappeared. Had not this garriſon been ſtrong enough, and reſolute enough to make a proper uſe of that ſtrength, nothing could have hindered the French from penetrating to Albany; the conſequences of which might have been fatal to every part of the Britiſh empire in North America. 1757.

The miſcarriage of this attempt againſt Fort William-Henry, was ſomewhat alleviated to the French by an advantage they gained over a detachment of about four hundred men, commanded by Colonel John Parker, who went by water to attack their advanced guard, near Ticonderoga. He landed in the night on an iſland; and, before day-break, ſent three boats to the main-land, to reconnoitre the enemy. But the French, being on their guard, ſurpriſed theſe boats, and made all the men in them priſoners. Then, having procured, by this capture, intelligence of the Colonel's deſigns, they formed their plan accordingly. They poſted three hundred men in ambuſh behind the point where he propoſed to land; and ſent the boats they had taken, with men of their own in them, to the place where he had ordered his own men to lie on their oars, as a ſignal for him to land. The bait took. Colonel Parker, believing theſe boats to be ſtill his, eagerly put on ſhore, where he was ſurrounded by the enemy, who had been reinforced in the mean time, with four hundred men; and was attacked with ſo much impetuoſity, that, of his whole detachment, not above the one half eſcaped being either killed or taken priſoners.

Whilſt the little war was thus carrying on, the Earl of Loudon was ſeriouſly engaged in making every neceſſary preparation to aſſemble his troops, and repair to the rendezvous at

1757. at Halifax; and, the better to conceal his designs from the enemy, render provisions cheaper to the English forces, and make sure of a sufficient number of vessels to carry his troops to Louisbourg, he laid an embargo on all the ships in the English North-American ports. But the merchants and planters; all, in fine, except those who were not concerned in the contracts for the army and navy, cried out loudly against the measure. They openly affirmed, that it was impossible it should ever do any good; whereas it already did a great deal of mischief, by causing a stagnation in every branch of trade, and rendering corn a drug in America, at a time when England was in danger of a famine for want of it. For, just before the orders for this embargo were issued, accounts had been received from England, that, through a failure of the last year's crops, both in England and Ireland, bread was become so excessive dear, that the common people, in many places, were on the point of rising; and, with these melancholy accounts, there came orders to ship considerable quantities of wheat and flour, to relieve the nation from this distress. Nay, these orders were so pressing, that most of them had been already complied with, and several vessels loaded before the embargo took place. The merchants, and indeed the whole body of the people of England, who suffered equally, if not more, by this preposterous measure, than the Americans, were proportionally disgusted and provoked by it; and complained of it in such bitter terms, and remonstrated against it with so much spirit, that instructions were immediately sent to the respective governors of the British colonies in North-America, never, for the future, to attempt laying any embargo on ships bound from their ports to those of Great Britain or Ireland.

The

A conſiderable part of the Engliſh troops ſtationed on the northern frontiers of the Britiſh ſettlements adjoining to Canada, and in other parts, were now drawn to New-York, where a number of tranſports were collected together, and ordered to be in readineſs to receive them. On the 6th of May, Sir Charles Hardy, governor of that place, hoiſted his flag as rear-admiral of the blue, on board the Nightingale of twenty guns; the troops expecting every day to embark, as the commander in chief waited only to hear of the fleet from England being arrived at Halifax. During this ſtate of ſuſpence, on the 20th, there was a hot preſs at New-York, and four hundred men were taken into the ſervice. Between the 22d and the 25th, the troops were embarked, and ordered to Sandy-hook, where the tranſports came to an anchor. On the 5th of June, Lord Loudon followed, and embarked on board the Sutherland, now commanded by Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy; determined, however, not to ſail without further intelligence: for, before he left New-York, he had learned from the priſoners made on board ſome French ſhips brought into that port, that theſe prizes were part of a fleet of French merchant-men, under convoy of five ſhips of the line, deſigned for Louiſbourg, from which they had not been a long while ſeparated. This intelligence was confirmed by an expreſs from Boſton, informing him, That five French ſhips of the line, and a frigate, commanded by Monſieur de Beaufremont, had been ſeen cruiſing off Halifax, to intercept, it was thought, Sir Charles Hardy's fleet; but had retired, in conſequence of the report of a fiſherman, that the Engliſh had actually twenty ſail of the line in the harbour of Halifax. This news, as far as it concerned the arrival of the fleet from England, being falſe, it was highly probable, that as ſoon as M. de Beaufremont ſhould

1757.

1757. ſhould find it to be ſo, he would return to his ſtation. As therefore Sir Charles Hardy was by no means a match for him, Lord Loudon had no expedient left but to continue at anchor, and diſpatch two ſhips of war to reconnoitre the coaſt. Theſe ſhips returning without being able to ſee the enemy, or learn any thing about them, the fleet was ordered to unmoor, and ſailed from the Hook on the 20th, with inſtructions to rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, at Halifax. This armament conſiſted of the Sutherland of 50 guns, the Nightingale of 20, the Vulture of 14, the Ferret of 16, and about ſeventy tranſports, having on board the 22d, 42d, 44th and 48th regiments, two battalions of Royal Americans, together with five companies of rangers commanded by Captain Rogers.

Part of a battalion of Royal-Americans, about a thouſand of the Pennſylvania, three hundred Maryland, and ſix hundred Virginia provincials, commanded by Colonel Stanwix, were ordered for the protection of the weſtern frontiers; and, in Carolina, part of a battalion of Royal-Americans, commanded by Colonel Bouquet, with three independent companies, and the colony troops, were to be employed for the ſame purpoſe. The only force left to obſerve and oppoſe the vigilant and active M. de Montcalm on the frontiers of New-York, was the garriſon of Fort William-Henry, commanded by Colonel Monro, with an army of four thouſand men under Colonel Webb to cover it. But though Webb was well acquainted with all the motions of M. de Montcalm, he beheld them with an indifference and ſecurity bordering on infatuation. In particular, he neglected to collect the militia, which, when aſſembled, would have been ſufficient to oblige M. de Montcalm to relinquiſh a deſign he had formed, to renew the operations againſt Fort William-

Henry, or at leaſt would have rendered the execution of it very doubtful and hazardous. At length, however, the appearance of M. de Montcalm on the Lake, rouzed him from his lethargy; but filled him, at the ſame time, with ſuch terrible apprehenſions, that he determined to retire immediately to Fort Edward. But he was prevailed on to ſtay till the next morning, when he marched off early with a ſtrong train of artillery, leaving Colonel Monro, with about two thouſand men, to defend the fort. 1757.

We muſt now take leave of the Engliſh for a ſhort time, to relate the proceedings of the French immediately prior and ſubſequent to the appearance of M. de Montcalm on the Lake. No ſooner had Lord Loudon put to ſea, than M. de Montcalm ſeized on the fair opportunity thereby afforded him, of renewing his favourite project againſt Fort William-Henry. He had collected his forces at Ticonderoga, where, being joined by a conſiderable body of Indians, his whole army amounted to about eight thouſand men, well provided with artillery and ſtores of every kind in proportion to their numbers. He therefore loſt no time in putting his troops in motion, part by land, and part in boats. Thoſe who marched by land, were commanded by M. de Levi, and conſiſted of ſix companies of grenadiers; ſeven pickets, of fifty men each; ten brigades of Canadians, of four hundred men each; another body of three hundred Canadians, and ſeven or eight hundred Indians. Theſe forces began their rout on the 30th of July. On the 1ſt of Auguſt, the remainder embarked, and proceeded in the following order: the artillery, the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc, and one battalion of the marine, formed the firſt diviſion, by way of an advanced guard; the regiments of Guienne and La Sarre followed; the boats, with the mortars,

1757. ammunition and other ſtores, guarded by the regiment of Royal Rouſillon, and a corps of Canadians under M. de Rigaud, formed a rear guard; the whole under the command of M. de Montcalm in perſon. At midnight they arrived at a bay which the Indians called Ganouſky bay; where they found M. de Levi in a very good ſituation, either to favour their debarkation, or to receive an enemy. The next day, about noon, M. de Levi began his march; and the reſt of the army, about two hours after, proceeded in their boats, and at about ten in the evening arrived in a bay very near the fort. Some French ſavages perceiving two Engliſh boats at a diſtance, and fearing they might be diſcovered by them, Guiſenſick, chief of the Abenakies, purſued them with two canoes, and paddled towards them with ſo much celerity, that one of the boats ſurrendered with little reſiſtance; when all the men in it, except two, were maſſacred: the other eſcaped. The priſoners made in that which was taken, informed M. de Montcalm, that the garriſon had diſcovered his approach, and intended to make a ſortie of twelve hundred men to meet the French in the woods. This news was agreeably received, as a battle, he hoped, would ſuperſede the neceſſity of a ſiege. The ſtate and poſition of the Engliſh, of which till now the French had not the leaſt idea, became likewiſe known to them by this accident; ſo that, being no longer under any neceſſity to ſecret themſelves, part of their ſavages, in canoes, to the number of one hundred and twenty, ſtood out into the Lake; and forming a chain from one ſide to the other, gave their cry of war. The army likewiſe began their march by land, M. de Levi commanding the advanced guard, which was compoſed of all the ſavages left on ſhore. As the reſt of the army approached the fort, it formed into three columns, whilſt the ſavages

ſavages retired into the woods; where diſcovering a party which had been in ſearch of ſome cattle, they ſoon took forty ſcalps, and fifty head of cattle. The French ſpent the 3d of Auguſt in reconnoitring the place and its environs, and erecting ſome batteries; but their ſavages being impatient to begin the attack on the fort before any cannon could be mounted, M. de Montcalm, the next day, ſent the Governor the following ſummons. 1757.

Auguſt 4th, 1757.

"I have this morning inveſted your fort with a numerous army, a ſuperior artillery, and all the ſavages from the upper parts of the country, the cruelty of whom a detachment of your garriſon has ſo lately experienced. I am obliged in humanity to deſire you to ſurrender your fort. I have it yet in my power to reſtrain the ſavages, and to oblige them to obſerve a capitulation, as none of them have been as yet killed; which it will not be in my power to do in other circumſtances; and your perſiſting to defend your fort, can only retard the loſs of it a few days, and muſt infallibly expoſe an unhappy garriſon who can receive no ſuccours conſidering the precautions that I have taken. I demand a deciſive anſwer immediately, for which purpoſe I have ſent you the Sieur Fonvive, one of my aids-de-camp. You may give entire credit to what he will inform you, as from me.

I am, with reſpect, &c.

MONTCALM."

This ſummons was anſwered by Colonel Monro with that ſpirit which the importance of his charge required. He ſaid, he was determined to defend the fort till the laſt extremity,

1757. or till, by the assistance of Colonel Webb, M. de Montcalm should be compelled to retire.

This determined answer served only to accelerate the works of the French, who not meeting any opposition from the quarter whence they most dreaded it, the army under Colonel Webb, prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigour. In the night between the 4th and 5th, the trenches were so far advanced, that on the 6th, at day-break, the fort was saluted with ten pieces of cannon and one nine-inch mortar. This gave the savages fresh spirits, though they did not want any increase to be sufficiently mischievous. Numbers of them, skulking behind stumps of trees; and others, who with some Canadians had found means to hide themselves in a garden near the fort, kept a constant fire on every thing that appeared on the ramparts, and continued it during the whole siege.

The besieged, notwithstanding, conducted their defence with the greatest spirit and resolution. Neither the threats nor the promises of M. de Montcalm made any impression on them, as long as they continued in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably hope for any assistance from Colonel Webb. But the vanity of depending on him was soon evinced by the arrival of M. de Bougainville, with an intercepted letter from Colonel Webb to Colonel Monro, which M. de Montcalm immediately sent him. This letter imported, that he did not think it prudent to attempt a junction with the Colonel, or endeavour to assist him, till he should be reinforced by the militia of the colonies; and therefore advised him to make the best terms he could. Though every prospect of relief from Colonel Webb was now at an end, the garrison still per-

ſiſted in a reſolute defence; till having expended all their bombs, and beginning to want ammunition, at the ſame time that the beſiegers proportionally increaſed their fire, and advanced their approaches acroſs a ſwamp, ſo as nearly to ſurround the fort, Colonel Monro thought it would be only throwing away his men's lives to hold out any longer. He therefore demanded to capitulate, and the following articles were agreed upon: 1757.

Capitulation granted to Lieutenant-Colonel Monro for his Britannic Majeſty's garriſon of Fort William-Henry, the intrenched camp adjoining, and all their dependencies.

ART. I. The garriſon of Fort William-Henry, and the troops which are in the intrenched camp, ſhall, after being joined, march out with their arms, and the uſual honours of war.

ART. II. The gate of the Fort ſhall be delivered up to the troops of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the intrenched camp, immediately on the departure of the Britiſh troops.

ART. III. All the artillery, warlike-ſtores, proviſions, and, in general, every thing except the private effects of the officers and ſoldiers, ſhall, upon honour, be delivered up to the troops of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Provided always, that this article ſhall extend to the Fort and the intrenchments, and their dependencies.

ART. IV. The garriſon of the Fort, the troops in the intrenchments, and the dependencies of both, ſhall not ſerve for

1757. for the ſpace of eighteen months, neither againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty nor his allies.

ART. V. All the officers and ſoldiers, Canadians, women and ſavages, who have been made priſoners by land ſince the commencement of the war in North-America, ſhall be delivered up in the ſpace of three months at Carillon; and, according to the receipt which ſhall be given by the French commanding officers to whom they ſhall be delivered, an equal number of the garriſon of Fort William-Henry ſhall be capacitated to ſerve, agreeable to the return given in by the Engliſh officer of the priſoners he has delivered.

ART. VI. An officer ſhall be left as an hoſtage till the return of the detachment, which ſhall be given for an eſcort to his Britannic Majeſty's troops.

ART. VII. All the ſick and wounded, that are not in a condition to be tranſported to Fort Edward, ſhall remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm, who will take proper care of them, and return them as ſoon as recovered.

ART. VIII. There ſhall be iſſued proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the Britiſh troops for this day and to-morrow only.

ART. IX. The Marquis de Montcalm, being willing to ſhew Colonel Monro and the garriſon under his command, marks of eſteem, on account of their honourable defence, gives them one piece of cannon, a ſix-pounder.

Done in the trenches before Fort William-Henry,
9th Auguſt 1757.

GEORGE MONRO.

Agreed

Agreed to in the name of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, agreeable to the powers veſted in me by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, his Governor-General, and Lieutenant-General of New-France. 1757.

MONTCALM.

Notwithſtanding this capitulation, the Indian chiefs inſiſted on the performance of a previous agreement made with M. de Montcalm, who had promiſed them the plunder of the Engliſh; and, on M. de Montcalm's refuſing to comply, they reſolved to execute the agreement themſelves. Accordingly, as ſoon as the garriſon had ſurrendered, they began an aſſault upon the men, killing and ſcalping about ten or a dozen of them. The Colonels Monro and Young, with a great number, found means to gain protection from the French; and about ſix hundred more of the garriſon fled and eſcaped to Fort-Edward. The French Indians made ſlaves of all the Engliſh Indians and negroes; and the French demoliſhed the fort, deſtroyed all the Engliſh veſſels and boats upon the Lake, carried off all the artillery and other warlike ſtores and baggage, one hundred live oxen, and proviſions for five thouſand men for ſix months; but without purſuing their ſucceſs by any other attempt.

That the French ſavages broke this capitulation, is univerſally confeſſed; and it has been ſaid, it was with the conſent and approbation of M. de Montcalm: that a partizan who led the French ſavages, gave the death halloo, when the Engliſh marched out of the Fort, to gratify the Indians in

1757. in their luſt for blood and plunder. But the truth is, that as ſoon as the horrid ſcene commenced, M. de Montcalm exerted his utmoſt endeavours to put a ſtop to it. He laid bare his own boſom, and bade them kill their father, but ſpare the Engliſh, who were now under his protection; he even deſired the Engliſh to defend themſelves, and fire on the ſavages; but the Engliſh were ſeized with ſuch an unaccountable ſtupor, that they ſubmitted to the tomahawk without reſiſtance; nor were M. de Montcalm's officers idle in the cauſe of humanity; many of them were wounded in endeavouring to reſcue the perſons of the Engliſh from the barbarous rage of the ſavages; and, after they had got them into their tents, ſtood themſelves as centries over them for their preſervation, till the fury of their ſavage allies had ſubſided. Incidents of this kind are almoſt always exaggerated in the recital; for the impreſſions of fear are in general too ſtubborn to yield to the cleareſt truths; and the prejudices of weak minds are not to be removed by the efforts of reaſon, which can operate on thoſe alone who poſſeſs it. Hence it is, that the ear of credulity is ſo often impoſed on by the falſe repreſentation of actions, which, when related with impartiality, are many times found deſerving the higheſt approbation. If it be aſked, Why M. de Montcalm did not make uſe of his own troops to prevent theſe cruelties? the anſwer is obvious; the Engliſh were armed, and ſuperior in number to the ſavages; and were, beſides, as we have already ſaid, deſired by the French General to defend themſelves; nay, even to fire on the Indians his friends. Moreover, the balance of power in North-America,

rica, was now in the hands of the ſavages; and however humanity might urge M. de Montcalm to interfere with his whole force, reaſons of policy and duty to his country bade him not hazard the conſequences that might attend ſuch a ſtep. Though we cannot help ſhuddering at the recollection of this tragical event, yet candour requires we ſhould ſpeak of it as we have done. Let not then the generoſity of the Engliſh, when it can take place conſiſtent with truth, ſuffer an undeſerved blot to remain and ſully the reputation of a noble enemy and an excellent ſoldier. 1757.

Having thus related the conſequences of the Earl of Loudon's taking ſo many of the Engliſh troops from this part of North-America, it is now neceſſary we ſhould purſue the detail of the enterprize in which theſe troops were to be employed, as the ſucceſs of it could ſcarce fail to determine the iſſue of the war.

We have ſaid, that Lord Loudon ſailed from Sandy Hook on the 20th of June; but we did not obſerve, that, as there was ſome reaſon to apprehend he might meet in his paſſage with a French fleet ſuperior to that which carried him, eſpecially as there was no account of Admiral Holborne, it was rather truſting too much to chance to riſque the loſs of ſo conſiderable a part of the troops as were to be employed in the expedition. The only excuſe therefore, if any, that can, with any propriety, be urged for ſuch an hazardous attempt, was the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, and the neceſſity there was of ſaving as much time as poſſible for the buſineſs of the approaching campaign. Be that as it will, Fortune ſeemed to intereſt herſelf in conducting the arma-

1757. armament under him to Halifax, where it arrived on the thirtieth of June, and was augmented by the following ſea and land forces:

The Nottingham man of war	60	guns
The Arc-en-ciel	50	
The Winchelſea	24	
The Succeſs	22	
The Elphingham	20	
The Baltimore	16	
The Jamaica	14	
And the Speedwell	12	

A detachment of the fortieth, the forty-fifth, and the forty-ſeventh regiments, with a detachment of Royal Artillery, had been for ſome time at Halifax. As ſoon as the troops from New-York had landed, the ground being uneven, the men were employed in making a parade for exerciſe, and a garden to furniſh vegetables for the ſick and wounded, who might be ſent thither for their recovery, in caſe the intended attack againſt Louiſbourg ſhould take place.

In the mean time, ſeveral of the beſt ſailing veſſels were diſpatched, under able pilots, to look into Louiſbourg harbour, and make what diſcoveries might be neceſſary; and ſome of the Engliſh fleet were daily arriving, till, at length, by the ninth of July, the whole armament was aſſembled. It conſiſted of the following ſhips and regiments; which were immediately formed in the order in which we give them.

THE

THE FLEET.

1757.

Ships of the Line, in Line of Battle.

To repeat signals. Hunter Laforey.	Kingston	60	guns	Captain Parry	This division commanded by Sir C. Hardy, Rear-Admiral of the Blue.
	Captain	64		Amherst	
	Invincible	74	Sir C. Hardy,	Bentley	
	Nassau	64		Sawyer	
	Sutherland	50		Falkingham	
Portmahone.	Tilbury	60		Barnsley	Francis Holborne Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue.
	Northumberland	68		Lord Colville	
	Newark	80	Ad. Holb^ne.	Holborne	
	Orford	68		Spry	
	Sutherland	68		M'Kenzie	
	Centurion	54		Mantell	
Ferret Upton.	Nottingham	60		Marshall	Charles Holmes Esq; Commodore.
	Bedford	64		Fowke	
	Grafton	68	C. Holmes,	Cornwall	
	Terrible	74		Collins	
	Defiance	60		Baird	

Frigates ordered to lie off with the Transports.

Winchelsea	20	Rous
Kennington	20	Diggs
Furnace		
Vulture		
Hawk		Bradley
Success		Oury
Baltimore		
Jamaica		

Men of war ordered to remain at Halifax.

L'arc en Ciel	
Windsor	
Nightingale	Campbell
Speedwell	Bond
Grenada	
Gibraltar's Prize	
Harriot-packet-boat.	

1757.

THE ARMY,

Divided into the following Brigades:

First brigade to be commanded by Major-General Hopson.
Royal
Forty-fourth
Fifty-fifth
Twenty-eighth

Second brigade. Major-General Abercombie.
Seventeenth
Forty-sixth
Second battalion of the sixtieth
Forty-second

Third brigade. Major-General Lord Charles Hay.
Twenty-second
Forty-eighth
Fourth battalion of the sixtieth
Forty-third

A corps de reserve, formed from the twenty-seventh, fortieth, forty-fifth and forty-seventh regiments, to consist of seven hundred men, to be commanded by Governor-Colonel Lawrence.

And a detachment of three hundred and seventy men of the Royal Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson.

So vast an armament, in so distant a part of the world, filled the subjects of Great Britain with the most sanguine expectations; but the want of intelligence prevented the Admiral and the General from doing any thing to realize them. In the mean time, the

the farce of ſham battles and ſieges was acted in the higheſt degree; in order, as it was ſaid, to perfect the undiſciplined troops in the whole art of attack and defence. Whether the General could have better employed his army or not, theſe meaſures were highly cenſured by ſome as trifling away the courage of the ſoldiers, and expending the wealth of the nation, in mock engagements and planting of cabbages, when they ſhould have been uſefully employed in real attacks on the enemies of their king and country. The extraordinary ardour of Lord Charles Hay having made him much louder than others in condemning Lord Loudon's behaviour on this occaſion, a council of war was called to conſider the tendency of his reflections; and the conſequence was his being put under an arreſt. At length, from intelligence received by veſſels that had been ordered to keep on the look-out for that purpoſe, it was determined to proſecute the intended enterprize; and the troops were embarked the firſt and ſecond of Auguſt, with orders to rendezvous at Gabarus bay, a little to the weſtward of Louiſbourg harbour. But, on the fourth, before they could put to ſea, it was diſcovered by a French prize ſchooner, which, after a chaſe of ſeveral hours, had been taken on the banks of Newfoundland, that there was then actually in garriſon at Louiſbourg three thouſand regulars, beſides ſome Indians, and the Burghers who had taken up arms; and, in the harbour, the following formidable French fleet, which had arrived there ſo early as the month of June: For, on the fourth of that month, M. Reveſt arrived with 1757.

Le Hector	74 guns
L'Achille	64
Le Vaillant	64
Le Sage	64

And

1757. And on the fifth M. Beaufremont with the

L'Etonnant	80	guns
Le Defenſeur	74	
Le Diademe	74	
L'Inflexible	64	
L'Eveillé	64	

And on the twenty-ninth M. de la Mothe with

Le Duc de Bourgogne	80
Le Formidable	84
Le Superbe	74
Le Glorieux	74
Le Heros	74
Le Dauphin Royal	70
Le Bellequeux	64
Le Celebre	64
Le Bizarre	64

FRIGATES.

La Brune	36
Le Bienacquis	40
La Comete	30
La Hermione	26
La Fochine	36
La Fleur de lis	36

This intelligence produced a council of war, the reſult of which was to recal the former orders to rendezvous at Gabarus bay, and even totally change the plan of the campaign.

Accordingly, the royal and twenty-eighth regiments were ordered to diſembark and encamp, all the other regiments remaining on board, with orders to ſend for their heavy baggage and

and the ſick which they had left on ſhore. The twenty-ſeventh, the forty-third, and the forty-ſixth regiments, with a detachment of the royal artillery, were to be in readineſs to ſail for the bay of Fundy under the command of Governor Lawrence; and, when the object of this detachment was fulfilled, the twenty-ſeventh were to go to Boſton, and ſix companies of the forty-third to Annapolis. The other four were to garriſon Fort Edward about thirty-ſix miles from Halifax; and the forty-ſixth Fort Cumberland. Major-General Hopſon was left to command at Halifax, and the reſt of the army was to proceed with the earl of Loudon to New-York, whilſt Admiral Holborne was to cruize off Louiſbourg, and watch the motions of the French fleet in that harbour, in order, if poſſible, to bring them to an action. 1757.

Theſe reſolutions were taken on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, and, in purſuance of them, the whole fleet ſoon got under way, the ſhips which compoſed it taking their courſe agreeable to their ſeveral deſtinations. But they were ſcarce ſeparated, when an expreſs arrived from Boſton with diſpatches to the earl of Loudon, informing him of the fate of Fort William-Henry. A ſignal therefore was made for the fleet to lie to, and a council of war was immediately held on board the Winchelſea; in conſequence of which, the orders of the twenty-ſeventh and forty-ſixth regiments were altered; theſe corps were now to accompany the earl of Loudon, and General Hopſon was to replace them with the twenty-eighth. Matters being thus ſettled, the ſeveral ſquadrons made ſail again in the evening; Admiral Holborne for Louiſbourg; that with Lord Loudon for New-York; and that with the reſt of the troops which had not been relanded for the bay of Fundy.

1757. On the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, Lord Loudon arrived with his troops at New-York, where they were immediately put on board ſmall veſſels, and ſent to Albany. Fort Edward being now the moſt advanced poſt of the Engliſh, the garriſon was increaſed, and the command of it given to Lieutenant-Colonel Haviland. Lord Loudon likewiſe repaired thither in perſon to give ſome directions about its defences, and afterwards returned to Albany. Captain Rogers was then diſpatched on a ſcout to Ticonderoga, with orders to make ſome priſoners. Having ſucceeded, he returned with them to Fort Edward. The account given by theſe priſoners was, that the garriſon of Ticonderoga conſiſted of about three hundred and fifty regulars; and that of Crown-Point of about one hundred and fifty. The weakneſs of theſe poſts naturally ſuggeſted the propriety of hazarding an attempt on the firſt by an eſcalade; but, after many preparations for that purpoſe, the project was abandoned.

The forty-third regiment, and the detachment of artillery, commanded by Governor Lawrence, arrived in *Beau-Baſin*, about five miles from Fort Cumberland, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt; and, on the twenty-ſixth, was diſembarked and encamped. A detachment of the fortieth, forty-fifth, and forty-ſeventh regiments, equal to a battalion, were already in garriſon there, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wilmot. On the thirtieth, the twenty-eighth regiment arrived and encamped. Theſe troops were intended for the protection of Fort Cumberland, and the circumjacent country. They were kept in conſtant alarms by ſmall parties of the French rangers, and were extremely haraſſed in conſtructing of lines, and otherwiſe making Fort

Fort Cumberland a reſpectable ſtation. This work being completed by the eighth of October, the forty-third regiment was ordered to embark their baggage; and the twenty-eighth to remain in garriſon with a company of rangers. On the fourteenth of October, ſix companies of the forty-third ſailed for Annapolis Royal; and the other four for Fort Edward, in order to relieve the garriſons of theſe places, which ſailed for Halifax. On the twenty-fifth, Governor Lawrence, who had touched at Annapolis in his way from Fort Cumberland, ſailed alſo for Halifax with the detachment of the fortieth, forty-fifth, and forty-ſeventh regiments, which he had brought with him from Fort Cumberland. 1757.

The garriſons of Annapolis Royal and Fort Edward were obliged to be alert; for parties of the French kept continually ſkulking about in their neighbourhood. This, together with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and ſometimes a ſcarcity of proviſions, involved them in great diſtreſs.

Nothing worthy of our attention attended the troops under Colonel Stanwix, or thoſe that were detached to the ſouthward under Lieutenant-Colonel Bouquet.

In the conduct of this campaign, Lord Loudon was cenſured for having ordered ſo many of the regular troops from the frontiers of New-York, and thereby leaving ſo extenſive and valuable a part of that country, as well as the province itſelf, expoſed to the inſults of the enemy. But this concluſion is by no means juſt. He was well warranted in drawing off theſe forces, by the ſtrength of the garriſon of Fort William-

1757. Henry, consisting of a detachment of the thirty-fifth, and a battalion of the Royal American regiment, exclusive of the provincials; the whole amounting to two thousand men. For these troops, with the army under Colonel Webb, and the militia which he ought to have assembled, were doubtless strong enough, if conducted with proper resolution, to oppose and frustrate any designs of the French. A general, indeed, ought not to be accountable for the behaviour of his subordinate officers; but then, it is his duty to take care that such as are appointed to particular commands under him, should be men of approved courage and abilities; the retreat, or rather the flight, of Colonel Webb, when he heard of the loss of Oswego, could not recommend him to the commander in chief as possessed of either.

Though the defensive plans of the English were thus shamefully neglected, and their offensive views against Louisbourg miscarried, in some degree, it must be owned, through an unforeseen event, yet there was no occasion for persisting in the design against that place so long as to be obliged to omit other operations. Minute intelligence is the fountain of success. Without it, the measures of a general must be continually exposed to the sport of chance. It had, no doubt, been highly censurable in Lord Loudon to have prosecuted the intended enterprize, without knowing somewhat certain of the strength of the French; but, surely, the proper steps should have been taken to attain that knowledge in time. Had this been done, the council of war would have come to the same conclusions much earlier; and the troops, of course, might have been back time enough to save Fort William-Henry.

Thus

Thus ended the third campaign between the Engliſh and the French in North-America, in which the Engliſh, notwithſtanding their manifeſt ſuperiority over the French, left their allies expoſed to the reſentment of a cruel enemy, and ſuffered the inhabitants of their back-ſettlements to be maſſacred in their ſight, to the eternal reproach of thoſe who directed the Britiſh arms in this part of the world, and not without diſhonour to the Britiſh name. 1757.

Though the unfortunate operations of the Earl of Loudon in the field did not, as we have already hinted, eſcape the ſeverity of cenſure, his abilities in council were productive of ſuch plans, as, in future, added greatly to the natural power of the Britiſh colonies in North-America, and rouzed them into ſuch an exertion of their ſtrength, as procured them almoſt immediate ſecurity. This happy condition was ſo much improved by a ſucceeding commander, as to enable them, with the aſſiſtance of the mother-country, to ſubdue the whole power of France in that part of the world.

Whilſt the ſeverity of the ſeaſon confined the reſpective armies in their different quarters, the ſparks of war were kept alive by a few ſcouting parties, without any material advantage on either ſide; and, in the mean time, a change in the Engliſh miniſtry having produced the recal of the Earl of Loudon, the command of the Engliſh forces devolved on Major-General Abercromby.

The Engliſh fleet, whilſt cruizing off Louiſbourg, was ſurpriſed, on the 24th of September, by a violent gale of wind, in which the whole of it had nearly periſhed. The Tilbury was driven aſhore on the iſland of Cape Breton; and two hun-

1757. dred and twenty-five of her hands were drowned. The remainder of her crew, amounting to one hundred and ſeventy-five, were taken up by the French, and afterwards ſent, under a flag of truce, to Halifax. The Newark drove into Halifax, after throwing eight of her guns overboard. Others were obliged to do the ſame, being, for the greateſt part, diſmaſted. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, Admiral Holborne, with as many ſhips as he could collect, made the beſt of his way for England, excepting only a ſmall ſquadron which he left at Halifax, under the command of Lord Colville, to protect the trade of the Engliſh, and watch the motions of the French in thoſe ſeas.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK III.

Mr. Pitt resumes the expedition against Louisbourg.——Procures Colonel Amherst the command of the army, and Admiral Boscawen that of the fleet destined to attack that place.——The Admiral sails from England.——General Amherst meets him coming out of the harbour of Halifax.——Sea and land forces employed against Louisbourg.——General Amherst's journal of the expedition.——Louisbourg capitulates.——Admiral Boscawen's letter to Mr. Pitt.——Reflections on the siege of Louisbourg.——Armament sent against the French settlements.——General Amherst reinforces General Abercromby.——Operations of the English against Ticonderoga, which General Abercromby attacks by assault:—He miscarries in the attempt.——Colonel Bradstreet takes Fort Frontinac.——Importance of the conquest.——Brigadier Forbes proceeds against Fort-du-Quesne.——Colonel Stanwix erects Fort Stanwix.——General Amherst appointed commander in chief of the British forces in North-America.——Generals Abercromby and Wolfe return to England.

THE plans of action formed by the English ministry for the preceding campaign in North-America, were such as could not be executed but at a very monstrous expence; and therefore, their having been little more than 1758.

1758. barely attempted, gave the people of England the greateſt diſguſt. They were, and not without reaſon, tired with ſeeing thoſe preparations end in an empty blaze, which they were made to believe muſt terminate in the reduction of the power and pride of France; and for which they had, accordingly, moſt cheerfully granted the miniſtry all their exorbitant demands. They were ſhocked at the ſight of fleets returning to their harbours, and the news of armies retiring to their winter-quarters, almoſt without ſtriking a ſingle ſtroke; and began to grow ſo clamorous, attributing all their loſſes and diſgraces to the want of honeſty, or ſpirit, or prudence, in thoſe about the throne, that the King of Great Britain thought it neceſſary to remove his miniſters, and replace them with men more agreeable to the bulk of his ſubjects. Of this number was again appointed Mr. Pitt, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; a poſt, which, by every virtue and talent neceſſary to fill it worthily, became, in him, equivalent to that of prime miniſter. The reſcuing, therefore, the ſoldiery from that languor into which the diſpirited behaviour of their leaders had thrown them, and the Engliſh arms from that diſhonour which was the unhappy conſequence of both, ſeemed to demand the firſt exertion of his ſuperior abilities, in which the people had placed the moſt unbounded confidence; and this confidence he immediately juſtified, by meaſures which inſpired every department and every rank with new life. He reſumed the expedition againſt Cape Breton; and, informed by late experience, that wiſdom and precaution in the cabinet avail little without adequate conduct and reſolution in the field, he thought it high time to employ other officers in both the military and naval ſervice in North-America. Accordingly,

ly, having obſerved in Colonel Amherſt a ſolid judgment, a ſteady courage, and an active genius, he, without fear of offending others older in command, in a caſe where the honour and intereſt of his country were deeply concerned, recommended him ſo ſtrenuouſly to the King, that he was thereupon recalled from the ſervice in Germany, promoted to the rank of major-general, and appointed to command the land-forces deſtined for the attack of Louiſbourg. 1758.

Nor was Mr. Pitt leſs guarded and alert in providing for the ſucceſs of the naval ſervice in that part of the world. The honourable Edward Boſcawen was named to the command of a grand fleet to join in that attack; and, ſo early as the 19th of February, ſailed from Portſmouth for Halifax in Nova-Scotia, to be not only in the greater readineſs to act himſelf in his own province, but make all the preparations he could to enable General Amherſt to proceed in his with the utmoſt vigour. With this view, he was provided with a commiſſion that gave him the command even of the army, till it ſhould be ſuperſeded by the arrival of General Amherſt.

As the operations of the Engliſh on the continent were once more to be directed againſt Ticonderoga and Fort du Queſne, Captain Rogers, being appointed a major in America only, and the corps of rangers under his command being augmented, was ordered to diſcover the ſtrength of the French at the firſt of theſe places. Accordingly, the Major iſſued from Fort Edward, on this ſervice, with one hundred and ſeventy men, on the 10th of March; but, on the 13th, he unexpectedly fell in with a party of one hundred French, and

ſix

1758. ſix hundred Indians. A ſevere action was the conſequence; in which both the Major and thoſe under him did every thing that could be expected from good officers and ſoldiers, killing about one hundred and fifty of the enemy, and wounding as many more; though not without loſing five of his officers, and about one hundred rank and file killed. The enemy, therefore, ſtill retaining their ſuperiority in point of ſtrength, and leaving him, of courſe, but very little hopes of ſucceeding better in a ſecond attack, he thought it prudent to retreat. Lieutenant Philips, and a few men, who had ſurrendered, in this affair, to the French Indians, in conſequence of a promiſe of protection, were inhumanly tied up to trees, and cut to pieces.

We are now to return to Admiral Boſcawen and General Amherſt, whoſe operations were not only ſuperior in importance, but prior in time, to thoſe upon the continent. The former, as has been already obſerved, failed, from Portſmouth, for Halifax in Nova-Scotia, where all the forces, both of ſea and land, deſtined againſt Louiſbourg, were to rendezvous. On the 16th of March, General Amherſt embarked, at Portſmouth, on board the Dublin man of war, Captain Rodney; but, in conſequence of contrary winds, did not reach Halifax till the 28th of May; when Admiral Boſcawen, deſirous of loſing as little time as poſſible, was coming out of the harbour with his whole fleet, and all the land-forces which General Amherſt was to command; the following troops having been left aſhore for the ſafety of the place, under Major Morris of the 35th regiment.

The

1758.

The 43d regiment,	Kennedy's,	-	659 rank and file.
Of the 35th, - -	Otway's,	- -	392
1ſt, - -	Royal,		
29th, - -	Hopſon's,		104
45th, - -	Warburton's,		
47th, - -	Laſcelles's,		
60th, 2d battalion,	Lawrence's,		104
78th, - -	Frazer's,	-	201
	Rank and file,		1460
Officers, ſerjeants, and drums,			146
			1606
Royal Artillery, officers included,			54
	Total,		1660

The fleet conſiſted of the following ſhips:

SHIPS OF THE LINE.

Name.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Namur, -	90	Admiral Boſcawen, commander in chief. Captain Buckle.
Royal William,	80	Admiral Sir Charles Hardy. Captain Evans.
Princeſs Amelia,	80	Commodore Philip Durell. Captain Bray.
Terrible, - -	74	Captain Collins.
Northumberland,	70	——— Rt. Hon. Lord Colville.
Vanguard, - -	70	——— Swanton.
Orford, - -	70	——— Spry.
Burford, - -	70	——— Gambier.
Somerſet, - -	70	——— Hughes.
Lancaſter, - -	70	——— Hon. G. Edgecumb.

1758.

Devonſhire, -	66	Captain Gordon.
Bedford, - -	64	——— Fowke.
Captain, -	64	——— Amherſt.
Prince Frederick,	64	——— Man.
Pembroke, -	60	——— Simcoe.
Kingſton, - -	60	——— Parry.
York, - -	60	——— Pigot.
Prince of Orange,	60	——— Ferguſon.
Defiance, -	60	——— Baird.
Nottingham, -	60	——— Marſhall.
Centurion, -	54	——— Mantell.
Sutherland, -	50	——— Rous.

FRIGATES.

Juno,	Shannon,	Squirrel,
Gramont,	Kennington,	Hawk,
Nightingale,	Scarborough,	Trent,
Hunter,	Boreas,	Portmahon,
Diana,	Hind,	Beaver.

The Ætna and Lightening, fire-ſhips; and an armed veſſel.

The following troops compoſed the army:

The 1ſt, or Royal Regiment.
15th, Amherſt's.
17th, Forbes's.
22d, Whitmore's.
28th, Bragg's.
40th, Hopſon's.
35th, Otway's.
45th, Warburton's.
47th, Laſcelles's.
The 48th, Webb's.
58th, Anſtruther's.
60th, 2d batt. Monckton's.
60th, 3d batt. Lawrence's.
78th, Fraſer's.
Royal Artillery, 324.
Rangers, 538.
Brigade of Engineers.

General

General Amherſt immediately went on board the Admiral's ſhip, when the command of the army was delivered up to him; and it was then formed into the following brigades: 1758.

Firſt brigade. Brigadier-General Whitmore.
- Firſt regiment.
- Fortieth, 3d battalion.
- Sixtieth.
- Forty-eighth.
- Twenty-ſecond.

Second brigade. Brigadier-General Lawrence.
- Twenty-eighth.
- Fifty-eighth.
- Seventy-eighth.
- Forty-fifth.
- Fifteenth.

Third brigade. Brigadier-General Wolfe.
- Seventeenth.
- Forty-ſeventh, 2d battalion.
- Sixtieth.
- Thirty-fifth.

The above regiments made eleven thouſand ſix hundred men, of which nine thouſand nine hundred were fit for duty.

Colonel George Williamſon commanded the artillery, and Colonel Baſtide a brigade of engineers. Colonel Monckton was ordered on ſhore, to ſuperſede Major Morris, and command in Nova-Scotia.

The Admiral continued his voyage to the place of his deſtination, and arrived off Cape Breton on the 2d of June, when

1758. the greateſt part of the fleet came to an anchor in Gabarus bay. Here the General iſſued the following order:

" As the General's intentions are to ſurprize the French, as well as to attack them, he depends upon the care and vigilance of the officers commanding the tranſports, that his orders be ſtrictly complied with. — The troops are to be in their boats by two o'clock exactly. No lights are to be ſhewn in any of the tranſports, except ſignals, after twelve o'clock at night. There muſt be a profound ſilence throughout the whole army; and, above all things, the firing of a ſingle muſket muſt be avoided. — The General is ſufficiently convinced of the good diſpoſition of the troops, by what he has already ſeen. — He deſires they will not huzza, or make any noiſe at landing; but be attentive to the commands of their officers: by which they will avoid confuſion, and will not fail of ſucceſs. Their officers will lead them directly to the enemy."

The weather rendered the execution of theſe orders impoſſible till the 8th of June, when, the ſea being leſs turbulent than it had hitherto been ſince the arrival of the fleet, a ſucceſsful attempt was made for that purpoſe. — But I cannot pretend to give my readers a better detail of this affair, and of the operations that immediately preceded and followed the landing of the troops, from the junction of the Admiral and General, to the ſurrender of Louiſbourg, than what they themſelves gave in their reſpective letters to the ſecretary of ſtate; eſpecially as that of the General was ſo much approved, that it produced commands to him to tranſmit the operations of any army he might again command, in the ſame kind of detail, as being

the beſt method of conveying a true and explicit idea of military operations.——The General's journal of this important affair is as follows: 1758.

" On the 28th of May, I had the good fortune to meet Admiral Boſcawen, with the fleet and the troops, coming out of the harbour of Halifax.

" The 29th, we had fine weather; the ſhips kept well together; the whole conſiſted of one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail. The Dublin went very ſickly into Halifax.

" The 30th, the wind blew hard in the afternoon: the ſhips were greatly diſperſed.

" The 31ſt, the wind ſometimes contrary, obliged us to tack; and it blew freſh.

" The 1ſt of June, Captain Rous, in the Sutherland, came from off the harbour of Louiſbourg: he ſaid, That two ſhips had got in on the 30th of May; and that there were thirteen ſail in the harbour. We ſaw the entrance of Gabarus at night.

" The 2d, it was foggy in the morning; about twelve we ſaw Louiſbourg and the ſhips in the harbour. The fleet, with about a third of the troops, anchored in Gabarus bay. This evening, with Brigadier-Generals Lawrence and Wolfe, I reconnoitred the ſhore as near as we could, and made a diſpoſition for landing in three places, the next morning, in caſe that the troops ſhould arrive.

" The enemy had a chain of poſts from Cape Noir to the Flat Point; and ſome irregulars, from thence to the bottom of the bay; ſome works had been thrown up at the places which

1758. which appeared practicable to land at; and there were ſome batteries.

" On the 3d, moſt of the tranſports arrived, and all prepared for landing; but the ſurf on the ſhore was ſo great, that this deſign was thereby rendered impoſſible. As one bay was found to have leſs ſurf than the others, a diſpoſition was made to land, the next morning, in one place inſtead of three.

" The 4th, the wind and ſurf was ſo high, that Admiral Boſcawen ſaid it was impracticable to land.

" The 5th, a great ſwell and fog in the morning; and the Admiral ſtill declared it impracticable to land.

" The 6th, an appearance of a change of the weather; the ſignal was made to prepare to land; but the fog came on again, and the ſwell increaſed during the time the men were getting into the boats; and the Admiral again declared it impracticable to land. I ordered the troops on board their reſpective ſhips; firſt acquainting them with the reaſon for ſo doing.

" The 7th, the weather was bad in the morning; in the afternoon, the ſwell rather decreaſed, and gave us great hopes of landing at day-break the next morning; for which orders were given; and Bragg's regiment, who were in a number of ſloops, to ſail under convoy, by the mouth of the harbour, to Lorembec; ſending at the ſame time a proportion of artillery deſtined for the Light-houſe Point, with orders to make all the ſhow they could of landing; but not to land till further orders, intending to draw the enemy's attention on that ſide.

" From

1758.

"From the 2d to this time, the enemy has been reinforcing their posts, adding to their works, cannonading and throwing shells at the ships, and making all the preparations they can to oppose our landing. Seven transports were now missing, with troops on board, three of which came in at night.

"On the 8th, the troops were assembled in the boats, before break of day, in three divisions; and Commodore Durell having viewed the coast, and given his opinion the troops might land, without danger from the surf, the Kennington and Halifax snow began the fire, on the left; followed by the Grammont, Diana, and Shannon frigates, in the center; and the Sutherland and Squirrel, upon the right. When the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats upon the left rowed in to the shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, whose detachment was composed of the four eldest companies of grenadiers, followed by the light infantry (a corps of five hundred and fifty men, chosen as marksmen from the different regiments, commanded by Major Scott); and the companies of rangers, supported by the Highland regiment; and those, by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers.

"The division on the right, under the command of Brigadier-General Whitmore, consisted of the Royal, Lascelles's, Monckton's, Forbes's, Anstruther's, and Webb's; and rowed to our right, by the White-Point, as if intending to force a landing there.

"The center-division, under the command of Brigadier-General Lawrence, was formed of Amherst's, Hopson's, Otway's, Whitmore's, Lawrence's, and Warburton's; and made,

1758. at the ſame time, a ſhow of landing at the Freſh-water Cove. This drew the enemy's attention to every part, and prevented their troops poſted along the coaſts from joining thoſe on their right.

" The enemy acted very wiſely; did not throw away a ſhot till the boats were near in ſhore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and muſketry upon them. The ſurf was ſo great, that a place could hardly be found to get a boat on ſhore. Notwithſtanding the fire of the enemy, and the violence of the ſurf, Brigadier Wolfe purſued his point, and landed juſt at the left of the Cove, took poſt, attacked the enemy, and forced them to retreat. Many boats overſet, ſeveral broke to pieces, and all the men jumped into the water to get on ſhore.

" As ſoon as the left diviſion was landed, the firſt detachment of the center rowed to the left likewiſe, and followed; then the remainder of the center-diviſion, as faſt as the boats could fetch them from the ſhips; and the right diviſion followed the center, in like manner.

" It took up a great deal of time to land the troops; the enemy's retreat, or rather flight, was through the roughest and worſt ground I ever ſaw; and the purſuit ended in a cannonading from the town, which was ſo far of uſe, that it pointed out how near I could encamp to inveſt it.

" The loſs of his Majeſty's troops at landing, is, Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, of the Highland regiment, Lieutenant Nicholſon of mine, four ſerjeants, one corporal, and thirty-eight men killed; twenty-one were of my regiment,

ment (the grenadiers), of which eight were ſhot, and the reſt drowned in trying to get on ſhore; five lieutenants, two ſerjeants, one corporal, and fifty-one men were wounded; and, of the five companies of rangers, one enſign and three private men killed, one wounded, and one miſſing. 1758.

" On the enemy's ſide, two captains of grenadiers, and two lieutenants, are priſoners; one officer killed, and an Indian chief; ſeveral men killed; and, I imagine, about ſeventy men taken priſoners. They were ſent on board as faſt as poſſible. By ſome of the priſoners I had intelligence, that M. St. Julien commanded in the Cove; that there were five battalions in the town, namely, Bourgogne, Artois, Royal Marine, Cambiſe, and Volontaires Etrangers, with about ſeven hundred Canadians. The three firſt regiments wintered in Louiſbourg; Volontaires Etrangers came there, not long ſince, with part of the fleet; and Cambiſe, the night before we landed.

" We took from the enemy three twenty-four pounders, and ſeven ſix-pounders, two mortars, and fourteen ſwivels; all which were placed along the ſhore to prevent our landing; likewiſe ſome ammunition, ſome tools, and ſtores of all kinds.

" The 9th, Lieutenant-General Bragg's regiment returned, in their ſloops, from Lorembec. The weather continued extremely bad, and the ſurf ſo great, that we could get only ſome of our tents on ſhore in the afternoon.

" The 10th, the ſurf ſtill continued, and it was with great difficulty that we got any thing on ſhore.

1758. "The 11th, the weather grew clear and better, and the light ſix-pounders only were now landed, and ſome artillery-ſtores with them.

"On the 12th, from the intelligence I had received, that the enemy had deſtroyed the grand battery, and called in their out-poſts, I detached Brigadier Wolfe, with twelve hundred men, four companies of grenadiers, three companies of rangers, and ſome light infantry, round the north-eaſt harbour, to the Light-houſe Point, with an intention to ſilence the iſland-battery, and, at the ſame time, to attempt to deſtroy the ſhips in the harbour; ſending, likewiſe, by ſea, the proportion of artillery, ammunition and tools, that had been ordered for this ſervice.

"I received, this day, a report from Brigadier Wolfe, that he had taken poſſeſſion of the Light-houſe Point, and all the poſts on that ſide the harbour, which the enemy had abandoned, leaving ſeveral cannon, which were rendered uſeleſs, and a great quantity of fiſh at Lorembec. The weather continued extremely bad, but we got ſome tools on ſhore this night; ſo that, on the 13th, we began to make a communication from the right to the left, in front of the camp; and I ordered three redoubts on the moſt advantageous ground in the front. A party of the enemy came out, this day, towards our camp, but were ſoon beat back by the light infantry, before two picquets could well get up to their aſſiſtance. We worked at three redoubts in front all night.

"The 14th, the enemy cannonaded us great part of the day. The ſurf ſtill continued ſo high, that it was with the greateſt difficulty we could land any thing. The fleet under the

the command of Sir Charles Hardy, which appeared yesterday for the first time, was, in the night, blown off to sea. 1758.

" The 15th, I sent four more mortars, in a sloop, to the Light-house; but we could not get any artillery landed on this shore. At night, two deserters from the Volontaires Etrangers came in, and said, they had five killed and forty wounded in the skirmish on the 13th.

" The 16th, the first fine weather, we landed twelve days provision, and got many things ashore; but could not yet land any artillery.

" The 17th, I got Colonel Bastide on horseback, and, with Colonel Williamson and Major Mackellar, we reconnoitred the whole ground, as far as we could; and Colonel Bastide was determined in his opinion of making approaches by the Green-hill, and of confining the destruction of the ships in the harbour to the Light-house Point, and the batteries on that side. I added two eight-inch mortars, and three royals, to the Light-house batteries.

" The 18th, we had fine weather. Some Indians took three of the transports men at the bottom of Gabarus bay, who landed there contrary to orders. The road for the artillery was pushed on as fast as possible. We got three twenty-four-pounders on shore, though the surf was great the beginning of the day.

" The 19th, the batteries of the Light-house were intended to have been opened this night; but could not be got ready so soon. L'Echo, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, was brought in to-day. She had got out of the harbour the 13th,

1758. at night, and was bound to Quebec. By her we have intelligence, that the Bizarre got out the day we landed, and the Comette, ſince our arrival off the harbour.

" The 20th, the iſland battery and ſhips fired at the batteries on the ſhore, who began their fire this laſt night. The enemy burnt an old ſhip at the bottom of the harbour.

" The 21ſt, very bad weather, and the ſurf high. The enemy diſcovered us making the road for the artillery, and cannonaded us; threw ſome ſhot into the left of the camp, but did not oblige me to decamp any part. An advanced redoubt, towards Greenhill, was thrown up this night.

" The 22d, the bad weather continued; we were employed on the roads, and getting up a block-houſe on the left, by the miry road, to ſecure the communication to the north-eaſt harbour and light-houſe, and to hinder any parties from going into the town.

" The 23d, the Admiral aſſured me there were above one hundred boats loſt in landing the troops and proviſions. This day, fine weather; and we now have, on ſhore, twelve twenty-four pounders, and ſix ſix-pounders. The enemy fired a great deal from their ſhipping and iſland-battery; and they threw ſome ſhot into the left of the camp. Colonel Meſſervey, and moſt of his carpenters, taken ill of the ſmall-pox, which is a very great loſs to the army. Gabions and faſcines are landed, and carried forward as faſt as poſſible, to make an epaulment to Greenhill. The batteries at the Light-houſe fire with ſucceſs againſt the iſland-battery, and, I hope, will ſilence it.

" On

1758.

" On the 24th, the enemy fired on the light-houſe batteries from the town and ſhipping; and, on our advanced redoubt, which was finiſhed, they fired from the town. We had this day, in the park of artillery, thirteen twenty-four-pounders and ſeven twelve-pounders.

" On the 25th, the cannonading continued night and day; in the evening, the iſland-battery was ſilenced: their own fire had helped to break down part of their works. Faſcines and gabions were forwarded to Greenhill as faſt as poſſible; all the men employed at work, and making the neceſſary communications. The enemy fired a good deal at our advanced redoubt.

" On the 26th, a ſmall alarm on the left, of a party that had advanced from the town, and got up to the Block-houſe, which was not quite finiſhed. They had with them a barrel of pitch, to ſet it on fire. The guard on it was not ſufficient to oppoſe a large party; but a detachment was ſent out ſo quick, that they were forced to retreat without effecting their deſign, though two of the men had been in the Block-houſe; and they were drove back into the town very faſt.

" Three hundred pioneers ordered to Greenhill. Admiral Boſcawen landed two hundred marines, and took the poſt at Kennington Cove, which is a great eaſe to the army. I deſired of the Admiral four thirty-two-pounders, and two twenty-four-pounders, to leave at the Light-houſe, to keep the iſland-battery in ruin; that, with a proper number of men intrenched there, Brigadier Wolfe, with his detachment, might be able to come round the harbour, bringing his artillery with him, and to try to deſtroy the ſhipping; and to advance towards the weſt-gate.

" On

1758. " On the 27th, one brafs twenty-four-pounder was loft in twelve-fathom water, by flipping off the catamaran, as they were coming from the fhip to land it. The cannon I afked of the Admiral were, this night, landed at the Light-houfe.

" On the 28th, many popping fhots and cannonading. As the poft at Greenhill was covered, we began the road over the bog, by throwing up an epaulment. Colonel Maffervey and his fon both died this day; and, of his company of carpenters, of one hundred and eight men, all, but fixteen, who are nurfes to the fick, are ill with the fmall-pox. This is particularly unlucky at this time.

" On the 29th, cannonading continued; a frigate fired conftantly at the epaulment. We perfevered in working at the road, which coft a great deal of labour. At night, the enemy funk four fhips in the harbour's mouth: the Apollo, with two decks; La Fidelle, of thirty-fix guns; La Chevre and La Biche, of fixteen guns each; and they cut off moft of their mafts. Remain in the harbour, five of the line of battle, and a frigate of thirty-fix guns.

" The 30th, at night, fome firing at Kennington Cove; the marines thought they faw Indians. The frigate fired all night at the epaulment, as the men worked in the night-time.

" The 1ft of July, the enemy crept out, in the morning, to get fome old palifades and wood. Brigadier Wolfe, and Major Scot's light infantry, pufhed them in with a very brifk fire; and the Brigadier took poft on the hills, from whence it was intended to try to demolifh the fhipping: we marched forward on the right; forced the enemy back to Cape Noir, with a fmart fire.

" The

1758.

" The 2d, the epaulment and road went on heavily, from the extreme badneſs of the ground. The enemy continued their cannonading, and threw ſome ſhells; we ſkirmiſhed all day with parties out of the town.

" The 3d, a great cannonading from the town and ſhipping, on the batteries. Brigadier Wolfe was making an advanced work on the right, thrown up at ſix hundred and fifty yards from the covered way, with an intention of erecting a battery to deſtroy the defences of the place, as the falling of the ground, from this place, towards the works, would hinder our diſcovering as much of the works as would be neceſſary to do them any conſiderable damage. In the evening, the ſea-officers imagined, that ſome of the ſhips would try to get out of the harbour. The batteries on the left immediately played on them; but it grew ſo dark, they could not continue.

" The 4th, a great fog: when there were glares of light, the cannonading began. Five hundred men were kept continually making of faſcines.

" The 5th, very bad weather. The epaulment was haſtened on as much as poſſible; it ſwallowed up an immenſe number of faſcines, and coſt ſome men, as the frigate cannonaded it without ceaſing.

" The 6th, a ſloop ſailed out of the harbour, with a flag of truce, to Sir Charles Hardy, to carry ſome things to their wounded officers and priſoners.

" The many difficulties of landing every thing in almoſt a continual ſurf, making of roads, draining and paſſing of bogs,

1758. bogs, and putting ourſelves under cover, render our approach to the place much longer than I could wiſh.

"On the 7th, we had very foggy weather; the cannonading continued all day, with many popping ſhots, from the advanced poſts.

"The 8th, I intended an attack on ſome advanced poſts at Cape Noir; but it did not take place. Colonel Baſtide got a contuſion by a muſket-ball on his boot, which laid him up in the gout.

"The 9th, in the night, the enemy made a ſally, where Brigadier Lawrence commanded; they came from Cape Noir, and, though drunk, I am afraid they rather ſurpriſed a company of grenadiers of Forbes's, commanded by Lord Dundonald, who were poſted in a ſmall work on the right. Major Murray, who commanded three companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one, and drove the enemy back very eaſily. Whitmore's and Bragg's grenadiers behaved very well on this occaſion; Lord Dundonald was killed; Lieutenant Tew wounded, and taken priſoner; Captain Bontein, of the engineers, taken priſoner; and one corporal, and three men were killed; one ſerjeant and eleven men are miſſing; and ſeventeen men wounded. The ſally was of five picquets, ſupported by ſix hundred men. A Captain, Chevalier de Chauvelin, was killed; a lieutenant wounded, and taken priſoner; ſeventeen men killed; four wounded, and brought off priſoners; beſides what wounded they carried into the town, one of whom, a captain, died immediately. The enemy ſent out a flag of truce to bury their dead; which when over, the cannonading began again. The frigate was ſo hurt, ſhe hauled cloſe to the town; the ſhips fired very much againſt Brigadier Wolfe's batteries.

"The

1758.

" The 10th, the road, at the epaulment, went on a little better.

" The 11th, a waggoner was taken off by ſome Indians, between the Block-houſe and the left of the north-eaſt harbour.

" The 12th, it rained very hard all night; we made an advanced work to Greenhill; at night, the waggoner, who had been taken, luckily made his eſcape, and ſaid, they were two hundred and fifty Canadians. The citadel baſtion fired very ſmartly.

" The 13th, the enemy threw a great many ſhells; we perfected our works, as faſt as we could; bad rainy weather; the enemy was at work at Cape Noir to hinder our taking poſt near that point, which is of no conſequence; ſome deſerters came in, and ſaid a ſloop from Miray got in, three days ago.

" The 14th, the batteries were traced out, laſt night, with an intention to place twenty twenty-four pounders, divided into four different batteries, to deſtroy the defences; and a battery of ſeven mortars, with ſome twelve-pounders to ricochet the works and the town.

" The 15th, the cannonading and firing continued; the enemy tried to throw ſome ſhells into our camp, ſuppoſed to be intended againſt our powder magazine; at ten at night, the light-houſe battery fired ſome rockets, as a ſignal of ſhips ſailing out of the harbour. Sir Charles Hardy anſwered it; a frigate got out, and Sir Charles Hardy's fleet got under ſail and went to ſea. Before day-break, Captain Sutherland, poſted at the end of the north-eaſt harbour, was attacked, and there was a great deal of firing; the grenadiers of Brigadier

1758. Wolfe's corps marched to ſuſtain him, and all the light infantry; it was over before they could arrive, and, by a deſerter from the enemy, they were only one hundred men, come from Miray, where they left Monſieur de Bois-Hibert, who had, on their ſide of the water, three hundred men with boats ready to paſs. Major Scott, with the light infantry, purſued; but could not get up with them. I encamped a corps forward.

"The 16th, towards night, Brigadier Wolfe took poſſeſſion of the hills in the front of the Baraſoy, where we made a lodgment; the enemy fired very briſkly from the town and ſhipping.

"The 17th, we reſolved to extend the parallel from the right to the left. The fleet returned.

"The 18th, all laſt night, the enemy fired muſketry from the covert-way; and tried to throw ſhells into the camp.

"The 19th, I relieved the trenches by battalions, the fourteen battalions forming three brigades; a ſmart fire from the covert-way; the batteries, on the left, fired againſt the baſtion Dauphine, with great ſucceſs.

"The 21ſt, one of the ſhips in the harbour had ſome powder blown up in her, made a great exploſion, and ſet the ſhip on fire, which ſoon caught the ſails of two more; they burned very faſt, and we kept firing on them, the whole time, to hinder the boats and people from the town to get to their aſſiſtance; the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, were the three burned ſhips; the Prudent and Bienfaiſant remained.

"The

1758.

" The 22d, two batteries, on the right, opened with thirteen twenty-four pounders, and another of ſeven mortars; and fired, with great ſucceſs; the enemy fired very ſmart from the town, for ſome time; and threw their ſhells into our works. Our ſhells put the citadel in flames. I ordered Colonel Williamſon to confine his fire, as much as he could, to the defences of the place, that we might not deſtroy the houſes. A lieutenant of the Royal Americans, going his rounds on an advanced poſt, loſt his way, and was taken priſoner near Cape Noir. A battery was begun, on the left, for four twenty-four pounders.

" The 23d, the cohorns we uſed at night, and the French mortars were ſent to throw ſtones from the trenches. The enemy fired all ſorts of old iron, and any ſtuff they could pick up. Colonel Baſtide was out to-day, for the firſt time, ſince he received his contuſion. Our batteries fired with great ſucceſs. This night, the ſhells ſet fire to the barracks, and they burnt with great violence.

" On the 24th, the fire was very briſk on our ſide; and the enemy's decreaſed. The Admiral gave me four hundred ſeamen to help us to work at the batteries, and two hundred miners were added to a corps of a hundred already eſtabliſhed, that we might make quick work of it; and they were immediately employed. The four gun battery opened, and another of five erecting. One of the men of war in the harbour, the Bienfaiſant, fired at our trenches, at high-water; and the citadel, and Baſtion Dauphine, fired againſt the four gun battery; but our men, firing ſmall arms into the embrazures, beat the enemy off their guns.

" The 25th, the batteries fired, with great ſucceſs. The Admiral ſent me word, he intended to ſend in boats, with ſix

1758. hundred men, to take or deſtroy the Prudent and the Bienfaiſant, in the harbour. I ordered all the batteries at night to fire into the works, as much as poſſible, to keep the enemy's attention to the land. The miners and workmen went on very well, with their approaches to the covered way, though they had a continued and very ſmart fire from it; and grape-ſhot, and all ſorts of old iron from the guns of the ramparts. We continued our fire, without ceaſing, and en ricochet. The boats got to the ſhips at one in the morning, and took them both: They were obliged to burn the Prudent of ſeventy-four guns, as ſhe was a-ground; and they towed off the Bienfaiſant of ſixty-four, to the north-eaſt harbour.

"The 26th, the Admiral came on ſhore; and told me he propoſed to ſend ſix ſhips into the harbour the next day. Juſt at this time, I received a letter from the Governor, offering to capitulate, and the following articles were agreed upon. The troops remained in the trenches, this night, as uſual.

Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies Admiral Boſcawen and Major-General Amherſt, and his Excellency the Chevalier Drucour, Governor of the Iſland of Cape Breton, of Louiſbourg, the Iſland of St. John, and their appurtenances.

ARTICLE I. The garriſon of Louiſbourg ſhall be priſoners of war, and ſhall be carried to England in the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty.

II. All the artillery, ammunition, proviſions, as well as the arms of any kind whatſoever, which are at preſent in the town of Louiſbourg, the Iſlands of Cape Breton, and St. John, and their appurtenances, ſhall be delivered, without the leaſt damage, to ſuch Commiſſaries as ſhall be appointed to receive them, for the uſe of his Britannic Majeſty.

III. The

III. The Governor ſhall give his orders that the troops which are in the Iſland of St. John, and its appurtenances, ſhall go on board ſuch ſhip of war, as the Admiral ſhall ſend to receive them. 1758.

IV. The gate, called Port Dauphine, ſhall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majeſty, to-morrow at eight o'clock in the morning, and the garriſon, including all thoſe that carried arms, drawn up at noon, on the eſplanade, where they ſhall lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war. And the garriſon ſhall go on board, in order to be carried to England, in a convenient time.

V. The ſame care ſhall be taken of the ſick and wounded that are in the hoſpitals, as of thoſe belonging to his Britannic Majeſty.

VI. The Merchants and their Clerks, that have not carried arms, ſhall be ſent to France, in ſuch manner as the Admiral ſhall think proper.

(Signed) Le Chevalier de DRUCOUR.
EDWARD BOSCAWEN.
JEFFERY AMHERST.

Louiſbourg,
26th July, 1758.

This account was too full to leave Mr. Boſcawen much to ſay; accordingly, his letter to Mr. Pitt, on this occaſion, dated on board the Namur, Gabarus Bay, the 28th of July 1758, was comprized in the few following words:

"I will not trouble you with a particular detail of the landing and ſiege, but cannot help mentioning a particular gallant action, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth inſtant. The boats of the ſquadron were, in two diviſions,

1758. detached, under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour, to endeavour either to take or burn the Prudente of ſeventy-four guns, and the Bienfaiſant of ſixty-four, the only remaining French ſhips in the harbour; in which they ſucceeded ſo well as to burn the former, ſhe being a-ground, and take the latter, and tow her into the north-eaſt harbour, notwithſtanding they were expoſed to the fire of the cannon and muſketry of the iſland-battery, Point-Rochfort, and the town, being favoured with a dark night. Our loſs was inconſiderable; ſeven men killed, and nine wounded."

On the 27th of July, three companies of grenadiers, commanded by Major Farquhar, took poſſeſſion of the town; when the garriſon conſiſted of

Twenty-four companies, being the uſual garriſon, and two companies of the artillery, - -	1017
Second battalion, Volontaires Etrangers, - -	526
Second ditto, Artois, - - - - -	466
Second ditto, Bourgogne, - - - -	414
Second ditto, Cambiſe, - - - -	608
In all,	3031
To which if we add	
The ſea-officers, ſailors, and marines, - -	2606
The total of priſoners will be,	5637

In this memorable ſiege, twenty-one commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers, one hundred and forty-ſix private men, one gunner, and three matroſſes, were killed, on the part of the beſiegers; and thirty commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers, three hundred and fifteen private men, one corporal, one gunner, and three matroſſes, were wounded.

The

The French troops had about three hundred and fifty killed and wounded. 1758.

And the fleet of that nation suffered, in this siege, a considerable diminution, by the loss of Le Prudent and L'Entreprenant, of seventy-four guns each; Le Capricieux, Le Celebre, and Bienfaisant, of sixty-four each; Apollo, fifty; Le Chevre, Biche, and Fidelle, frigates; the Diana, taken by the Boreas; and the Echo, by the Juno.

On the 30th of July, the Shannon frigate, commanded by the Honourable Captain Edgecumb, who was charged with the Admiral's dispatches, and carrying Captain Amherst, with those of the General, sailed for England. These gentlemen took with them the colours of Louisbourg, and of the troops. These trophies, after having been presented to the King of Great Britain by Captain Amherst, were deposited, with great pomp, in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London, to perpetuate the glory of the British arms, by this conquest restored to their former lustre.

It must appear, by the foregoing journal of General Amherst, that there was scarce a difficulty, which accident or industry could create, that did not present itself to obstruct his operations. Yet, whilst we admire the intrepidity that forced a landing, when the violence of the surf almost baffled the power of art, we must not conceal the share which fortune had in the execution of so dangerous an enterprize. Even the resolution of Brigadier Wolfe was staggered, when he viewed the breaking surge; and, supposing a landing at that time impracticable, he made a signal with his hat to retire. But, it being mistaken for a signal to advance, the boats in which were

1758. Lieutenants Hopkins and Browne, and Enſign Grant, puſhed on ſhore. Theſe, with their men, climbed up ſome rocks, and formed. This being obſerved by Mr. Wolfe, he advanced his brigade, and landed, in the face of an infernal fire. In the mean time, the party that was on ſhore crept unſeen on the flank of the enemy, who, being ignorant of their numbers, immediately quitted their intrenchments, and fled. Animated by the example of Mr. Wolfe, thoſe boats neareſt to him puſhed for the ſhore, and the men leaped into the ſea to gain the land; but many of them were drowned in the attempt.

No oppoſition, it ſeems, could check the animating ſpirit raiſed by the ardent deſire of regaining credit, and of expunging the foul blot with which the miſcarriages of ſucceſſive years had ſtained the Britiſh colours. The vigilance, reſolution, and other military virtues, of the two commanders in this enterprize, and, perhaps ſtill more, the perfect harmony that reigned between them, gained the confidence of all the forces under their command; and every officer exerted his utmoſt abilities, in token of this confidence; particularly Brigadier Wolfe, whoſe martial ardour made him ever ready to execute the boldeſt plans of his General; yet, with a circumſpection and ſkill, which juſtly procured him the affection and eſteem of the whole army.

The alertneſs of the gentlemen of the navy to aſſiſt in forwarding the operations of the army muſt not be forgotten. And the attack on the French men of war, the Bienfaiſant and the Prudent, by Captains Laforey and Balfour, will ever remain an honourable teſtimony of their bravery, as it gained them ſuch immediate encomiums from their Admiral.

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In this campaign, we ſee the genius of Britain rouzed; the glory of her arms burſting forth from that cloud of diſgrace, by which it had, for ſo many years paſt, been obſcured; and the perſeverance, prudence, and ſpirit of her ſons, getting the better of an almoſt confirmed habit of levity, miſmanagement, and timidity; fulfilling the commands of a gracious ſovereign, and executing the plans of an enterpriſing miniſter. 1758.

But, whilſt we are thus laviſh of our praiſe on the conquering army, our impartiality will not ſuffer us to overlook the good conduct and bravery of the beſieged. As to the landing of the Engliſh, it muſt have been effected by ſacrificing lives in one part or another; it being impoſſible to guard ſuch an extent of coaſt with about three thouſand men, and yet leave a ſufficient number for duty in the town. The French occupied above two leagues and an half of ground in the moſt acceſſible parts: but there were ſome intermediate places they could not guard; and it was preciſely in one of theſe that the Engliſh took poſt.

The French employed every method to retard and deſtroy the works of the beſiegers, both by the fire of the place, and that of the ſhips in the harbour. The Commodore of thoſe ſhips warmly ſolicited for leave to quit the place; but M. de Drucour, knowing the importance of their ſtay to its ſafety, would not permit them to depart. It was his buſineſs to defer the determination of his fate as long as poſſible. The accounts he received from Canada aſſured him, that M. de Montcalm was marching to the enemy, and would come up with them, between the 20th and 25th of July. If the ſhips had left the harbour, as the Commodore deſired, on the 10th

1758. of June, the Engliſh Admiral would have entered it immediately after, and the place might have been loſt before the expiration of the month; and this would have put it in the power of the Engliſh General to employ the months of July and Auguſt in ſending ſuccours to the troops marching againſt Canada, and to enter the river St. Lawrence at the proper ſeaſon. This object alone ſeemed to M. de Drucour of ſufficient importance to require a council of war, who agreed with him in opinion. The ſituation of the ſhips was no leſs critical than that of the town. Four of them were burnt, and the caſemates were deſtroyed, by the bombs of the Engliſh. At length, no French ſhips being left, and the place being open in different parts of the King's, the Dauphin's, and the Queen's baſtions, the Governor ſtill did all that an officer in his ſituation could do: — He called a council of war; and yielded to its advice to aſk a capitulation.

M. de Drucour propoſed much the ſame terms as were granted at Minorca; and the Engliſh General's reply to his propoſal, was to the following purport:

" In anſwer to the propoſal I have juſt now had the honour to receive from your Excellency, by the Sieur Loppinot, I have only to tell your Excellency, That it hath been determined by Admiral Boſcawen and myſelf, that his ſhips ſhall go in to-morrow, to make a general attack upon the town. Your Excellency knows very well the ſituation of the army and the fleet: and, as the Admiral, as well as myſelf, is very deſirous to prevent the effuſion of blood, we give your Excellency one hour, after receiving this, to determine, either to capitulate as priſoners of war, or to

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take upon you all the bad consequences of a defence against this fleet and army. 1758.

E. Boscawen.
Jeff. Amherst."

M. de Drucour answered the above letter, in the following terms:

" To answer your Excellencies in as few words as possible, I have the honour to repeat to you, That my resolution is still the same; and that I will suffer the consequences, and sustain the attack you speak of.

Le Chevalier De Drucour."

Immediately after this letter was dispatched, M. Prevot, Commissary-General, and Intendant of the colony, brought M. de Drucour a petition from the traders and inhabitants, which determined him to submit to the law of superior force; a submission, in his situation, inevitable. Before this, for eight days together, his officers had not, any more than the private men, one moment's rest. Indeed, they had no place in which they could take any; nor did there remain any place of safety, even for the wounded: so that they were almost as much exposed, every minute of the four and twenty hours, as if they had been on the covered-way. Nevertheless, the men did not murmur in the least, nor discover the smallest discontent; which was owing to the good example and exact discipline of their officers. None deserted but Germans; one of whom prevented an intended sally: for, as he had gone over to the English two hours before it was to have been put in execution, it was not thought prudent to hazard it. The burning

1758. of the ſhips, and of the caſemates of the King's and Queen's baſtions, hindered another. A third had no better ſucceſs: the French proceeded no farther than the glacis of the covered-way. So that, of four ſallies that were intended, one only ſucceeded; in which, thirty grenadiers and two officers were made priſoners.

No reſources could be had by intrenchments in the gorges of the baſtions; nor were the French provided with the neceſſary implements for ſuch operations. And, of fifty-two pieces of cannon, which were oppoſed to the batteries of the beſiegers, forty were diſmounted, broken, or rendered unſerviceable. In ſuch circumſtances, therefore, it was impoſſible for the French to make any further reſiſtance; and, of courſe, it was no way blameable in them to ſurrender priſoners of war.

We muſt now reſume our narrative of the operations of the Engliſh forces.

On the 7th of Auguſt, a detachment, commanded by Major Dalling, was ordered to Eſpagnolle, to take poſſeſſion, agreeable to the capitulation, of the appurtenances of Louiſbourg; and another, under Lord Rollo, on the ſame errand, to the iſland of St. John; the inhabitants of which, amounting to about four thouſand ſouls, immediately on his arrival, brought in their arms. This place had been, ever ſince the commencement of the war, a thorn in the ſides of the inhabitants of Nova-Scotia; at the ſame time that, from its fertility in corn and cattle, it contributed not a little to the ſupport of the inhabitants of Canada, whom it greatly imported the Engliſh to diſtreſs; ſince, as long as that country remained in

the hands of the French, they could not rely upon any permanent tranquility in North-America. For this reason, Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, having resolved to reap every advantage they possibly could from the conquest of Cape Breton, as soon as the transports could sail with the French prisoners to Europe, which was not till the 15th, Sir Charles Hardy, with seven ships of the line and three frigates; and Brigadier Wolfe, with the fifteenth regiment, Amherst's; the twenty-eighth, Bragg's; and the fifty-eighth, Anstruther's; a detachment of artillery, two engineers, two light six-pounders, two eight-inch mortars, five royals, six cohorns, and every kind of stores in proportion; were ordered to sail for the gulf of St. Lawrence, and as far up the river of the same name as the season would permit, with instructions to destroy all the French settlements in both bay and river, with their ships and boats, especially on the south side; and, in particular, those of Mirimichi, Baye de Chaleurs, and Gaspée; and disperse or carry off the inhabitants. None of these places were of any great force; but those we have particularly mentioned were well inhabited; and the inhabitants of all, by being seated immediately on the back of Nova-Scotia, afforded shelter to a set of renegadoes, who, by just marching over the head of St. John's river, and so to the bay of Fundy, had it always in their power to infest the English settlements in that peninsula; and, accordingly, never let slip any opportunity to do it. Another advantage expected from this expedition, was the alarming of the French at Quebec, and thereby effectually preventing their sending any fresh succours, as they might otherwise do, to their countrymen employed against General Abercromby. Sir Charles Hardy and Brigadier Wolfe sailed, on this service, on the 28th of August; and, two days after, the thirty-

1758.

fifth

1758. fifth regiment, the ſecond battalion of the Royal Americans, and three hundred and fifty rangers, to be commanded by Colonel Monckton, were ſent up the bay of Fundy to deſtroy the French ſettlements on the river St. John, clear the country of its inhabitants, take and keep poſſeſſion of St. Anne's, and, in ſhort, penetrate as far up the river as they conveniently could, to annoy the enemy. In theſe two expeditions, as the ſeveral officers commanding them behaved with their uſual bravery and conduct, and were properly ſeconded by the officers and men under them, ſo they met with adequate ſucceſs. When the above ſervice was finiſhed, Brigadier Wolfe was ordered to ſend to Louiſbourg the twenty-eighth regiment, Bragg's, which it was intended ſhould make part of that garriſon; call back to their regiments the ſick and wounded of the fifteenth, Amherſt's, and the fifty-eighth, Anſtruther's, that had been left there; and then, with theſe two regiments, proceed to Halifax, and take on him the command of the troops there, till he ſhould receive further orders.

The Admiral and General having, as ſoon as they had ſent off the troops for theſe expeditions, again deliberated on their inſtructions, and on the preſent ſtate of affairs in North-America, were of opinion, that the meaſures which had been purſued ſince the reduction of Louiſbourg, for annoying the enemy's ſettlements as long as the ſeaſon would permit, was all that, with prudence, could be attempted in that part; and having, at length, received undoubted aſſurance, that the attack on Ticonderoga had miſcarried, with ſuch an heavy loſs as obliged the troops to retreat, they did not heſitate a ſingle moment in coming to the reſolution of ſending five battalions, (which were the remains of the army, after garriſoning Louiſ-

Louiſbourg, Nova-Scotia, and their dependencies), as a reinforcement to General Abercromby's army. For, though their inſtructions did not extend to any part of the continent beyond Nova-Scotia, they wiſely judged themſelves authoriſed to beſtow their attention and aſſiſtance wherever the intereſt of their country required it, and it could be afforded without deviating from their inſtructions. In order, therefore, to loſe as little time as poſſible in doing this important ſervice, and that it might be done as effectually as poſſible, General Amherſt, in perſon, took on himſelf the command of the ſecond battalion of the Royal, the ſeventeenth, forty-ſeventh, forty-eighth, and ſeventy-eighth regiments; and ſailed with them, on the 30th of Auguſt, for Boſton, where he arrived the 13th of September. The next day he landed, and encamped his troops. Then, conſidering that the accidents attending the paſſage, by ſea, to New-York, might fruſtrate his intentions to join General Abercromby as ſoon as he could wiſh, he determined to march to Albany, through the Green-wood; and demanded of the magiſtrates of Boſton guides to conduct him; but, inſtead of guides, the ſelect men ſent him a deputation to aſſure him, that his deſign was impracticable, there being no road through the wood, and that it was impoſſible to make one. Not content with this bare aſſertion, many of them, in hopes of diverting the General from his purpoſe, voluntarily made affidavits to confirm what had been advanced by the whole. However, from the information of many people, whom the General himſelf took the trouble to examine, the paſſage was ſo far from being found impracticable, that there did not appear any great difficulties to effect it. He likewiſe diſcovered the reaſons why the magiſtracy were ſo averſe to his attempting it. If the General could conduct an army,

1758.

1758. army through the Green-wood to the enemy, they concluded, the enemy might as eafily bring an army againft themfelves, by the fame rout; and, in cafe they fhould prove fuccefsful, would perhaps do it, inftead of proceeding immediately to New-York. But thefe were not fufficient reafons, in the opinion of the General, to make him alter his refolution. He therefore decamped, and began his march. On the 2d of October, about thirty-five miles eaft of Albany, he left the troops under the command of Colonel Burton, with orders to continue his rout, the next day, to Kinderhook-mills; and fo, through Albany, to Lake George; whilft himfelf proceeded to General Abercromby's camp, which he reached on the 5th, and found as fecure as intrenchments could make it. Having conferred with General Abercromby, and put the regiments he had brought with him under his command, he returned to Albany on the 8th, and from thence immediately proceeded to Halifax; where, by his inftructions, he was ordered to remain, after the reduction of Louifbourg, for farther orders.

We are now to relate the operations of the armies on the continent, intended for the execution of the plans againft Ticonderoga and Fort du-Quefne, and which were to rendezvous at Albany and Philadelphia. The firft was commanded by General Abercromby; and confifted of

The Twenty-feventh regiment
Forty-fecond
Forty-fourth
Forty-fixth
Fifty-fifth
Firft battalion of the Royal Americans
And a detachment of the Royal Artillery,

making

making about ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty-ſeven of the King's troops, and nine thouſand and twenty-four provincials, boatmen included; amounting, in the whole, to fifteen thouſand three hundred and ninety-one men. Theſe were conducted to the ſpot on which formerly ſtood Fort William-Henry, and encamped there the latter end of June. But the cannon, ammunition, and other ſtores, being all arrived by the 5th of July, the troops embarked, in the morning of that day, in nine hundred boats, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats; attended by a proper number of cannon mounted on rafts, to cover the landing, if neceſſary. In the evening, the General, at firſt, ordered the forces to lie-to, at a place called *Sabbath-day Point*, a few miles from which lay an advanced guard of the French; and then to land, and make ſeveral large fires, in order to engage the attention of the enemy to that ſpot; hoping thereby to divide their force in ſuch a manner as would weaken their oppoſition at another place, where he really intended to diſembark, after another motion by water. About eleven at night, his Excellency ordered the troops to reimbark, and proceed to the Narrows, where they arrived about five the next morning. An advanced guard of five hundred boatmen, Major Rogers with eight hundred rangers, and Gage's light infantry, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bradſtreet, were then ordered on ſhore, to diſcover if any of the enemy were poſted there to oppoſe a landing. Colonel Bradſtreet finding there was nothing to hinder it, the whole of the army advanced and landed. Being then formed into four columns, and ordered to march, they ſoon came to an encampment that had been occupied by the advanced guard of the enemy, conſiſting of three picquets of the regiment of Guienne, and de-

1758.

1758. ſerted by them on the approach of the Engliſh; but not till they had deſtroyed their ammunition and proviſions, and ſet fire to their camp.

Ticonderoga, the place General Abercromby intended to attack, was a fort erected on a peninſula, with every advantage to reſiſt an enemy; the only ſide that could be attacked by land, being chiefly a ſwamp; and where that failed, art ſupplied the place of nature. The wood being very thick, and impaſſable, with any regularity, to ſuch a body of men, and the guides unſkilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broke, falling in one upon another. During this diſorder, Lord Howe, at the head of the right center-column, ſupported by the light infantry, fell in with about five hundred French, who had likewiſe loſt themſelves in the woods. The action was maintained with great bravery on both ſides; nor did the enemy give way, till they had near three hundred killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken priſoners; the killed and wounded on the ſide of the Engliſh did not exceed forty. But this advantage was too inconſiderable to counterbalance the loſs of Lord Howe, who, almoſt at the beginning of the action, received a muſket-ball in the breaſt, of which he inſtantly expired. The want of guides in a country ſo circumſtanced as to render the regular motion even of a ſmall party extremely difficult, muſt greatly embarraſs that of a large army. Accordingly, the total ignorance of the ground on which this ſkirmiſh happened, together with the early death of Lord Howe, cauſed ſuch confuſion amongſt the Engliſh, that the whole benefit of this little ſucceſs was confined to that of occupying the ground on which it was obtained, the night after.

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In Lord Howe, the ſoul of General Abercromby's army ſeemed to expire. His enterpriſing ſpirit infuſed a noble ardour into every rank; and his activity was ſuch as created an emulation amongſt the ſoldiers, that teſtified the higheſt opinion of his good example. From the unhappy moment the General was deprived of his advice, neither order nor diſcipline was obſerved in the army; and a ſtrange kind of infatuation uſurped the place of reſolution, to ſuch a degree, that, on the 7th, the whole army was ordered to return to the place where they had landed, except the forty-fourth regiment, ſix companies of the Royal Americans, a party of rangers, and ſome boatmen, making in the whole about ſeven thouſand men, under the command of Colonel Bradſtreet. Theſe were detached to attack a poſt occupied by the French, called the *Saw-mills*. At his approach, the French deſtroyed a bridge, by which alone he could come at them. But Colonel Bradſtreet ſoon laid another; and the whole army advanced that very night, and took poſt on this ſpot. The General, having occupied every advantageous eminence in the neighbourhood, ordered Mr. Clark, the chief engineer, to examine the enemy's ſtrength, by which ſome judgment might be formed of the oppoſition reaſonably to be expected. Upon this, the engineers, with ſome principal officers of the army, endeavoured to get ſufficient information, by which their future operations might be directed to the beſt advantage. But all they could diſcover, with any certainty, was, that there was a breaſt-work, without being able to aſcertain the nature of it. So various were the opinions of thoſe whoſe duty it was exactly to inform themſelves of theſe particulars: ſome reported it a well-finiſhed work; whilſt others, and amongſt them the chief engineer, treated it as a flimſy conſtruction, ſtrong in appearance only. The General, unfortunately, adopted the laſt opinion, and therefore determined

1758.

1758. to attack the enemy that very morning, by aſſault; eſpecially, as he had received intelligence of M. de Levi's being on his march from an excurſion on the Mohawk-River, with a body of three thouſand men, to join thoſe already at Ticonderoga; for the General concluded it would be much eaſier to force a garriſon of ſix, than one of nine thouſand men. He judged rightly; but the reports, on which he formed his judgment, had been greatly exaggerated; M. de Levi's force did not exceed eight hundred, which were now arrived; and the garriſon, under M. de Montcalm, was conſiderably ſhort of three thouſand. Theſe conſiſted of the regiments of La Reine, La Sarre, Bearn, Guienne, Bury, Languedoc, and Royal Rouſillon. In the defence of the lines, M. de Montcalm commanded in the center, M. de Levi on the right, and M. de Bourlemaque on the left.

Whilſt preparations were making for the aſſault, Sir William Johnſon joined the army, with four hundred and forty Indians. Early in the morning, the troops began to form for the attack, in the following order: On the left, the rangers; in the center, the batteau-men; and on the right, the light infantry; and poſted themſelves in a line out of the reach of cannon-ſhot; their right extending towards Lake-George; and their left towards Lake-Champlain; in the rear of theſe a line of provincials was formed, and the regular troops, which were to make the firſt aſſault on the intrenchments, were drawn up behind theſe: the Connecticut and Jerſey regiments compoſing a rear-guard to the whole.

The troops, being thus diſpoſed, received ſtrict orders, that no one ſhould preſume to fire, till he was within the breaſt-work; a party of the enemy advanced beyond the breaſt-work, and fired on the rangers, but, indeed, without doing any execution; or being permitted to continue long enough without

out the breaſt-work, to fire a ſecond time. At length, about one, in the afternoon, the regulars advanced, with the greateſt intrepidity, to ſtorm the breaſt-work, which they now, when it was too late to retreat, found well covered with felled trees, extending one hundred yards in front, with the branches pointing outwards, and ſtrengthened with logs, ſtumps of trees, and every other kind of rubbiſh they could collect, that was fit for the purpoſe. But, in ſpite of all theſe obſtacles, and the great irregularity with which the troops were obliged to make their approach, on account of the rubbiſh that lay in their way, ſuch was their ardour, that many of the officers, got to the breaſt-work itſelf, and were killed in attempting to ſcale it; another body who kept advancing, but had loſt their line of march, perceiving a fire in their front, and ſuppoſing it to be the enemy's, fired on their own people. This miſtake created irretrievable confuſion, and the troops retired in the utmoſt diſorder, no perſon appearing to take on him the command; their diſorderly retreat ſoon degenerating into a precipitate flight, they continued it till they arrived at the Saw-mills, where a rally at length took place. But it was ſcarcely effected, when an unexpected order from General Abercromby to march to the landing place, renewed the panic, to ſuch a degree, the ſoldiers thinking it was to reimbark in conſequence of their being purſued by a victorious enemy, that, had it not been for the extraordinary alertneſs of Colonel Bradſtreet, in preventing the ſoldiers from entering the boats, the greateſt part muſt have periſhed. This prudent behaviour of the Colonel's having afforded the General time to reſtore a little order, the troops kept their ground that night. On the ninth, they were ordered to embark; and retired to Fort-William-Henry. In this unhappy attempt, the Engliſh had 1758.

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1758. four hundred and ſixty-four regulars killed; eleven hundred and ſeventeen wounded; and twenty-nine miſſing; and of the Provincials, eighty-ſeven killed; two hundred and thirty-nine wounded; and eight miſſing. The loſs of the enemy was twelve officers, and about one hundred ſoldiers killed on the ſpot; and twenty-five officers, and about two hundred and fifty ſoldiers wounded; but their wounds being chiefly in the head, in conſequence of their bodies being ſo well defended, very few of them recovered.

Although enough cannot be ſaid in commendation of the bravery of the Engliſh troops in this ill concerted attack; yet the defence of the French muſt be conſidered as deſerving, in every reſpect, the approbation of their enemies. Though their maſter thanked them very formally for their reſolution and perſeverance, it muſt be acknowledged that he did not confer on them any greater marks of eſteem and gratitude than they deſerved. Accordingly, it may be ſafely affirmed, that during the whole conteſt in America, there happened no affair, which afforded the commanding officer of the Engliſh troops, ſo fine an opportunity of diſplaying his military talents, and exerting his authority in a manner to command ſucceſs. But, through want of proper information, ſuch an undigeſted attack was, at once, reſolved upon, as nothing but a notorious degree of timidity in the enemy could juſtify. The notion that the breaſt-work itſelf was very feeble, muſt, indeed, be allowed an inducement; but, even in that caſe, covered as it was by the felled trees, and other rubbiſh, it muſt for ſome time have ſtood the ſhock of cannon. But the breaſt-work itſelf was eight feet thick, on both flanks, it was in a manner defenceleſs; and M. de Montcalm, conſcious of this circumſtance, had given orders, that when the Engliſh ſhould appear on

on either of these weak parts, the troops should immediately retreat to the boats prepared to receive them, and likewise abandon the fort. When the English retreated, he had not the least doubt of their returning to the charge, till the next day, that M. de Levi, with a reconnoitring party, discovered their having repassed the lake. If he had been informed of the confusion that prevailed amongst them and pursued them, he might, even with his inferior numbers, have given them a severe blow. For, when the disorder amongst the English troops began to encrease to such a degree as to require the personal appearance of a commander in chief to restrain it effectually, the general, who had remained during the greatest part of the attack, at the Saw-mills, two miles from the scene of action, was not to be found; nor did there, in fact, appear any other officer to do his duty, though so fair an opportunity presented itself to the second in command to distinguish and recommend himself. Notwithstanding all this, it is a matter of astonishment, that troops, who had so resolutely advanced to the attack, and who had so valiantly repeated it, should, when broken, yet unpursued, and with day-light before them, be susceptible of so strong a panic. But it is still more surprising to think of the steps taken by the General, when he had resumed the command. He ordered the artillery and ammunition to Albany. Nay, as though he did not think them safe even at that place, measures were taken to convey them to New-York. 1758.

I could wish that impartiality, so much the duty of an historian, would, on this occasion, suffer me to consign to oblivion the defeat of my countrymen at Ticonderoga. But that is impossible. Indeed, recording of it will prove a most useful lesson on the little consequence of the most consummate bravery,

1758. bravery, when not ſteadily directed by ability and experience.

Lake George being now betwixt the French and Fort William-Henry, the General recovered himſelf ſufficiently to conſider it as a ſort of barrier. Yet, not wholly ſatisfied that the French would not, in ſpite of it, endeavour to return his viſit, he prepared to give them the beſt reception in his power, by intrenching his army, without ſeeming, however, to entertain the moſt diſtant idea of turning the check he had received to any advantage. His numbers were not ſo much diminiſhed, as to be inſufficient to act offenſively if prudently directed; and, as the ſtrength of the lines at Ticonderoga was now known, there could be no great difficulty in ſketching out ſuch a method of attack, as could not fail of ſucceſs. At leaſt, the attempt was worth hazarding, as a ſafe retreat might, at all times, have been eaſily effected.

As ſoon as the General thought himſelf ſecure in his intrenchments, Colonel Bradſteet propoſed to him the plan of an attack on Fort Cataraquoi or Fontenac, on Lake Ontario; which the General, having approved, gave him the following troops to execute it.

Regulars, - - -	135
New-York Provincials, - -	1112
New-Jerſey Provincials, - -	412
Boſton Provincials, - - -	675
Rhode-Iſland Provincials, - -	318
Batteau-men, - - - -	300
making in all	2952 men;

beſides a ſmall detachment of the Royal Artillery, with eight cannon and two mortars. The deſtruction of the navigation

gation of Wood-Creek, by Colonel Webb in 1756, proved a very mortifying circumſtance to Colonel Bradſtreet, and a ſource of great labour and fatigue to his troops. But reſolution and activity ſurmounted, at length, every obſtacle; and the Creek was again rendered in ſome degree navigable. Colonel Bradſtreet then, about the 13th of Auguſt, after embarking his artillery and ſtores, led the army by land, to the Oneida-Lake; and, from thence, by the Onondaga-River, to Lake-Ontario, where they all embarked. On the 25th of Auguſt, they landed without oppoſition near the fort they were to attack; and it ſurrendered between ſeven and eight in the morning of the 27th; the garriſon, conſiſting of one hundred and ten men, and ſome Indians, ſurrendered priſoners of war. 1758.

The fort, thus eaſily reduced, was a quadrangle of about one hundred yards every way on the outſide; mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, and ſixteen ſmall mortars; and containing thirteen pieces more of cannon, with an immenſe quantity of goods and proviſions to be ſent to the troops gone to oppoſe Brigadier-General Forbes, and to their weſtern garriſons; to ſupply the army commanded by Mr. de Levi, during his enterpriſe againſt the inhabitants on the Mohawk-River; and likewiſe the Indians in their intereſt. Theſe ſtores were valued, by the French themſelves, at eight hundred thouſand livres. The conquerors, moreover, made themſelves maſters of nine veſſels from eight to eighteen guns each; two of which were ſent to Oſwego; one of them richly laden: the reſt were moſt unaccountably burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, together with the fort, artillery, and ſtores, in obedience to General Abercromby's orders. The French troops, to the ſouthward, were by this loſs expoſed to the danger of ſtarving; but they

 might

1758. might have been equally expoſed, and as ſeverely annoyed without ſuch waſte. The fort, if improved and enlarged, could not fail, from the excellency of its harbour, and its convenient ſituation, to render the Engliſh maſters of Lake Ontario, and thereby enable them to ruin the commerce of the French, and be a check upon all their expeditions to the weſtward. And, as to the veſſels, and the goods and ſtores, the latter might have been eaſily removed by means of the former, and both ſaved, even though it was not thought proper to leave the fort ſtanding; or truſt them to the care of a garriſon, in the caſe it was.

Fort Frontenac was, at this period, the general rendezvous of all the Indian nations, that had any knowledge of each other; the center of all the trade between themſelves, and with the French, whoſe traders, in conſequence of their conciliating methods, were ſo much preferred, by the Indians, to the Engliſh traders, that great numbers of them, in their yearly progreſs to this market, actually paſſed by the town of Albany, though they might have been ſupplied there, with what articles they wanted, on much better terms, than they could at Fort Frontenac, or even Montreal; ſo much better, that the French traders themſelves often purchaſed their commodities for the Indian market from the Albany merchants, as coming much cheaper than they could procure them from France. It was not, however, from mere commercial views, that all the ſouthern Indians undertook ſo long a peregrination. Theſe annual meetings conſtituted a kind of general council, in which the events of the preceding year were related; alliances renewed, or new ones formed; and plans of operation agreed upon for the enſuing year; and many Indians reſorted to Fort Frontenac, chiefly on theſe accounts.

The

The reduction, therefore, of this place was attended with one more advantage to the English, besides those we have already taken notice of; and that a very singular one. It proved the means of dissolving a very powerful confederacy amongst their most dangerous enemies, and considerably weakening the interest of the French amongst them. And there is no doubt, but that the reduction of Fort Frontenac greatly facilitated the expedition of the English against Fort du-Quesne, as the French troops, against whom Brigadier Forbes's army was to act, were thereby effectually deprived of the necessary supplies. Accordingly, the King of Great Britain took notice of the importance of this conquest, from the throne, to his parliament, along with that of Cape Breton. 1758.

The troops destined for the attack of Fort du-Quesne, were to assemble at Philadelphia. But, till the middle of April, Brigadier Forbes, who had been named to command them, was a General without an army. The Provincials, who were to make part of it, were not so much as raised; and the Highlanders, expected from Carolina, who were to make another part, did not arrive till the 7th of June. As to the artillery and military stores, which were to come from England, they did not make their appearance till the 14th of the same month. In short, it was the 30th of June, before he could get the last division of his army out of Philadelphia. This army now consisted of

Royal Americans, - - -	350
Of Montgomery's Highlanders, - -	1200
Virginia Provincials, - -	1600
Pennsylvania Provincials, - -	2700
Waggoners, &c. - - -	1000
Making in all	6850 men.

 From

1758. From the valour, experience, and vigilance of the General, there was a great deal to hope in this expedition. But, on the other hand, from the length of the march, and the number of close woods, narrow defiles, deep swamps, and high mountains, which lay in his way, there was as much to fear. Add to all this, the opposition he had just reason to apprehend from an insidious enemy, who had acquired new degrees of courage by a long and almost uninterrupted series of successes. But all these mighty obstacles yielded to the excellent disposition of the General's line of march; and several attempts, which the Indians made to obstruct his progress, were all frustrated by the alacrity of the troops in obeying his commands.

When the Brigadier got as far as Ray's Town, about ninety miles east of Fort du-Quesne, he halted with his main-body, and detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, to take post at Lyal Hanning. The Colonel, supposing that this force was sufficient to reduce the fort, without any assistance from the General, and eager to secure to himself the honour of such an atchievement, began to think of forming a plan for that purpose. With this view, he detached about eight hundred Highlanders, under Major Grant of Montgomery's, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks, and make the best observations in his power. The Major, in the execution of these orders, drew his men up on the heights near the fort; and beat a march by way of daring the French to come to an action, in which if he had succeeded, in all probability the fort must have fallen, and then the whole glory would have been his own. The French accepted the challenge; they detached a party, to meet him; and a very severe action was the consequence. The Highlanders fought with

with great bravery for ſome time, till ſuperior numbers obliged them to give way; and, about three hundred of them, including nineteen officers, having been either killed or taken priſoners, with the Major himſelf amongſt the latter, the reſt fled, in great diſorder, as far back as Lyal Henning. On this occaſion, Colonel Bouquet's ambition got the better of his judgment. The ſplendor of the prize he had in view dazzled his underſtanding; for, if it was thought by as able officers as himſelf, that Brigadier Forbes's whole army was little enough to beſiege Fort du Queſne, how could the Colonel reaſonably hope to ſupply the want, and ſo great a want, of equal power, by any ſurprize or ſtratagem? 1758.

When the news of this defeat reached the Brigadier's camp, he was, as may naturally be expected, greatly chagrined at the loſs of ſo many brave fellows; who, without his orders, or even knowledge, had been ſacrificed to an unwarrantable thirſt after glory. This miſconduct, however, in one upon whom he ſo much depended, ſharpened his vigour. He expoſed no more parties to the danger of ſuffering by the vanity of individuals; but marched his whole force, under his own direction, with all poſſible expedition, and with a ſhew of ſtrength, which effectually impoſed upon the French. It ſtruck them with ſuch a panic, that, dreading the conſequences of a ſiege, they diſmantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi; and, the day following, being the 25th of November, Brigadier Forbes took poſſeſſion of it. Moreover, the Indians in the French intereſt, having ſuffered ſeverely in many ſkirmiſhes, began to think it impracticable to deſtroy the communication of the Engliſh with their poſts, and prevent their penetrating.

1758. penetrating to Fort du-Quesne. They, therefore, thought proper to enter into a neutrality, and became reconciled to the English government. The fort was ordered to be repaired, and garrisoned with provincials, by the name of *Pittsburg*. The Brigadier then began his march back to Philadelphia, and, at Lyal Henning, built a Block-house for the defence of Pennsylvania. But, unfortunately for his country, he did not live long to enjoy the glory he acquired by this memorable expedition. His constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service, he died at Philadelphia, in the forty-ninth year of his age, justly regretted, as a public loss, by all ranks.

Brigadier Stanwix had been detached with a considerable number of provincials, to erect a fort at the carrying-place between the Mohawk river and Wood-creek, and leave a sufficient garrison in it to afford, at least, a local safety to those Indians in the neighbourhood who were still firm to the English interest. This service the Brigadier had the good fortune to perform, and the honour of giving his name, in memory of it, to the fort he erected. It was called *Fort Stanwix*.

Whilst the intrenchments of General Abercromby inclosed him in security, M. de Montcalm exerted his usual activity in harassing the frontiers, and in detaching parties to attack the convoys of the English. On the 17th of July, one of these parties destroyed three provincial officers and upwards of twenty men, at Half-way-brook; and on the 27th of the same month, one hundred and sixteen waggoners and sixteen rangers met with the same fate between that place and Fort Edward. Major Rogers was then detached with

with a party of ſeven hundred men, in queſt of the enemy; but they had the good fortune to eſcape him. On his return, he met an expreſs from the General, with orders to proceed to ſouth and eaſt Bay, and return by Fort Edward. Whilſt the Major was purſuing the rout preſcribed him by theſe orders, he was attacked, on the 8th of Auguſt, near the ſpot where Fort St. Anne ſtood, by about five hundred of the enemy, his own number being reduced to five hundred and thirty men. But both he and his men behaved with ſo much ſpirit, that, in an hour, they broke the aſſailants, and obliged them to retreat, though (ſuch was the enemy's caution) without any proſpect of being able to diſtreſs them by a purſuit. In this action there fell one hundred and ninety of the French; and the Engliſh loſt about forty, the miſſing included. Major Putnam and two lieutenants were made priſoners. 1758.

The prodigious preparations againſt Ticonderoga were carried on by two or three gentlemen, ſubordinate in command; but men, in whoſe military abilities, reſolution, and activity the army juſtly confided. When Lord Howe was killed, a kind of deſpondency enſued; and the manner in which the attack of that place was conducted, too plainly proved, that there exiſted ſufficient grounds for ſuch deſpondency. All, however, that courage could do, was done. Although the Engliſh were beaten off by a number greatly inferior, they loſt not a jot of honour by their retreat. The miſcarriage of an ill-formed, ill-guided plan, cannot, with any colour of juſtice, be imputed to either the ſoldiers or inferior officers who reſolutely attempted to carry it into execution.

The

1758. The advantages refulting from the conqueft of Fort Frontenac have been already recorded. The poffeffion of Fort du-Quefne fecured the frontiers of the Englifh fettlements in that part of the continent from any further maffacres by the Canadians and Indians, who ufed to find fhelter in that place. For this reafon, though the Englifh loft many brave foldiers in this campaign, they muft be allowed to have been, upon the whole, gainers by it. The fole advantage on the fide of the French, was the defeat of the Englifh at Ticonderoga; and the fole fruit of that advantage, the opportunity of improving the defence of their lines at that place againft a fecond attack.

Thus concluded the fourth campaign, on the continent of North-America, of that war of which we have undertaken to write the hiftory; and the firft expedition in which the Englifh fought under the adminiftration of Mr. Pitt. His plans of operation, and his judgment in felecting officers to execute them, did not deceive the expectations of the people. The reduction of Cape-Breton would, alone, have been fufficient to indemnify them for all their wafted treafure; fince, not to mention every advantage expected from that conqueft, it gave them poffeffion of a noble harbour, juftly deemed the key to the river St. Lawrence; and from which they might, at any time, fend a fleet into the gulf formed by the mouth of that river, and thereby effectually prevent any fuccours from France being thrown into Canada.

A conqueft of fo much confequence could not fail of recommending its conqueror to the throne. Every military virtue was cherifhed by the King. Reward was the fure attendant on courage and perfeverance; and difgrace as certainly fol-

lowed an oppoſite conduct.——General Abercromby was diſmiſſed from his command, and General Amherſt appointed his ſucceſſor. Accordingly, on the 9th of November, the latter, who was then at Halifax, received diſpatches from England, by the way of Boſton, with a commiſſion, appointing him commander in chief of the Engliſh troops in North-America. Upon this he embarked, on the 19th, for Boſton, where he landed the 3d of December. From thence he proceeded to New-York, where he arrived the 12th, and took upon him the command of the army. On the 24th of January following, General Abercromby ſailed for England in the Kennington man of war. Brigadier Wolfe likewiſe returned to England, in conſequence of permiſſion granted him for that purpoſe in his letter of ſervice; and Colonel Monckton was left to command in Nova-Scotia. 1758.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK IV.

Resolution taken in England to attack the French islands in the West-Indies.——Armament ordered for that purpose, sails from England ——arrives at Barbadoes——sails for Martinico.——The troops land, and march against Fort Royal.——Resolution taken to attack Saint Pierre.——Troops reimbark.——The armament proceeds against Guadaloupe.——Basse-Terre destroyed.——Troops land.——French governor summoned to surrender; his answer.——Resolute behaviour of the inhabitants.——Seat of war transferred to the eastern part of the island.——Fort Louis reduced.——General Hopson dies; is succeeded by General Barrington.——Batteries in and about Basse-Terre destroyed; and all the troops, except one regiment, drawn off. ——French fleet discovered off Barbadoes; general council of war in consequence thereof.——French make a shew of attacking the citadel of Basse-Terre.——Colonel Desbrisay and others blown up and killed. ——French driven back.——English attempt to surprise Petite-Bourg——miscarry——land at Arnouville——carry St. Mary's—— enter Capesterre.——Inhabitants offer to surrender on terms—— capitulate.

capitulate.——M. de Bompart arrives off the island——retires. ——Commodore Moore sails in pursuit of him.——General Barrington appoints Brigadier Crump governor of Guadaloupe——sails for England.

THE theatre of the war being now enlarged, we must conduct our readers to new scenes. The attention of Mr. Pitt was not confined to North-America only: he resolved to send the British thunder amongst the French islands in the West-Indies. With this view, a considerable number of sea and land forces sailed from Portsmouth and Plymouth, towards the end of the year 1758; and having joined, in the latitude 49° 40′ N. on the 15th of November, formed the following powerful armament: 1758.

Name.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Norfolk	74	Captain Hughes, Commodore
Panther	60	Shuldham
Lyon	60	Trelawney
St. George	90	Gayton
Burford	90	Gambier
Winchester	50	Le Cras
Berwick	64	Harman
Rippon	60	Jekyll
Renown	30	

The Infernal, Grenada, King's Fisher, and Falcon, bomb-vessels.

And sixty transports, carrying, besides a detachment of the Royal Artillery and a brigade of engineers, the undermentioned regiments:

Third, or Old Buffs	Sixty-first	Sixty-fourth
Fourth	Sixty-third	Sixty-fifth

1759. under Major-General Hopson, as commander in chief; and Major-General Barrington, as second in command; with the Colonels Armiger and Haldane, and Lieutenant-Colonels Trapaud and Clavering, brigadiers.

Besides, the marines on board the men of war had been augmented to eight hundred men, with a view to their being formed into a battalion, under the command of a lieutenant-colonel and a major, expressly named by the King for this service, in order to land with the troops, and to do duty in the line; but this disposition never took place.

These forces were to be joined by some ships of war, already in the West-Indies, under Commodore Moore, to whom Captain Hughes was to resign his command; and likewise by as many volunteers as could be raised in the English islands.

On the 3d of January, after a passage of little more than seven weeks, and without any material occurrence, this armament came to an anchor in Carlisle bay, off Barbadoes, the place of rendezvous in case of separation; and Commodore Moore, who was lying there, with the Cambridge of eighty guns, Captain Bennet; the Bristol of fifty, Captain Leslie; the Woolwich, Roebuck, and Rye, frigates; and Barbadoes sloop of war: his broad pendant hoisted on board the first of these ships, threw out a signal for all lieutenants, and he took upon him the command of the now united squadrons.

The time that the fleet was obliged to continue in Carlisle bay, was spent in watering the ships, landing and reimbarking the troops, who were reviewed by Governor Pinfold and General

neral Hopſon; in councils of war; in aſſemblies of the council of the iſland; in iſſuing proclamations; and in beating up for volunteers. But all the ſteps taken for the purpoſe of reinforcing the army and navy, ended in ſending forty-ſix negroes on board each line of battle ſhip. But, in the mean time, there arrived the Ludlow-caſtle, and a detachment from the ſecond battalion of Lord John Murray's Highlanders. So that the army, tho' conſiderably weakened by ſickneſs, particularly the ſmall-pox, which had broken out amongſt the tranſports, ſtill amounted to very near ſix thouſand men. Theſe troops being at length reimbarked, the whole armament put to ſea again on the 13th, and ſtood for the iſland of Martinico, in the following order: 1759.

The Berwick, to lead, with the ſtarboard, and the Burford, with the larboard tacks, on board.

Frigates and Bombs.	Line of Battle Ships.	
Woolwich	Berwick	64
	Wincheſter	50
	Rippon	60
Granada	Briſtol	50
Rye	Norfolk	74
	Cambridge	80
Renown	St. George	90
King's Fiſher	Panther	60
Falcon	Lyon	60
Roebuck	Burford	64

On the 15th, they arrived off Port-Royal harbour. The morning after, the Rippon and the Briſtol attacked Fort Negro, which they ſoon ſilenced; when the marines and ſea-

men

1759. men from these ships took possession of it without the least opposition, and hoisted upon it the English colours; and soon after the whole fleet came to an anchor in the great bay of Port-Royal.

The Winchester, Woolwich, and Roebuck, now attacked a small fort called *Cas-des-Navieres*; and having done it with the same success that Fort Negro had been attacked, two entire brigades, and most of the third, each in two battalions, landed without opposition, on the beach, in Cas-des-Navieres bay, about five miles from Port-Royal; and immediately upon landing formed, and marched towards Fort Negro, lying on their arms all night. The Commodore, on his side, did all that lay in his power to get nearer Port Royal. In the morning of the 17th, the troops continued their march beyond Fort Negro, where the rest of the third brigade now landed, firing the woods, and otherwise endeavouring to clear their front, as they advanced. About noon, they arrived near a hill called *Morne-Tortuison*, which overlooks the town and citadel of Port-Royal. In this march they were much incommoded by an enemy they could not see; the French being entirely covered the whole way by trees and bushes, notwithstanding all the pains taken to scour and destroy them. Some militia had assembled themselves to defend this eminence; but it was not thought worth while to form any regular attack against them. The roads being bad, and the communication otherwise difficult, between the place where the General had landed his troops, and that where he was to use his artillery, he found himself under the necessity of desiring the Commodore to land some heavy cannon, ammunition, and stores, on the Savannah, near the town of Port-Royal; and, in case that could not be done, to have the

boats ready, the ſame evening, to bring off the troops, as ſoon as the moon was up. The Commodore having, immediately on receiving the General's requiſition, ſummoned a council of war, a compliance with that part of it which concerned the cannon, was judged impracticable, as the boats employed in that ſervice muſt be unavoidably expoſed to the fire of the garriſon; and, as to the ſquadron's attacking the citadel, in order to favour them, it could not be done without the greateſt riſk; ſeeing the eaſterly wind, and leeward current, which conſtantly ſets out of the bay, would oblige the men of war to tack frequently to get higher up; and the doing of this would take up ſome hours; during all which time they could not avoid being cannonaded, not only from the citadel, but from Pigeon-iſland battery, a battery on the ſhore oppoſite the town, and a third ſtrong battery at the upper end of the bay, without being able to return their fire to any purpoſe. However, the Commodore propoſed to land the cannon at Fort Negro, the ſeamen having cheerfully offered to draw it to any place the General ſhould think moſt convenient to form his attack. Accordingly the ſquadron came to an anchor *for that purpoſe*; but before it could do more, the troops were recalled from their advanced poſts in the evening, and reimbarked by the Commodore, with great reluctance; the greater, as the little moleſtation with which their retreat was attended gave them juſt grounds to hope, they could not meet with any conſiderable impediments in their progreſs. This ridiculous attempt coſt the Engliſh army Captain Dalmahoy of Duroure's, with twenty-two men, killed; Captain Campbell of Duroure's, and Lieutenant Leſlie of the Highlanders, with forty-ſeven men, were wounded.

1759.

By

1759. By this precipitate retreat the inhabitants of Martinico obtained ſome reſpite from the moſt terrible apprehenſions; for they had given up every thing for loſt, and the principal men amongſt them were actually deliberating on a deputation, with terms of capitulation, to the Engliſh General. But of this circumſtance, fortunately for them, the Engliſh were ignorant; and, accordingly, a council of war determined, That it would be moſt for his Majeſty's ſervice to proceed with the troops to Fort St. Pierre, in order to make an attack upon that place; and that no time ſhould be loſt in doing it.

This council of war was held in conſequence of an opinion of the chief engineer and ſome other officers, That another landing ſhould be made to the ſouthward of the *Carenage*; for the pilots conſulted on this occaſion declared, That, ſhould the troops land there, it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with them; that the ſhips, in turning up, would be expoſed to the fire of Port Royal, Pigeon iſland, and another battery; and, after all, muſt be content to lie at three miles diſtance from the landing-place. Notwithſtanding theſe objections, Commodore Moore offered to make the attempt, if the general officers thought that a communication at that diſtance could be kept up to their ſatisfaction; but an immediate attack on Fort St. Pierre being judged the moſt prudent meaſure, the Commodore bore away, about ſix in the evening of the 18th, from Port-Royal bay; and running down, along the weſt ſide of Martinico, appeared, about the ſame hour the next morning, off the harbour of St. Pierre. This town is built in the form of a ſemicircle, and is a place of great trade; inſomuch that, though the Engliſh armament had been long expected in

in theſe parts, and had been now four days at Port-Royal, forty ſail of merchant-men were ſtill lying in the bay. The ſhore is bold, with a ſufficient depth of water to carry in the largeſt men of war. The Commodore, immediately on his arrival, ſent in the Panther, to ſound; the Rippon, to ſilence a battery about a mile and a half north of the town; and two bombs, to take their ſtations againſt the town and citadel; and threw out a ſignal for the tranſports with the troops, to come under his ſtern; ſo that every thing had now the appearance of a general attack. But the face of battle ſoon wore off: the Panther was recalled; the bombs were forbid to play; and the French merchant-men left unmoleſted in the bay. The Rippon, indeed, was permitted to ſtand in, and attacked the fort with ſo much fury, that it was ſoon abandoned; but ſhe ſuffered ſo much herſelf from the fire of three other batteries to which ſhe lay expoſed, that Captain Jekyll ordered his boats to be manned, and towed her off. This retreat from St. Pierre, was owing to a new reſolution that had been taken to employ the armament againſt ſome other place. For, when the attack of St. Pierre was propoſed by the General, in conſequence of the opinion of his council of war, to the Commodore, the latter, on examining the coaſt, repreſented to the General, That indeed he made no doubt of being able to deſtroy the town of St. Pierre, and put the troops in poſſeſſion of it; but, then, the ſhips might be ſo much diſabled in the attack, and the army ſo much reduced, as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other ſervice; that he even doubted, whether the troops, in caſe the place was taken, would be ſtrong enough to keep poſſeſſion of it; that, beſides, he was of opinion, that the deſtroying of the town and citadel of Baſſe-Terre, in the iſland

1759.

1759. of Guadaloupe; keeping poſſeſſion of that place, and reducing, if poſſible, the iſland itſelf, would be of great benefit to the ſugar-colonies; ſince it was the chief neſt of the French privateers, which conſtantly infeſted the Britiſh iſlands, and ruined the trade between them and North-America; that, therefore, every thing well weighed, he ſubmitted it to the General's conſideration, whether it would not be beſt to proceed to Baſſe-Terre.

The propoſal of turning the force of this armament againſt Guadaloupe could only be ſuggeſted by the Commodore's deſire of doing ſervice to his country, and honour to the arms of his ſovereign; ends which were not to be obtained by an attack on St. Pierre. For the General himſelf was in doubt, as well as the Commodore, whether, in caſe he took it, he ſhould be able to garriſon it; the town being commanded by hills, from which the French might, unannoyed, continually haraſs the troops; and, conſequently, create ſuch employment for the Britiſh army as would effectually prevent him from ſo much as attempting to reduce the iſland of which it was the capital. Theſe weighty conſiderations induced the General to conſent to the Commodore's propoſal; and, accordingly, the latter, on the 20th, bore away to the northward, for the town and citadel of Baſſe-Terre, the metropolis of Guadaloupe.

Guadaloupe, the largeſt of all the Caribbee iſlands, is ſituated in latitude 16° N. and longitude 61° W. about thirty leagues from Martinico. It is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth, and divided into two parts by a ſmall arm of the ſea, or rather a narrow gut, through which no ſhip can venture; the inhabitants croſs it in a ferry. The country

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to the weſt is called *Baſſe-Terre*, where ſtands the metropolis, and where the citadel and ſtrength of the iſland lies. The part to the eaſt is called *Grand-Terre*. It has plenty of water, which in ſome places is very good; in others, it has a mineral quality, which produces fluxes in thoſe who drink it. The citadel, a very large but irregular fortification, is ſituated at the ſouth end of the town; is built very high, and mounted forty-ſeven guns. 1759.

On the 22d, the fleet arrived off this iſland; and Commodore Moore made the following diſpoſitions to attack the capital the very next morning:

The Lyon, -	60	to attack the firſt battery, of 9 guns
St. George,	90	the citadel, of 47 guns
Cambridge,	80	the citadel, of 47 guns
Norfolk,	74	the citadel, of 47 guns
Burford,	70	the third battery, of 12 guns
Panther,	60	the third battery, of 12 guns
Berwick,	66	the fourth battery, of 7 guns
Rippon, -	60	the fifth battery, of 6 guns

The ſhips to ſilence their reſpective batteries, and then to lie by them.

The ſquadron ſpent the whole of the enſuing night in turning under the iſland of Guadaloupe; and, in the mean time, two of the bombs ſtood cloſe in, and threw ſhells againſt the citadel of Baſſe-Terre, but without any execution. On the 23d, the Commodore ſhifted his broad pendant from the Cambridge, and hoiſted it on board the Woolwich, the better to obſerve the aſſiſtance which the ſhips might happen to ſtand in need of, during the attack on the forts; and, the

1759. ſignal for engaging being then made, the ſhips, according to their orders, endeavoured to bear away for their reſpective ſtations. The Lyon began the engagement, by boldly attacking the firſt battery of nine guns, though raked by a ſmall one of two guns a-ſtern of her, to the ſouthward; and, by the citadel, with all their guns the garriſon could bring to bear upon her. The reſt of the ſhips kept moving on, whilſt the citadel played on them, likewiſe, as they advanced. The St. George, Cambridge, and Norfolk brought their guns to bear againſt the citadel about nine in the morning; and, after an inceſſant fire, ſilenced it by five in the afternoon. About ten, Captain Shuldham, in the Panther, engaged the twelve-gun battery, which having ſilenced, he lay by it till called off by the Commodore.

The Burford, which was to have ſupported the Panther in this attack, and the Berwick which was to have engaged the ſeven-gun battery, drove out to ſea; by which means, the Rippon, which followed, became expoſed to the battery the Berwick was to have attacked, as well as that ſhe was to attack herſelf; and, then, to add to her misfortune, ſhe, in bringing up, got too cloſe to the ſhore, and ran a-ground. The enemy having diſcovered her diſtreſs, aſſembled in great numbers on the brow of the hill, and lined the trenches, raking her fore and aft from both, with ſuch a briſk fire of ſmall arms, as killed and wounded a number of her men. Not ſatisfied with this, they, at length brought up an eighteen pounder, and kept playing with it about two hours, as it lay ſo high above the ſhip, that it was with difficulty ſhe could ſilence it. To increaſe her diſtreſs, a box of nine hundred cartridges blew up on the poop, and ſet her on fire: beſides, all her grape-

ſhot

ſhot and wadding was expended; the latter, the marines and ſeamen ſupplied the want of, with their jackets and ſhirts, which they fired away upon the trenches. In this terrible ſituation, ſhe made a ſignal of diſtreſs, but while ſhe was expecting an anſwer, the fire on the poop was happily extinguiſhed. 1759.

At this time, Captain Leſlie of the Briſtol, in his way from ſea, obſerving the ſituation of the Rippon, whoſe ſignal had not been diſcovered by any one on board the Commodore, ran in between her and the ſeven-gun battery, which had played upon her from the very beginning of the engagement, and threw a whole broadſide upon the enemy, whilſt the marines flanked the militia in the lines. Upon this, the fire on the Rippon ſlackened; but it was, nevertheleſs, a conſiderable time before ſhe floated, and could be got off.

As ſoon as the batteries had been all ſilenced, a ſignal was made to prepare to land the troops; but ſoon after countermanded, the day being too far advanced for that purpoſe: it was now found very difficult to diſpoſe of the men during the enſuing night, as it was too dark for them to find their reſpective tranſports. To obviate this difficulty, the Commodore found means to diſtribute them among the ſhips of war. The four bombs now ſtood in for the ſhore, and began to throw ſhells and carcaſſes with ſuch ſucceſs, that the houſes and churches were every where ſoon in flames, and the magazine of powder blown about the enemy's ears. In ſhort, by ten o'clock, the whole town blazed out one general conflagration. On the 24th, about two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Baſſe-Terre, where they found the hulls of many ſhips to which the enemy had ſet fire on their approach,

1759. proach, ſeveral others had turned out, and endeavoured to eſcape, but were intercepted and taken by the cruiſers.

At five, the troops landed without the leaſt oppoſition, the town and citadel being abandoned; and hoiſted the Engliſh colours on the latter about ſix. A Genoeſe deſerter from the French now gave information, that the enemy had but five companies of regular troops, ſcarce making one hundred men, in the whole iſland; and that a train was laid to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel, but that the garriſon had been obliged to retreat with too much precipitation, to execute this deſign. Upon this the train was immediately cut off, and the magazine ſaved. The guns had been all ſpiked up by the enemy, but were afterwards drilled out by the matroſſes. Part of the troops lay upon their arms all night upon the riſing ground, that overlooked the town; part of them made themſelves maſters of an advantageous poſt upon a hill, about a mile to the weſt; and part entered the town, which ſtill continued in flames. The ſhip, in which was the phyſicians and head ſurgeons, not having appeared from the time the ſquadron left the Engliſh channel, it was juſtly feared ſhe was loſt. But ſhe now providentially arrived, when ſhe began to be moſt wanted.

Early in the morning of the 25th, the French appeared on the hills, to the number of about two thouſand. M. le Chevalier Nadau d'Utriel, had fixed his head-quarters at the diſtance of about four miles from the town; and gave out, that he would defend this poſt, with another called the Dos d'Ane, a little higher up the country, to the laſt extremity; ſaying, That, the Engliſh having left them nothing but their lives, they would ſell them dearly.

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The Dos d'Ane is ſituated about five miles from Baſſe-Terre to the ſouth-eaſt, and is nothing more than a deep cleft or paſſage through the mountains, affording a communication with Capes-Terre, a more level, and indeed very beautiful part of the iſland. This opening, in itſelf hilly, ſtony and rugged, had been rendered very practicable by a tolerable road the French had made through it; and, had an attempt been made on this paſs at the firſt landing of the troops, whilſt the inhabitants were yet under the dominion of a panic, it might, perhaps, have been attended with ſucceſs. General Hopſon had fixed his head-quarters in the town of Baſſe-Terre, at the Governour's houſe, or rather in the ruins of it; and ſent a flag of truce, with an offer of terms to M. d'Utriel; but this gentleman thought proper to reject them by a letter, in which he ſays, 1759.

"The terms your Excellencies offer me, are ſuch as can only be dictated by the eaſy acquiſition you have made of the town and citadel of Baſſe-Terre; for, otherwiſe, you muſt do me the juſtice to believe, that I would not have received them.

"The force you have with you is indeed ſufficient to give you poſſeſſion of the extremities of the iſland, but as to the inland part we there have an equal chance with you.

"In regard to any conſequences that may attend my refuſal of the terms propoſed, I am perſuaded they will be ſuch only, as are authoriſed by the laws of war. But ſhould it happen otherwiſe, we have a maſter who is powerful enough to revenge any injury we may ſuſtain.

Guadaloupe, January 27, 1759. NADAU D'UTRIEL."

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1759. The conduct of M. d'Utriel did not correſpond with the ſpirit of this anſwer. A gallant behaviour and a worthy example during the firſt attack would have done him honour. But, inſtead of this, he retired to a plantation diſtant from danger; and remained an inactive ſpectator of the ruin of the capital, and every other diſgrace, which, the ſame day, attended the French arms. Nor did he the next morning take any precautions to prevent the landing of the Engliſh troops, who had the difficulty of a rugged ſhore and a violent ſurf, to ſurmount: And, even after their landing, when he might have defended the entrenchments, and the lines which were every where thrown up, he flew from them, in ſpite of all the advantages of ground and ſituation, which, in a manner, ſolicited him to defend them.

The General, as if convinced of M. d'Utriel's want of real courage, notwithſtanding his bluſtering anſwer, propoſed to try the effect of a ſecond meſſage; but the Commodore warmly oppoſed it; adviſing him to purſue his blow, before the enemy could recover from the conſternation into which they were thrown; and offered to aſſiſt him in doing it with the marines on board the fleet. Mr. Moore the more ſtrongly recommended this meaſure, as he knew the nature of the climate, and that the troops were likely to ſuffer more by ſickneſs than oppoſition. And it muſt be owned, that, had this advice been adopted, the iſland would have been, in all probability, ſooner reduced, as the poſts the enemy poſſeſſed on the Capes-Terre ſide, were not as yet fortified.

The inhabitants now exerted themſelves like men engaged in the defence of every thing that was dear to them. They haraſſed the troops, on all occaſions, with the greateſt re-

ſolution

solution and activity, firing upon them from every sugar plantation that lay in their way. But this proved a very short resource. The English reduced to ashes every place that could afford them any shelter; and at one in particular, where a body of armed negroes had concealed themselves in the canes, and from thence annoyed the troops, they set fire to the several corners of the field, and burnt the negroes and the canes together. Madam Ducharmey, with the valour of an Amazon, not only armed her slaves, but, heading them in person, made several attempts on some advanced posts, and threw up some intrenchments upon a hill opposite to a post commanded by Major Melville. At length, orders being given to attack the works of this heroine, they were immediately executed; the intrenchments were carried, the houses were burnt, the plantations destroyed; and it was with the greatest difficulty, that Madam Ducharmey made her escape. This affair cost the English about twelve men killed, and thirty wounded. 1779.

A redoubt, with several intrenchments, had been by this time thrown up at M. d'Utriel's head-quarters; and most of the French troops assembled there. On the 6th of February, early in the morning, a detachment of them, in their way towards the citadel, fell in with a party of the English, which they engaged with so much ardour, that the whole line of the English camp got under arms to their support. But, at length, the French, after a warm dispute, were defeated, without any assistance.

All this while, the natives endeavoured as much as possible to harass the troops in small parties, and carry on their de-

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1759. fence in flying platoons. Inured, themselves, to the climate, they had little to apprehend from its scorching heat; and were, besides, encouraged to bear it from the influence they very well knew it must have on an European constitution. And, indeed, the English army and navy now began to feel its effects; they were attacked with fevers, and other epidemical diseases to such a degree, that it was thought necessary to send five hundred sick to the island of Antigua.

The difficulty of reducing the islanders, in the manner hitherto pursued, increasing from day to day, it was resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grande-Terre. With this view, some men of war were detached from the squadron, to take possession of Fort Louis. The Berwick, Roebuck, Renown, Woolwich, Bonetta, two bombs, and three tenders, were ordered on this service; and on the 13th of February, after a severe cannonading of six hours, the Highlanders and the marines were landed, drove the enemy from their intrenchments, hoisted the English colours on the fort, and kept possession of it. After this expedition, the men of war were ordered to cruize all round the island, to prevent the landing of any succours from St. Eustatia; and this service they effectually performed, the enemy, by their own confession, having had no provisions in the mountains, nor any supply from elsewhere, but what they drew from their stores in Basse-Terre. However, the more effectually to answer this end, the Rippon and Bristol were ordered to sail to St. Eustatia, there to cruize, and prevent the Dutch attempting to throw into Guadaloupe that assistance, which the inhabitants were now unable to procure for themselves.

General

General Hopſon, who had been for ſome time in a bad ſtate of health, died on the 27th; by which the command of the forces devolved upon Major-General Barrington, who, on the 28th, ordered the army to ſtrike their tents, and to hut. On March the 1ſt, at break of day, the army was hutted; and the enemy ſo amuſed by it, as to imagine that the General propoſed ſtill to continue the attack; but, a few days after, the detachments at the out-poſts were all drawn in; the batteries in and about the town of Baſſe-Terre blown up and deſtroyed; and the whole army, except one regiment, brought off and reimbarked on board tranſports, the whole, by break of day, and without the loſs of a man. 1759.

The regiment left on ſhore was to garriſon the citadel, the government of which was conferred on Colonel Deſbriſay. The St. George and Buckingham were left to cover the garriſon, in caſe of any attack from the enemy; and this proved a happy precaution. The French no ſooner perceived the motion of the troops, than they deſcended from the redoubt, ſet fire to the huts, and entered the town. Upon this, Colonel Deſbriſay fired upon them from the citadel, beat down and burnt the houſes which they occupied, and at the ſame time made a ſally, in which he took ſome priſoners; the reſt made the beſt of their way back to the redoubt.

Although the fleet ſailed on the 7th of March, it was the 11th before all the ſhips of war and twenty-five tranſports came to an anchor at Fort Louis, owing to the very great difficulty of turning to windward. Accordingly, the others were driven to leeward, or were prevented by the winds and ſtrong currents from weathering the point of the *Saintes*. The

1759. General, that night, went on ſhore to view the works that were carrying on by a detachment which had already been ſent thither from Baſſe-Terre. On the 12th, he went in a boat to reconnoitre the coaſt on both ſides of the bay, in order to find a proper place to make a deſcent. But Commodore Moore having acquainted him, in the evening of that day, that he had received certain intelligence of a French ſquadron, of nine ſail of the line and two frigates, having been ſeen to the northward of Barbadoes, and that it was therefore neceſſary for him to exchange his preſent for ſome more advantageous ſituation; Mr. Barrington, the next day, called together the general officers, to conſider what, in the preſent juncture, was beſt to be done. The reſult of this council was, That, notwithſtanding the divided ſtate of the troops, by the ſeparation of the tranſports, the weak ſtate of Fort Louis, and the impoſſibility of ſupplying it with water but from the ſhips, it would be more for his Majeſty's ſervice, and the honour of his arms, to do the utmoſt to keep poſſeſſion of it, and wait for ſome further intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

The French fleet had now come to an anchor in the bay of Port-Royal. It was commanded by M. de Bompart, lieutenant-general, and chef d'eſcadre, and had on board ſome troops intended for the relief of Martinico, in caſe he found it inveſted by the Engliſh. It was very practicable for M. de Bompart to throw ſuccours into Grande-Terre, as it was impoſſible at the ſame time for Mr. Moore, conſidering the ſituation of his ſquadron, to put to ſea. A reſolution was therefore taken to call in the cruiſing ſhips, and ſail immediately to Prince Rupert's Bay in Dominico, the only place where his

ſhips could rendezvous and unite. Here he refreſhed his men, who were grown ſickly by ſubſiſting on ſalt proviſions; here he ſupplied his ſhips with plenty of freſh water; here he had intercourſe once or twice a-day with General Barrington, by means of ſmall veſſels, which paſſed and repaſſed from one iſland to the other. By continuing in this ſituation, he likewiſe maintained a communication with the Engliſh leeward iſlands, the inhabitants of which, on account of their defenceleſs condition, were conſtantly ſoliciting the Commodore's protection; and here he ſupported the army, the commander of which was unwilling he ſhould remove to a greater diſtance. Had he ſailed to Port-Royal, he would have found the enemy's ſquadron ſo diſpoſed, that he could not attack it to advantage, unleſs M. de Bompart had been inclined to hazard an action. Had he come to an anchor in the bay, all his cruiſers muſt have been employed in conveying proviſions and ſtores to the ſquadron. Beſides, he could not have procured any freſh proviſions or water; nor could he, in leſs than eight or ten days, have had intelligence of, or communication with the army or the leeward iſlands. 1759.

After all, this was but avoiding the greater evil: The privateers of the enemy took advantage of this movement. They ſkulked out along the coaſts, and took between eighty and ninety ſail of Engliſh merchant-men, which they carried into Martinico.

Theſe frequent captures occaſioned heavy complaints from the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſlands. They ſaid, it was as eaſy to have anchored in Port-Royal, as in Prince Rupert's Bay; and that by anchoring in the former, two ends would have been anſwered: the French men of war could not have got out, nor the prizes

1759. prizes to their privateers have got in; so that the latter must have fallen into the hands of the English cruisers, no harbour being then open to the French privateers, but St. Pierre's or Grenada, either of which could at any time be blocked up by a single frigate.

It was likewise asserted, that if the English had made their appearance off Port-Royal Bay, M. de Bompart would have been reduced to the alternative, either of engaging with a superior force, or of retiring, behind the citadel, into the Carenage, to avoid it; and so leave to Mr. Moore room to come to an anchor with his squadron between Fort Negro and Pigeon island, where he lay before.

The fleet being sailed, the General continued to erect works for the security of the camp, and for the finishing, as well as strengthening, the lines. At length, the chief engineer, who happened to be in one of the transports which could not get up sooner, being arrived, he made a report of the weakness of the fort; and, though a council of war had deemed it not tenable, the General determined to possess it, till some future event might point out to him what other step it might be proper to take for his Majesty's service. He reflected on the state of the army under his command, and the little probability there was of succeeding with them, in any attempt to reduce the country, without the assistance of the ships of war to cover their landing. However, he determined to make a descent on the coast of Grande-Terre. For that purpose he ordered Colonel Crump, with a detachment of six hundred men, to embark on board some of the transports which carried the most guns, and endeavour to land between the towns of St.

Anne and St. François, and deſtroy their batteries; and the Colonel happily performed this ſervice with very little loſs. 1759.

The General imagined, that, by his ſending Colonel Crump to attack the towns of St. Anne and St. François, the enemy would be obliged to detach ſome of their troops from the poſt of Goſier. With this view, two days after the Colonel had failed, he ordered the only three hundred men he had left, to be put on board the tranſports, and lie off Goſier; and, on the morning of the 29th, he reconnoitred the battery and the intrenchments; and, the enemy appearing leſs numerous than for ſome time before, he made a diſpoſition to force them by two different attacks. This the troops executed the next morning, at ſun-riſing, with great ſpirit and reſolution; and, notwithſtanding the fire of the enemy from their intrenchments and their battery, ſoon carried both with very little loſs, and drove the enemy into the woods. The cannon and the battery were immediately deſtroyed, together with the town. Succeſs having attended this attempt, the General ordered the detachment to force its way to Fort Louis; and at the ſame time ſent orders for the garriſon to make two ſallies; one to the right, in hopes of putting the enemy between two fires; and the other, to attack their lines. The firſt was made; but, by ſome miſtake, the other was not executed. The detachment from Goſier forced their way with ſome loſs, in ſpite of a very ſtrong paſs which the enemy occupied; and took a battery of three twenty-four-pounders, which the next day was to have played on the camp.

During theſe tranſactions, the French, at the redoubt and the Dos-d'Ane, came down upon Colonel Deſbriſay in the citadel

1759. del of Baſſe-Terre; and, having got a thirteen-inch mortar from Martinico, threw ſome ſhells into it from the neighbouring hills. They likewiſe erected a battery, and kept playing with it upon the new works thrown up by the Governor. Now and then, they made a ſhew of aſſault in the body of the place, but were as often diſperſed by the fire from the garriſon; which, not content with barely defending itſelf, made frequent ſallies to annoy the enemy.

On one of theſe occaſions, a twenty-four pounder happened to be fired too near a barrel of powder, placed in a ſtone ſentry-box, at the angle of the ſouth-eaſt baſtion; the wadding ſet fire to it, and it blew up the Governor, Major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and ſeveral men that were on the platform. Colonel Deſbriſay and Major Trollop were taken up dead, being thrown at a great diſtance into the heart of the place; but ſome of the men, though greatly hurt, recovered.

By this unhappy accident, the army was deprived of two gallant and experienced officers; and the citadel loſt a bold and active governor when it moſt wanted ſuch an officer to defend it. The diſorder occaſioned by this exploſion induced the French to come down in great numbers from the hills; but they were ſoon beat back. Major Melville, who had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and who commanded the detachment of the thirty-eighth regiment, was appointed governor, in the place of Colonel Deſbriſay. The General ordered him to cauſe a detachment of three hundred men to ſally out, under the command of Captain Blomer, on the 1ſt of April, to attack a bomb-battery, and other works of the enemy; and the

the Captain met with no great difficulty in carrying them. The chief engineer, and the commanding officer of the artillery, were then ſent to the citadel, that no time might be loſt in putting it again into a proper ſtate of defence. 1759.

By this time, the remaining part of the tranſports, with the troops on board them, were arrived. A plan, therefore, was formed, in conſequence of the information of ſome negroes, and their promiſing to conduct the troops by night, in flat-bottomed boats, to ſurpriſe Petit-Bourg, Guoyave, and St. Mary's, upon the Guadaloupe ſide, and all at one and the ſame time. The firſt of theſe ſervices was to be performed by Brigadier Crump; who, as ſoon as he had carried his point, was to march to Bay-Mahaut, and deſtroy the batteries there, as well as a large magazine of proviſions, which the enemy had formed by the help of the Dutch, and to prevent the arrival of any more Dutch ſhips. The ſecond of theſe ſervices was entruſted to Brigadier Clavering; who, after ſurpriſing St. Mary's and Guoyave, was to march into the Capes-Terre, and reduce that fine country. The fruits of the ſucceſs of this plan were evident, not only to the General, but to thoſe who were to execute it. But the night proved ſo bad, and the negro conductors were ſo much frightened, that they ran ſeveral of the boats on the ſhoals, of which the coaſt is full. Brigadier Clavering, indeed, landed with about eighty men; but it was on a ſpot ſo full of mud and mangrove trees, that he was obliged to return, though not without being diſcovered by the enemy. Force now became neceſſary to execute what ſtratagem could not accompliſh. The General, therefore, who, at this critical time, happened to be laid up with a moſt ſevere fit of the

1759. gout, ſent Brigadiers Clavering and Crump to reconnoitre the coaſt near Arnouville; and, in conſequence of their report, ordered thirteen hundred regulars and one hundred and fifty of the Antigua volunteers, to land, under the protection of the Woolwich.

Accordingly, on the 12th of April, at day-break, they were put on ſhore at a bay not far diſtant from Arnouville. The enemy made no oppoſition to their landing, but retired to very ſtrong intrenchments behind the river *La Corne*. This poſt was to them of the greateſt importance; and therefore they had ſpared no pains to ſtrengthen it, though the ſituation was ſuch as required very little aſſiſtance from art. The river was acceſſible only at two narrow paſſes; and thoſe they had occupied with a redoubt and well-paliſaded intrenchment, defended with cannon, and all the militia of that part of the country. It was impoſſible to approach them but with a very contracted front; ſo contracted as, at length, to be reduced to the breadth of the roads, which were interſected with deep and wide ditches. The artillery was ordered to keep a conſtant fire on the top of the intrenchments, to cover an attack which was to be made by Duroure's regiment, and the Highlanders, who behaved, on this occaſion, with the greateſt coolneſs and reſolution, keeping up, as they advanced, a regular platoon-firing. This gallant behaviour ſo much intimidated the French, that they abandoned an intrenchment on the left, when the Highlanders threw themſelves into it, ſword-in-hand, and, with part of Duroure's, purſued them into the redoubt. The French in the right intrenchment ſtill kept their ground, and annoyed the aſſailants both with muſketry and cannon; and, though thoſe who had carried the firſt intrench-

intrenchment, had gained their rear, they could not get up to it, till a bridge could be made to pafs the river. This took up near half an hour; notwithftanding which, the Englifh crofled it time enough to take about feventy French, as they were endeavouring to make their efcape; and, amongft them, were fome of the moft confiderable inhabitants of the ifland. Thefe intrenchments contained fix pieces of cannon, yet were gained with the lofs of only thirteen men killed, and two officers and fifteen men wounded. As foon as the ditches could be filled up for the paffage of the artillery, Brigadier Clavering marched towards Petit-Bourg. A confiderable number of the enemy had lined an intrenchment about half a mile on the left of the road; but when they perceived the Englifh troops endeavouring to furround them, they abandoned it; keeping conftantly, however, within about two hundred yards in the front of the Englifh, and fetting fire, as they retreated, to the fugar canes; which often made it neceffary for their purfuers to avoid the road, to prevent any accident happening to their powder. 1759.

The Englifh troops arrived late on the banks of the Lizard, beyond the only ford of which, the French had thrown up very ftrong intrenchments. Thefe were protected by four pieces of cannon on the hill in their rear. The banks of the river being reconnoitred, and it appearing from the fituation of them, that it might coft a great number of men to force it, Brigadier Clavering kept up the attention of the enemy the whole night, by firing into their lines; and, in the mean time, got two canoes conveyed about a mile and a half down the river, and ferryed over, by means of them, before break of day, a fufficient number of men to attack the French in flank, whilft he did the fame in front. The French foon per-

1759. ceived their danger, and left their intrenchments with the greateſt precipitation. This paſſage did not coſt a ſingle man; and the enemy were ſtill purſued to Petit-Bourg, which they had fortified with lines, and a redoubt filled with cannon. Here the Grenada bomb, Captain Uvedale, was employed in throwing ſhells into the fort, where the enemy did not long remain after they had diſcovered in the Engliſh an intention to occupy the heights around them. They left the Engliſh maſters of the fort and the port, with all the artillery and ſtores.

Brigadier Clavering now halted to get proviſions for his men; and, on the 15th, Brigadier Crump was detached with ſeven hundred men to the Bay-Mahaut, and Captain Steil, with one hundred, to Guoyave, to deſtroy a battery there. The panic of the enemy was ſuch, that they juſt diſcharged their cannon at the latter, and then abandoned their poſt, tho' it might have been defended againſt an army. He nailed up ſeven pieces of cannon, and retired the ſame evening to Petit-Bourg. Brigadier Crump, the next day, returned from the Bay-Mahaut, where he found the town and batteries abandoned. Theſe he deſtroyed, with ſome proviſions which had been landed there by the Dutch, before the Engliſh attacked the iſland; and he reduced the whole country as far as Petit-Bourg. The heavy rains which fell on the ſucceeding days, ſwelled the rivers ſo much, that it was impoſſible to advance any farther; but the Engliſh took advantage of this circumſtance to ſtrengthen the poſt at Petit-Bourg.

On the 18th, in the evening, the Antigua volunteers again took poſſeſſion of Guoyave; and, on the 20th, Brigadier Clavering, after leaving a ſmall garriſon at Petit-Bourg, moved on to Guoyave, in order to proceed to St. Mary's, where he was informed, that the enemy were collecting their whole force to oppoſe him, and had thrown up intrenchments, beſides

besides making barricades on the road, to prevent his approach to it. Accordingly they were soon perceived at this work; and it was, at the same time, discovered, that there was a possibility of gaining their rear by roads which they thought impracticable, and consequently had guarded with very little care. A detachment was hereupon immediately formed under Colonel Barlow, for this service; and orders were sent to hasten the artillery, which, from the badness of the roads, had not been able to get up. The first shot from the cannon, with the alarm which was given by the detachment in the rear, made the enemy very soon sensible of their danger; and indeed their precipitate flight alone saved them from being all taken prisoners. They were pursued as far as the heights of St. Mary's, where the English again formed for a fresh attack on the lines and batteries, by which these heights were defended. 1759.

Whilst the barricades were levelling for the passage of the artillery, a second attempt was made to penetrate the woods, and gain the precipices that covered the flanks of the enemy's lines; but, before the cannon could arrive, the French perceiving the motion made for that purpose, began to quit their lines to oppose it. This produced a resolution in the English to make an attack in front, without any farther delay; and they made it, accordingly, with so much vivacity, that, notwithstanding the constant fire both from the cannon and musketry of the French, they drove them from their artillery, and obliged them to retire in so much confusion, that they never afterwards made head. Brigadier Clavering took up his quarters at St. Mary's the succeeding night, and, the next day, entered the Capes-Terre, which is the richest and most beautiful part of the whole island, and exceeds perhaps any other

1759. other in the Weſt-Indies. Eight hundred and ſeventy negroes, belonging to one perſon only, ſurrendered this day.

Here the Brigadier was met by Meſſieurs de Clainvilliers and du Queruy, who were deputed by the principal inhabitants of the iſland to know what capitulation would be granted them. The Brigadier ordered them to be conducted to Petit-Bourg, where they were preſented to General Barrington. The General, conſidering that his forces were now much reduced, and ſtill daily decreaſing; that part of the country remaining in the hands of the French, was very difficult of acceſs; and that they might ſtill be reinforced from Martinico; took the advantage of their preſent panic, and ſettled, without delay, the following terms of capitulation:

Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies the Honourable Major General Barrington, and John Moore, Eſquire, commanders in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's land and ſea forces in theſe ſeas; and M. Nadau d'Utriel, governor, for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of Gnadaloupe, Grande-Terre, Deſeada, and the Saintes.

Article I. We, the Governor, ſtaff and other officers of the regular troops, ſhall march out of our poſts, with one mortar, two field-pieces of braſs cannon, with ten rounds for each piece, arms, baggage, and the honours of war.

Granted, except the mortar; and as to the cannon, we will allow only four rounds for each piece; and on condition, that the troops of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall take poſſeſſion of the different poſts of the three rivers, and the hoſpital, tomorrow morning, the 2d of May, at eight o'clock; and that all the magazines of proviſions, ammunition, and implements of war, as well as all papers relating to the revenue, be delivered into the poſſeſſion of a commiſſary, to be named by us for that purpoſe.

II. That

II. That we ſhall be ſent to Martinico, in a good veſſel, well provided, and by the ſhorteſt paſſage. 1759.

GRANTED.

III. That the Commiſſary-General, officers of juſtice, admiralty, and all ſuch as have the King's commiſſion, ſhall likewiſe be ſent to Martinico, in a good veſſel, well provided, and by the ſhorteſt paſſage.

GRANTED only for the Commiſſary-General, and officers of the admiralty; and refuſed to the others.

IV. That the ſtaff and other officers ſhall have leave to take with them their wives and children to Martinico.

GRANTED.

V. That the ſtaff and other officers ſhall have the ſame number of ſervants granted them, as were allowed by the Moſt Chriſtian King, viz. to the Commiſſary-General, twenty-four; to the Lieutenant-Governor, eighteen; to the Fort-Major, fifteen; to the captains, twelve each; to the lieutenants, eight each; and to the enſigns, ſix each.

GRANTED.

VI. That it ſhall be allowed to all the officers who have eſtates in this colony (except to me the Governor, unleſs the King permits me alſo), to appoint attornies to act for them until the peace; and, if the iſland be not then ceded, the above-mentioned officers ſhall have leave to ſell their eſtates, and carry off the produce.

GRANTED.

VII. That a good veſſel ſhall be allowed to the lady of Monſ. Duclieu, Lieutenant-Governor-General of the iſlands, and Captain

1759. Captain of one of the King's ſhips, to carry her to Martinico, with her equipage, furniture, plate, and ſervants, ſuitable to her rank; and alſo to the Governor's lady, and the wives and widows of the ſtaff-officers.

GRANTED; one veſſel for all the ladies.

VIII. That Monſ. de Folleville, Lieutenant-Governor of Martinico, ſhall have a good veſſel to carry him and his volunteers thither, by the ſhorteſt paſſage, with only ſuch arms, baggage, and ſervants as they brought with them.

GRANTED.

IX. That the Sieur Avril of Dominica, and his detachment, ſhall be ſent thither, with their arms and baggage.

GRANTED.

X. That the priſoners, ſoldiers and ſailors, ſhall be mutually exchanged.

GRANTED.

XI. That all the negroes who were inliſted, and continued till the laſt day of the attack, in the companies of Boulougne, Petite, Dumoliere, and Ruby, agreeable to the liſt that will be given in of them, ſhall have their freedom, at the expence of the colony, as by agreement.

GRANTED, upon condition that they are immediately ſent off the iſland.

XII. That the men belonging to the privateers, who deſire to go to Martinico, ſhall have a veſſel to carry them thither.

GRANTED.

3

XIII. That

XIII. That there ſhall be a reaſonable time allowed for removing the furniture, effects, and cloaths that are in the reduit, or other places, belonging to the perſons who are to be ſent to Martinico; and that his Excellency General Barrington ſhall grant his protection for the ſafe conveyance of the above-mentioned effects to the place of conveyance. 1759.

GRANTED.

XIV. That there ſhall be an hoſpital-ſhip provided for the wounded and ſick that are in a condition to be removed; and that the reſt ſhall be taken care of, and ſent with a flag of truce to Martinico, as ſoon as they are recovered.

GRANTED; thoſe that remain ſhall be taken care of at the expence of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

XV. That all ſubjects, formerly belonging to the King of Great Britain, who for crimes were forced to fly their country, and have carried arms in this iſland, ſhall be pardoned, and allowed to remain in it as inhabitants.

They muſt go out of the iſland.

XVI. That the ſame honours and conditions ſhall be granted to the King's troops in the Grande-Terre, as are given to thoſe in Guadaloupe.

They ſhall have neither mortar nor cannon.

XVII. That the troops at the head of the reduit, as well as thoſe at the three rivers, ſhall march to the poſt of the camp at La Garde, and remain there till the day of embarkation.

The tranſport-ſhips ſhall be at the great Bay to-morrow morning to receive the troops of the garriſon, the privateers men, and thoſe who are to paſs to Martinico.

J. BARRINGTON.
NADAU d'UTRIEL.

JOHN MOORE.

1759. *Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies and the Inhabitants of Guadaloupe.*

ARTICLE I. The inhabitants ſhall march out of their poſts with all the honours of war, viz. with two field-pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, and lighted match.

GRANTED; in conſideration of the brave defence which the inhabitants have made during an attack of three months, upon condition that they lay down their arms as ſoon as they have marched by our troops, and that all the forts, poſts, batteries, cannon, mortars, firelocks, and bayonets, with all kind of ammunition and implements of war, be delivered to a commiſſary to be named by us; and that we ſhall have a power of fixing a garriſon in all ſuch places as we ſhall think proper.

II. The inhabitants of the iſland of Martinico, Marigalante, and Dominica, who came to the aſſiſtance of this iſland, ſhall have leave to retire with their arms and baggage, and a ſhip ſhall be provided to carry them, and the ſervants they brought with them, to their reſpective iſlands, with proviſions for their paſſage.

GRANTED; except thoſe from Marigalante, who ſhall be ſent to Martinico.

III. The inhabitants ſhall be allowed the free and public exerciſe of their religion. The prieſts and religious ſhall be preſerved in their pariſhes, convents, and all other poſſeſſions; and the ſuperiors of the ſeveral orders ſhall be permitted to ſend for ſuch as they think neceſſary from France, and the neighbouring iſlands; but all letters wrote on this occaſion ſhall be tranſmitted by the Governor appointed by his Britannic Majeſty.

GRANTED.

IV. They

IV. They ſhall obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and not be forced to take up arms againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or againſt any other power. 1759.

GRANTED; on condition that they take an oath within a month, or ſooner, if poſſible, to maintain all clauſes of this capitulation, as well as to remain exactly and faithfully neuter.

V. They ſhall be allowed their civil government, their laws, cuſtoms, and ordinances; juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered by the ſame perſons who are now in office; and what relates to the interior police of the iſland, ſhall be ſettled between his Britannic Majeſty's Governor and the inhabitants. And in caſe this iſland ſhall be ceded to the King of Great Britain, at the peace, the inhabitants ſhall have their choice, either to keep their own political government, or to accept that which is eſtabliſhed at Antigua and St. Chriſtopher's.

GRANTED; but when any vacancies happen in the ſeats of juſtice, the ſuperior council of the iſland is to name proper perſons to fill up thoſe vacancies, who muſt receive their commiſſions from his Britannic Majeſty: And all acts of juſtice whatſoever are to be in his name. But in regard to any change in the political government, we grant it, if agreeable to his Majeſty's pleaſure.

VI. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, ſhall be maintained in the property and the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions, goods moveable and immoveable, of what nature ſoever they may be; and ſhall be preſerved in their privileges, rights, honours and exemptions; and alſo the free negroes and mulattoes in their liberty.

GRANTED.

1759. VII. They ſhall pay no other duties to his Britannic Majeſty but ſuch as they have hitherto paid to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, without any other charge or impoſts; the expences attending the adminiſtration of juſtice, the penſions to curates, and other cuſtomary charges, ſhall be paid out of the revenue of his Britannic Majeſty, in the ſame manner as under the government of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

GRANTED; but if this iſland is ceded to his Britannic Majeſty at the peace, it ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties and impoſts, as the other Engliſh Leeward Iſlands, the moſt favoured.

VIII. All priſoners taken during the attack of this iſland ſhall be mutually exchanged.

GRANTED.

IX. The free mulattoes and negroes, who have been taken, ſhall be conſidered as priſoners of war, and not treated as ſlaves.

GRANTED.

X. The ſubjects of Great Britain who have taken refuge in this iſland, whether criminals or debtors, ſhall have leave to retire.

GRANTED.

XI. No other but the inhabitants actually reſiding in this iſland, ſhall poſſeſs any lands or houſes, by purchaſe, grant, or otherwiſe, before a peace; but if at the peace this iſland ſhould be ceded to the King of Great Britain, then ſuch of the inhabitants as do not chuſe to live under the Engliſh government, ſhall be permitted to ſell their poſſeſſions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire whenever they pleaſe; for which purpoſe there ſhall be a reaſonable time allowed.

GRANTED;

GRANTED; but ſuch of the inhabitants as chuſe to retire, ſhall have leave to ſell to none, except ſubjects of Great Britain. 1759.

XII. In caſe there ſhould be any exchange at the peace, their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties, are deſired to give the preference to this iſland.

This will depend on his Majeſty's pleaſure.

XIII. The inhabitants ſhall have liberty to ſend their children to be educated in France; and to ſend for them back; and to make remittances to them while there.

GRANTED.

XIV. The abſent inhabitants, and ſuch as are in the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhall be maintained in the enjoyment and property of their eſtates, which ſhall be managed for them by attornies.

GRANTED.

XV. The wives of officers and others, who are out of the iſland, ſhall have leave to retire with their effects, and a number of ſervants ſuitable to their rank.

GRANTED.

XVI. The Engliſh government ſhall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for ſuch commodities as the iſland produces, and are not permitted to be imported into England.

GRANTED; as the iſland produces nothing but what may be imported into England.

XVII. The inhabitants ſhall not be obliged to furniſh quarters for the troops, nor ſlaves to work on the fortifications.

GRANTED; but barracks will be provided as ſoon as poſſible for the lodgment of the troops; and ſuch negroes as ſhall be employed.

1757. employed with the consent of their masters, on public works, shall be paid for their labour.

XVIII. The widows and other inhabitants, who through illness, absence, or any other impediment, cannot immediately sign the capitulation, shall have a limited time allowed them to accede to it.

GRANTED; but all the inhabitants, who chuse to partake of the advantage of the capitulation, shall be obliged to sign it within a month from the date hereof, or to quit the island.

XIX. The men belonging to the privateers, and others who have no property in the island, and are desirous to leave it, shall have vessels to carry them to Martinico or to Dominica, (at their option) and shall be furnished with provisions for the passage. Nevertheless, those persons who have any debts with the inhabitants of the island, shall be obliged to settle their accounts with them before they depart.

GRANTED.

XX. The inhabitants shall have leave to give freedom to such negroes as they have promised it to, for the defence of this island.

GRANTED; on condition that they are immediately sent off this island.

XXI. The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, throughout the extent of his dominions.

GRANTED; but without affecting the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the king-

dom, which prohibit the carrying on of trade in any other than Engliſh bottoms. 1759.

XXII. The Deputies of the Grande-Terre, not having a ſufficient power to ſign the capitulation, though the colony adheres to the conditions of it, under the authority of M. Nadau, may ſign it when they have their full powers, and they will be comprehended in all the clauſes.

GRANTED.

Given at the head-quarters in the Capes-Terre.

Guadaloupe,
1ſt May, 1759.

J. BARRINGTON.
NADAU d'UTRIEL.
CLAINVILLERS.

JOHN MOORE.
DE BOURGE.
DU QUERY.

It was a remarkably fortunate circumſtance, indeed, that General Barrington loſt no time in agreeing to theſe capitulations; for that with the inhabitants of Grande-Terre was but juſt ſigned, when a meſſenger arrived in their camp to acquaint them, that M. Beauharnois, the General of theſe iſlands, had landed at St. Anne's on the windward ſide of the iſland, with a reinforcement of troops, under the convoy of M. de Bompart's ſquadron. This armament, had it arrived but an hour ſooner, might have rendered the conqueſt of the iſland very difficult, if not impoſſible. When M. Beauharnois heard that the capitulation was ſigned, he immediately reimbarked, and returned to Martinico.

The town of Baſſe-Terre was now no better than an heap of ruins. But the inhabitants, in the true ſpirit of Frenchmen, ſeemed to think no farther of their loſſes than was neceſſary to repair them. They immediately ſet about clearing away the rubbiſh; and the General aſſiſted them with every humane

1759. humane indulgence, to which that uncommon ſpirit ſeemed to entitle them.

Before this period which we have laſt recorded, Commodore Moore having received intelligence, that M. de Bompart had ſailed from Martinico, with a deſign to land a reinforcement at Guadaloupe, and that his ſquadron was ſeen ſeven leagues to the windward of Marigalante, he ſailed from Prince Rupert's Bay, and turned to windward with all poſſible diſpatch; carrying a preſs ſail, night and day, with a view of coming up with the enemy; nor did he neglect any ſtep that could be taken for that purpoſe. Had he purſued any other courſe, the French commander might have run into the harbour of St. Chriſtopher's, and deſtroyed or taken a great number of merchant ſhips, which were then loading with ſugar for England. Not content with this looking out for M. de Bompart, Mr. Moore had recourſe to every expedient and ſtratagem he could deviſe for bringing him to action. He even ſent away part of his ſquadron, out of ſight of the inhabitants of Dominica, that they might repreſent to their friends at Martinico, his force as much inferior to what it really was. But this had no effect on M. de Bompart. He ſeemed to take as much pains to avoid a battle, as Mr. Moore did to bring him to one.

Guadaloupe being thus reduced, General Barrington ſummoned Marigalante, the Saintes, and Deſeada to ſurrender. The latter ſubmitted immediately, upon the ſame terms that had been granted to Guadaloupe; as did Marigalante, on the appearance of the Berwick, Briſtol, Ludlow-Caſtle, and two Bombs, with a body of troops before it. The little Iſland of Petit-Terre was amongſt the firſt to ſubmit.

The General now prepared for his return to England; and, with this view, he gave the Commodore notice, that he intended to ſend back to England, about the beginning of July, part of his troops in the tranſports which had brought them out. In conſequence of this intimation, Commodore Moore repaired with his ſquadron to Baſſe-Terre road, where he was, the next day, joined by two ſhips from England. This reinforcement gave his ſquadron a great ſuperiority over that of the French, which, by this time, was diſcovered by the Rippon to have retired to the iſland of Grenada. The Commodore was made acquainted with this circumſtance; but, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate came in with freſh intelligence, that M. de Bompart had quitted Grenada, and was ſuppoſed to have ſteered towards Hiſpaniola. 1759.

In a tour the General now made of the iſland of Guadaloupe, he gave directions concerning what forts and fortifications he thought proper to have repaired and garriſoned; and regulated in concert with the inhabitants every thing that concerned them. He then ordered the Highlanders, with ſome draughts from the other troops, to North America; and conferred the government of the iſland on Brigadier Crump. Every thing being now ſettled to his entire ſatisfaction, he went on board the Roebuck, on the 23d of June; and on the 25th, ſet ſail for Great Britain; in company with forty tranſports, carrying what remained of the old Buffs, Barrington's, and Elliot's, after completing, by draughts from them, Duroure's, Watſon's, and Armiger's, which were left to garriſon the new conqueſts. Two days after, Commodore Moore, with his ſquadron, ſteered for Antigua.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK V.

Plan of operations for the ensuing campaign.——Honour conferred on General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen.——Dispositions of the French.——General Amherst repairs to Albany——takes the field——arrives on the banks of Lake-George——traces out a fort, and encamps——embarks on the Lake——disembarks.——French abandon the lines at Ticonderoga, and also the fort, which are taken possession of by the English——their preparations to attack Crown-Point——the French abandon it——occupied by the English.——General Amherst receives an account of the surrender of Niagara.——Major Rogers ordered to chastize the Indians of St. François.——General Amherst embarks his army to pursue the French, who had retreated to the Isle-Aux-Noix——returns to Crown-Point——closes the campaign.——Particulars of the siege of Niagara.——The forts of Presque-isle, Venango, and Le Bœuf, reduced.——Colonel Haldimand attacked at Oswego.——Operations of Brigadier Stanwix.

1759. WE must now return to the continent of North-America, where the English minister had determined to make, at once, three different attacks, in order to divide and weaken the power of the French, and, if possible, complete the conquest of Canada in one campaign.

The

The plan for this purpose was, That Major-General Amherst, the commander in chief, should endeavour to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point; then, in case of success, by the Lake-Champlain, proceed, down the river Richlieu, to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and there join Mr. Wolfe, now appointed a major-general, who, with another army, and a considerable fleet of ships, was to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada; that a third army should invest the fort of Niagara, whilst a smaller one attacked the lesser forts in the neighbourhood of Pittsbourg, and on the line of communication between that place and Lake-Erie. 1759.

General Amherst, in conjunction with Admiral Boscawen, had now received the highest honour that the nation could bestow. They were thanked, by the representatives of the people assembled in parliament, for their gallant behaviour and steady conduct in the reduction of the important fortress of Louisbourg. The great talents so happily exerted on that memorable occasion, inspired the people with hopes, that the same success would attend this campaign. Accordingly, every heart beat with anxiety for the issue of the part which General Amherst was to have in these operations. The fatal miscarriage against Ticonderoga, in 1758, was still recent in the minds of every one, and gave great uneasiness to many. There was no reason to think, that the difficulties which then presented themselves, were any way diminished, but rather the greatest grounds to fear they were considerably increased. The French had reinforced Crown-Point; acquired new strength on Lake-Champlain, of which they were entirely masters; and had, at Fort-Chamblé, a body of regulars

1759. and Canadians, to maintain the paſs from the falls of the river Richlieu to the river St. Lawrence.

To purſue, with effect, the plan of which we have been ſpeaking, it was neceſſary to take the field early. General Amherſt, therefore, embarked at New-York on the 28th of April, and arrived at Albany on the 3d of May. What time he ſpent here was employed in collecting his army, forming them for the field, and, in particular, giving the provincials ſome little idea of military diſcipline; getting ready whale-boats, and other boats, for tranſporting the troops, artillery, and ſtores; and in every other preparation neceſſary to attain the grand object of his inſtructions.

In the mean while, Major Rogers had been ordered, with Lieutenant Brheme, an aſſiſtant engineer, and a party of three hundred and fifty men, to make what obſervations they could on the enemy's forts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point. They left Fort-Edward the 3d of March. Lieutenant Brheme having executed his orders, returned. Major Rogers fell in with a working party of the French, killed ſome, and took ſeveral priſoners, near Ticonderoga, with the loſs of three or four men. The weather was ſo intenſely cold during this expedition, that it froze the feet of two-thirds of the detachment; ſome to ſuch a degree, that the reſt were obliged to carry them.

A regiment having been raiſed in America, to ſerve as light infantry, it was given to Colonel Gage, who was now appointed a brigadier. This regiment, having received new arms, were detached to take poſt at the rifts above Saratoga, there to remain till farther orders; as, likewiſe, a party of the

the ſeventeenth and the forty-ſecond regiment, to the rifts near Still-water: and three hundred of the Rhode-iſland regiment to Fort-Edward. The forty-fourth regiment was ordered to encamp at Schenectady, where Brigadier Prideaux was to take upon him the command of the expedition deſigned againſt Niagara. Colonel Haviland, with the remainder of the ſeventeenth, the twenty-ſeventh, and two companies of the Royal, joined Brigadier Gage's. The reſt of the troops, when completed for the field, were ordered to Fort-Edward. 1759.

A ſpirit of deſertion broke out amongſt the troops, which made examples neceſſary to ſtop, if poſſible, ſo great an evil. Lenity on ſuch occaſions is often a temptation to the commiſſion of crimes, which the certainty of puniſhment would effectually deter men from committing: his Excellency, therefore, approved the ſentence of a general court-martial which had found Dunwood and Ward guilty of deſertion, and ſentenced them to death; and the ſentence was accordingly executed.

Some former orders to the regulars, declaring the General's reſolution never to pardon deſertion, and his aſſurances, that their good behaviour ſhould be rewarded, were now addreſſed to the provincial troops, that they too might know what they were to expect from good or bad conduct, and have time to reflect on the ignominy which would certainly attend the latter. But, in ſpite of theſe examples, in ſpite of theſe promiſes and threats, the ſpirit of deſertion ſtill prevailed; and two other deſerters, Rogers and Harris, being found guilty, were condemned to die.

On

1759. On the 3d of June, the rear of the army were ordered to take the field. The General left Albany the ſame day; and, on the 6th, arrived at Fort-Edward, where he encamped.

Blockhouſes were erected in the front of each regiment; and every poſſible precaution was taken to prevent the army's being ſurpriſed by the enemy; nor was the preſervation of the health of the troops leſs attended to. The drinking of ſpirituous liquors was totally diſcouraged, and a wholeſome beverage was introduced in its ſtead. This conſiſted of melaſſes and the tops of the ſpruce fir, boiled together in a proper quantity of water; a mixture which had been found a moſt excellent antiſcorbutic, and even an antidote againſt thoſe diſtempers frequently occaſioned by the exceſſive drinking of ſpirituous liquors.

A flag of truce now arrived from M. de Montcalm, forwarded by M. de Bourlemaque, on pretence of exchanging priſoners, and ſettling a cartel. But the real purpoſe of it was, to gain an opportunity of making obſervations on the numbers and quality of the Engliſh troops, and other particulars of that nature. The General, therefore, whoſe vigilance was not to be eluded, fruſtrated the enemy's deſigns, by ordering the meſſenger to remain at a diſtance from the camp, till his diſpatches were examined, and an anſwer returned to them.

Although ſcouting parties were kept conſtantly on the patrole, and every kind of protection given to the inhabitants, yet numbers of them were daily ſcalped. The French and their Indians ſeemed to wanton in cruelty; nor age nor ſex could arreſt

arreſt the bloody knife. The ſhocking accounts, which almoſt hourly arrived of theſe outrages, produced the following order; copies of which were ſent to M. de Vaudreuil, and to M. de Montcalm: 1759.

" No ſcouting party, or others in the army, are to ſcalp women or children belonging to the enemy. They are, if poſſible, to take them priſoners; but not to injure them, on any account. The General being determined, ſhould the enemy continue to murder and ſcalp women and children, who are the ſubjects of the King of Great Britain, to revenge it by the death of two men of the enemy, for every woman or child murdered by them."

Not any thing could add more to the reputation of General Amherſt than this order, in which mercy and juſtice, humanity and ſound policy, were all ſo happily combined, as mutually to temper and ſupport each other.

The greateſt part of the troops, artillery, and ſtores being now arrived, the General left Fort-Edward on the 21ſt of June, with about ſix thouſand regulars and provincials; and marched them, in two columns, viſiting the ſeveral poſts on the communication, and making ſuch alterations in them as he judged beſt for their ſecurity. In the evening, he encamped on the banks of Lake-George, and, the next day, with the aſſiſtance of Colonel Montreſor, the chief engineer, traced out the ground for erecting a fort.

All poſſible expedition was now uſed to get up the remainder of the artillery and ſtores, and to haſten the arrival of the

1759. troops and the boats, that the army might lose no time in proceeding on the intended enterprize. But the difficulties occasioned by the length of the carrying-place between Fort-Edward and Lake-George, and the badness of the roads over it, greatly impeded the endeavours of the General.

In the mean time, however, several ambuscades were formed on both sides of Lake-George, and several parties were sent out by General Amherst, as if merely to fish, in order to decoy the French into them; but all to no purpose. The French never appeared when these parties were out, or at least never took notice of them, but once, when, the advanced guard firing too soon, the enemy discovered their strength, and precipitately retired. The French, on their part, were no less assiduous in endeavouring to annoy the English camp. On the 2d of July, a serjeant, corporal, and sixteen men, of the new Jersey regiment, who were cutting bark within sight of the camp, were attacked by a body of French Indians, who had concealed themselves in the brush-wood, and from thence stole on them unperceived. The General, the moment he heard the firing, ordered a company of light infantry and rangers to their relief, and then two more companies of light infantry, and three companies of grenadiers. But tho' these troops were out as soon as ordered, and did not lose a single moment in the pursuit, the enemy fled time enough to get into their canoes, after killing six of the bark-cutters. They, besides, carried off the corporal and five private men. The serjeant, with the remainder, returned to the camp. Captain Jacobs of the Stockbridge Indians, with about thirty others, having been sent to hover about Ticonderoga, was not so successful as the French Indians; but it was, in a great measure, his own fault. He had received orders

orders not to appear on the lake in the day-time; but was ſo imprudent as to diſobey them: in conſequence of which he was attacked by a ſuperior force, and only ten of his party returned to the camp; Jacobs himſelf being taken priſoner. 1759.

On the 17th, another effort was made by M. de Montcalm to gain intelligence of General Amherſt's ſituation, by means of a flag of truce. But, as ſoon as it was diſcovered on the lake, an aid-de-camp was diſpatched to conduct the boat into a bay, from whence the camp could not be ſeen; and a company of light infantry was ordered as a guard to the neareſt of the two points that formed the bay. This flag of truce brought letters from M. de Montcalm at Montreal, and M. Bourlemaque at Ticonderoga. The General anſwered them during the night; and, in the morning, ſent an aid-de-camp with his anſwer to the *Capitaine de milice*, who had been the bearer of them.

The ſuperintendence of the naval department, on this expedition, having been intruſted to Captain Loring of the navy, and a ſloop called the *Halifax*, that had been ſunk the laſt campaign, having been weighed and rigged, and the whole of the troops, ammunition, ſtores, and boats being now arrived, the General, on the 21ſt of July, ordered the army to embark.

1759. This army consisted of the following forces:

REGULARS,

Royal	42d	The whole, officers included, amounting to - -	- 5743
17th	55th		
27th	77th		

ROYAL ARTILLERY, - - - - 111

PROVINCIALS,

Whiting	Schuyler	The whole, officers included, amounting to - -	- 5279
Lyman	Fitch		
Worcester	Lovewell		
Babcock	Willards		
Ruggles			

Gage's light Infantry. Total 11133

These forces were divided into four columns; and to cross the lake in the following order:

Fifty men of Gage's light infantry.

The remainder, in two lines, to cover the front of the columns.

THE INVINCIBLE RADEAU.

4th Column.	*3d Column.*	*2d Column.*	*1st Column.*
1 eighteen-pounder	Rafts with cannon	*Regiments.*	1 twelve-pounder
Lyman's battalion	Schuyler's, with artillery-forces	Royal	Rangers
Worcester's	with artillery-forces	17th	Light infantry
Fitch's	Carpenters and tools,	27th	Grenadiers
Babcock's	on the right; Rug-	42d	Ruggles } Second Battalions.
Lovewell's	gles's first battalion,	55th	Willards } Second Battalions.
		77th	

Whiting's to cover the rear.

Halifax sloop to cruize in the rear of the whole.

5 Whiting's

Whiting's regiment to have the batteau-guard; and Colonel Bradſtreet was to make ſuch diſpoſitions for them as he thought beſt. 1759.

The front column was commanded by Colonel Haviland;

That in the rear, by Colonel Lyman;

The ſecond column, by Brigadier-General Gage;

And the third, by Colonel Schuyler.

The artillery was ordered to land immediately after the ſecond column. It was commanded by Major Ord, and compoſed the following train:

6 twenty-four-pounders
4 eighteen-pounders
10 twelve-pounders
7 ſix-pounders
3 three-pounders
6 eight-inch hawitzers
5 five-and-a-half-inch hawitzers
8 royals
4 ten-inch mortars
1 thirteen-inch mortar.

On the 22d of July, this armament arrived at a place called the *Second Narrows*, without any accident; and the troops diſembarked very near the landing-place formerly uſed by General Abercromby's army. The advanced-guard ſkirmiſhed with a party of the French, from which they took two priſoners; by whom the General learned, that M. Bourlemaque commanded at the lines, and that his force conſiſted of about three thouſand regulars and Canadians, and about four hundred Indians. This was all the oppoſition General Amherſt

1759. met in his way to the Saw-Mills, where he now took poſt; and having effectually ſecured it, he advanced towards the enemy's lines. The troops, that night, lay on their arms. The next morning, the French obſerving that his Excellency's diſpoſitions indicated a formal attack, they ſaved him any farther trouble, by abandoning their lines, which he immediately took poſſeſſion of with the grenadiers of the army, and then encamped behind them with the reſt of the army. The French now began a briſk cannonade from the fort, on the Engliſh troops; but the ſame work that had proved ſo deſtructive to the latter the preceding year, now became a protection to them.

In the center of theſe remarkable lines, the French had erected an high croſs, which was now ſtanding. Before this croſs was ſunk a deep grave. To the croſs was affixed the following inſcription, engraven on braſs:

Pone principes eorum ſicut Oreb, et Zeb, et Zebee, et Zalmanna.

The French having abandoned their lines without oppoſition, the General had the leſs reaſon to fear any reſiſtance ſuperior to the forces he had to conquer it. He, therefore, on the 24th, ſent off the New-Hampſhire regiment, to ſtrengthen the garriſon of Oſwego, that, in caſe of neceſſity, a detachment might be made from thence to aſſiſt in the reduction of Niagara.

Diſpoſitions were now made to attack the fort with all the vigour the army brought againſt it could exert; and the garriſon of the fort ſhewed every appearance of being equally diſpoſed to make a reſolute defence. But M. Bourlemaque,

the commandant, ſoon finding that the General was not only well provided with every requiſite to carry on the ſiege, but was alſo poſſeſſed of every military talent neceſſary to employ them, thought proper to retire, on the 23d, with all his forces, except four hundred men, who remained till the evening of the 26th, when they likewiſe abandoned their poſt, after doing every thing the ſhortneſs of their time would allow them, to deſtroy and blow up the fortifications of the fort. Some deſerters from this party came into the Engliſh camp, and informed the General, that the commander had loaded every gun, charged ſeveral mines, and laid fuzes to ſpring them when all his men ſhould have evacuated the place; and that there was a great quantity of powder in the fort. The General offered them one hundred guineas if they would diſcover the fuzes, that they might be cut off; but they abſolutely declared, they did not know where to find them. Their fears, it is probable, had abſorbed their whole attention to ſuch a degree, as to make them forget what they knew of the matter. They ſtood trembling at the thoughts of the terrible event, although at ſo great a diſtance from the ſcene of expected ruin. Nor were their fears ill-grounded, in point of time at leaſt; for, as they were ſtill proteſting their ignorance, the exploſion was heard. One would ſuppoſe, that the French were under ſome apprehenſions from the conſequences of it; for ſo precipitate was their retreat, that they forgot to give information of it to ſome of their ſcouting parties; the conſequence of which was, that, when they returned, expecting to find their own army where they had left it, they found themſelves priſoners in that of the Engliſh. 1759.

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1759. As ſoon as the General could be ſatisfied, that there no longer remained any latent ſeeds of deſtruction in the fort, he took poſſeſſion of it; and, immediately, detached Colonel Haviland, with the light infantry, in flat-bottomed boats, to purſue the fugitives. The Colonel came up with their rear; took ſome powder and a few priſoners; and then returned.

Ticonderoga is a very important poſt. It effectually covers the frontiers of the province of New-York; and is a ſecure retreat for the army in caſe of neceſſity. The General, therefore, now ordered the fort near it, which lies towards the water, and which the French had not finiſhed, to be not only repaired, but completed. He likewiſe gave directions for repairing the fort of Ticonderoga on the ſame plan on which it was originally built, as this would be a great ſaving, conſidering that but a ſmall part of it had been ruined. This fort is a ſquare, with four baſtions, built with logs, on rocks covered with maſonry, to afford a level foundation. The counter-ſcarp of the glacis, and that of the ditch, with two ravelins, covering the only front to which approaches could be made, are all maſonry. Only one baſtion and two courtines were demoliſhed; and theſe not in the front eaſieſt to be attacked. The glacis, the covert-way, the caſemate, the walls of the barracks, and eleven good ovens, which proved of great uſe to the troops, had not received the leaſt damage.

Fifteen private men were killed, and about fifty wounded, in the acquiſition of this important poſt, beſides Colonel Roger Townſhend, who fell by a cannon-ball, on the 25th of July. His ſpirit and military knowledge juſtly entitled him to the eſteem of every ſoldier; and, accordingly, the loſs of him was univerſally lamented.

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In the night of the 25th, the camp was alarmed by an imaginary attack. The ſoldiers flew to their arms; and every man's fears transforming his neighbour into a Frenchman, they fired at each other as if real enemies. This is one inſtance, amongſt many, to prove that the forming of a ſoldier is not the work of a day. It requires time to make the ruſtic villager ſhake off his natural timidity; familiariſe him to objects which heretofore they could not even think of without horror; and infuſe into them habits of that obedience neceſſary to the preſervation of good diſcipline. The bayonet, in the hands of men who can be cool and conſiderate amidſt ſcenes of confuſion and horror, is, by far, more ſafe to thoſe who uſe it, as well as more deſtructive to thoſe againſt whom it is uſed, than powder and ball. On theſe principles, the General ordered, that in caſe, the enemy ſhould make any attack in the night, they ſhould be received with fixed bayonets. Another reaſon for giving this order was, to prevent the repetition of falſe alarms, by the diſcharging of muſkets; and thereby preſerve the lives of many, who might otherwiſe fall by the hand of their fellow-ſoldiers, in conſequence of that diſorder inſeparable from attacks in the dark. In the morning, the army ſaw the loſs and diſgrace with which diſobedience of orders muſt infallibly be attended, eſpecially by night; conſidering the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing between friends and foes at that ſeaſon. A panic, which had ſeized on two or three raw recruits, unhappily ſpread to great part of the line; and got the better of their recollection to ſuch a degree, that nothing leſs than the General's preſence could correct their belief of the enemy's being actually in the heart of their camp. At length day-light convinced them of the conſequences of thus encouraging groundleſs fears, by ſhewing them

1759.

two

1759. two of their comrades killed, and many others wounded; and how neceſſary it was for them implicitly to obey every order of their officers, in order to avoid ſuffering again in the like manner.

On the 28th, a courier arrived from General Johnſon to inform the General of the death of Brigadier Prideaux before Niagara. Brigadier Gage was, upon this, immediately ordered to ſucceed him; and the ſecond battalion of Royal Highlanders detached to Oſwego, that, in caſe Niagara ſhould not be yet taken, Brigadier Gage might renew the attack with the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch.

Five hundred men were ordered to Lake-George, and to return with proviſions and ſtores. The General's intention being now engaged in making himſelf equal, if not ſuperior, to the enemy on the lake, he ordered Captain Loring to weigh ſome French battoes that had been ſunk, and conſtruct a brig; and took every other ſtep that was neceſſary to be able to proceed without the leaſt loſs of time on the intended attack againſt Crown-Point.

As it was highly neceſſary to be firſt juſtly informed of the ſituation of the enemy, and the condition of the place, ſcouts were ordered out to reconnoitre both. A body of two hundred rangers, commanded by Major Rogers, were detached to take poſt as near Crown-Point as poſſible; but in ſuch a manner, as not to be ſurpriſed; then ſeize on the beſt ground they could to defend themſelves; and keep it, in caſe they were attacked, till they could be reinforced by the army. But all theſe precautions proved equally needleſs. On the 1ſt of Auguſt, intelligence was received, that the French had abandoned that

that place; upon which a detachment was ordered to take possession of it. The General followed, with the bulk of the army, and arrived on the 4th, when he encamped his troops, and ordered a new fort to be traced out by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyres, as a farther protection to the British dominions, particularly against the scalping parties that had so long infested this part of the country; and thereby insure such a continuance of peace and quiet to the King's subjects, as was necessary to induce them to return to their deserted habitations between this place and Albany. 1759.

The scouts employed to procure intelligence were not idle; and were, besides, so judiciously disposed, as to bring some, almost every hour. Part of this intelligence was, that the enemy had halted on the *Isle-Aux-Noix* in Lake Champlain; that their army consisted of three thousand five hundred men, and a very large train of artillery, the whole commanded by M. Bourlemaque; that there were, besides, on the lake, four large vessels well manned, and mounted with cannon, commanded by M. le Bras. In consequence of this information, the General, who was resolved to secure a naval superiority on the lakes, sent orders to Captain Loring, who had been left at Ticonderoga, to add a sloop of sixteen guns to the brigantine now on the stocks, whilst Major Ord constructed a raft to carry six six-pounders.

On the 3d, a courier arrived from Niagara, with the agreeable news that the garrison of that place had surrendered to Sir William Johnson, by capitulation, on the 25th of July.

Brigadier Gage had been instructed, in case Niagara should be reduced, to take post immediately, at a place the French

1759. called *la-Galette*, near the entrance of the river St. Lawrence; and as ſoon as General Amherſt was informed of the above event, he ſent Major Chriſtie to Brigadier Gage, to enforce thoſe orders, as by that means the Engliſh on the Mohawk river would be as effectually freed from the inroads of the enemy's ſcalping parties, and be enabled to live in as much ſecurity, as the inhabitants of any part of the country between Crown-Point and New-York had already been. But, however neceſſary it might be to take poſſeſſion of this poſt, the difficulties which would attend the doing of it appeared to Brigadier Gage ſo great, that he thought proper to make the General acquainted with them; and, in the mean time, defer the execution of his orders to a more favourable opportunity. As the General deemed this poſt an object of the firſt conſequence, he was greatly chagrined at the account from Brigadier Gage, eſpecially as the ſeaſon would be too far advanced before his orders, if he renewed them, could reach Brigadier Gage, for the Brigadier to execute them. He, therefore, was obliged to poſtpone this neceſſary buſineſs to another campaign.

Captain Kennedy, who had been ſent by the General with a flag of truce, to offer peace to the Indians of St. François, was detained by them with his whole party. This inſult exaſperated the General to ſuch a degree, that he immediately determined to chaſtiſe them with a ſeverity equal to the offence. With this view, the more effectually to diſtreſs the enemy, he ordered a party of two hundred men under Major Rogers to march and attack them on the ſouth ſide of the river St. Lawrence; the barbarities and infamous cruelties which thoſe daſtardly villains, in particular, had promiſcuouſly committed on women and children, meriting the moſt exemplary puniſhment. The troops ſent againſt them were, however,

ever, forbid to uſe any retaliation againſt women and children; in a ſpirit truly becoming an Engliſh enemy. 1759.

The ſloop, the brig, and the raft, being now ready, the General, on the 11th of October, embarked his whole army in boats, with a deſign to attack the enemy on the *Iſle-Aux-Noix*. But his endeavours to get at them were baffled by the extreme badneſs of the weather, which obliged him to get into ſome place of ſecurity. For this purpoſe, he choſe a commodious bay on the weſtern ſhore, where all except the Rangers landed, and boiled their kettles, covered by Gage's light infantry. The Rangers were diſembarked on a neighbouring iſland. The lake now became too boiſterous to venture on it with any kind of ſafety; and the year was too far advanced to leave any room to expect it would be again favourable for military operations. The winter itſelf approached with the moſt rigorous aſpect.

On the 18th, however, the lake calmed a little, and a ſoutherly wind, the uſual forerunner as well as cauſe of mild weather in all northern climates, ſpringing up, the General was tempted to make one more effort. But a northerly wind blowing freſh on the 19th, convinced him of the impracticability of executing his plan, or at leaſt the impropriety of attempting it. He therefore ordered the troops to return to Crown-Point. This was a ſevere diſappointment, as they thought themſelves on the eve of putting an end, by one deciſive ſtroke, to the uncommonly ſevere fatigues and dangers of an American war, which they had now ſo long endured. Thus, juſt as they were upon the point of ſeizing the palm of peace, and, of courſe, inſuring the poſſeſſion of the wreath of glory, their views were blaſted; and the completion of their wiſhes

1759. protracted to the return of a ſeaſon more favourable to new exertions of their patience and ſpirit.

The firſt evening after the army left Crown-Point, a miſtake had nearly proved fatal to part of the forty-ſecond regiment. This corps, having followed the light of the brig inſtead of the radeau, was led cloſe to the enemy, and attacked by them; and it was with the greateſt difficulty they cleared themſelves, at the expence of one boat, and twenty-five men, with Enſign Mackey, taken priſoners. But the French ſoon paid for this advantage. The Engliſh brig was a formidable veſſel for this lake. She mounted ſix ſix-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty ſwivels; carried ſeventy ſeamen, and a detachment of ſixty men with officers, from the troops, to ſerve as marines; this veſſel was commanded by Captain Loring. The ſloop mounted four ſix-pounders, twelve four-pounders, with twenty-two ſwivels; carried ſixty ſeamen, and fifty ſoldiers; and was commanded by Lieutenant Grant of the ſeventy-ſeventh. Theſe veſſels gave chaſe to three French ſloops, and drove them into a bay on the weſt ſhore, where their own crews ſunk two of them, and ran the third on ſhore. But Lieutenant Grant got her off, whilſt Captain Loring went in purſuit of a ſchooner, the only veſſel belonging to the French, which now remained on the lake to moleſt the Engliſh.

On the 21ſt of October, the whole Engliſh army arrived at Crown-Point, where the General's firſt care was beſtowed on the fort he had begun. He gave orders for adding to it whatever could contribute to its ſtrength, and for opening of roads to Ticonderoga, the Maſſachuſets, and New Hampſhire, governments. He likewiſe diſtributed the troops into winter-quarters,

quarters, in ſuch a manner as to cover that part of the country from the inroads of the enemy. He then, on the 25th of November, after appointing ſufficient garriſons for Crown-Point, and other forts, to preſerve the communication with Albany, ſet out for New-York, where he arrived on the 11th of December. 1759.

Though the General had been early acquainted with the fate of Niagara, it was the 19th of October before he received the leaſt intelligence of General Wolfe's ſucceſs before Quebec; and this was by a priſoner, who informed him that Quebec had ſurrendered on the 18th of September. Some letters, indeed, had paſſed between him and M. de Montcalm about the ſettling of a cartel, in which mention was made of General Wolfe's being before that place; but, till the period we have mentioned, he continued an entire ſtranger to his operations, though he had done his utmoſt to open a proper channel of intelligence for that purpoſe.

On the 8th of November, whilſt the General was ſtill at Crown-Point, he received the following account of the expedition on which he had ſent Major Rogers, againſt the Indians of Saint François. It was not till the twenty-ſecond day after his departure that the Major came in ſight of the place; and, by this time, his party, from various accidents in the march, was reduced to one hundred and forty-two men. However, he reconnoitred the town about eight in the evening, in hopes of diſcovering an opportunity ſuitable to his numbers; and, agreeably to his wiſhes, finding the Indians in a high dance, returned to his party at two, and marched them to within five hundred yards of the town, where he caſed them of their packs, and formed them for the attack. At half an hour

1759. hour after ſun-riſe the next morning he ſurpriſed the town, when the inhabitants were all faſt aſleep, and fell on them ſo inſtantaneouſly, that they had not time to recover themſelves and take arms for their defence. Some attempted to get to the waters, and, by that means, make their eſcape; but they were quickly purſued by about forty of the Major's people, who ſunk them and their boats. The remainder, in the mean time, ſet fire to all the houſes except three, in which there was corn, which Major Rogers thought proper to reſerve for the uſe of his party; and the flames conſumed many of the Indians, who had concealed themſelves in the cellars and lofts. By ſeven o'clock in the morning, the buſineſs was completely over. In this ſhort period the Engliſh killed at leaſt two hundred Indians, and took twenty of their women and children; but they brought away but five. The reſt were permitted to go where they pleaſed. Five Engliſh captives were likewiſe delivered from ſlavery, and taken under the protection of their countrymen; and all this with the loſs of only one Indian killed, and Captain Ogden and ſix men wounded. Major Rogers being informed by his priſoners that a party of three hundred French, with ſome Indians, were about four miles below him on the river, and that his boats were, beſides, way-laid, and having reaſon to believe this information was true, as they told him the exact number of his boats, and named the place where he left them, he thought proper to conſult with his officers concerning a retreat, eſpecially as he had the ſame reaſon to believe that a party of two hundred French, and fifteen Indians, had, three days before he attacked the town, gone up the river to Wigwam Martinique, on a ſuppoſition of its being the place he intended to attack. The reſult of this deliberation was, that there was no ſafe way to return

return but by No. 4, on the Connecticut river: upon this he marched his detachment that rout for eight days ſucceſſively, in one body, till, proviſions growing ſcarce, near Amparamagog-Lake, he thought beſt to divide his people into ſmall parties, giving guides to each, with orders to rendezvous at the diſcharge of the Amanſook river into the Connecticut river, as he there expected to receive a ſupply of proviſions from the army, in conſequence of a requeſt he, on his ſetting out, had made to the General for that purpoſe; for it was impoſſible for him, at that time, to tell which way he ſhould be obliged to return. He then continued his march, and arrived at No. 4, on the 5th day of November; fatigue, cold, and hunger, with the continual proſpect of ſtarving, being his conſtant attendants. But great as the ſufferings of this party were, they were nothing when compared with thoſe of another, commanded by Lieutenant George Campbell, then of the Rangers. Theſe were, at one time, four days without any kind of ſuſtenance, when ſome of them, in conſequence of their complicated miſery, ſeverely aggravated by their not knowing whither the route they purſued would lead, and, of courſe, the little proſpect of relief that was left them, loſt their ſenſes; whilſt others, who could no longer bear the keen pangs of an empty ſtomach, attempted to eat their own excrements. What leather they had on their cartouch-boxes, they had already reduced to a cinder, and greedily devoured. At length, on the 28th of October, as they were croſſing a ſmall river, which was in ſome meaſure dammed up by logs, they diſcovered ſome human bodies not only ſcalped but horribly mangled, which they ſuppoſed to be thoſe of ſome of their own party. But this was not a ſeaſon for diſtinctions. On them, accordingly, they fell like Cannibals, and devoured part of them raw; their impatience

1759.

1759. impatience being too great to wait the kindling of a fire to dreſs it by. When they had thus abated the excruciating pangs they before endured, they carefully collected the fragments, and carried them off. This was their ſole ſupport, except roots and a ſquirrel, till the 4th of November, when Providence conducted them to a boat on the Connecticut river, which Major Rogers had ſent with proviſions to their relief, and which rendered tolerable the remainder of their journey to No. 4, where they arrived on the 7th of November.

Having mentioned an attack on the fort of Niagara, as part of the plan of operations for this campaign, and having informed our readers of its being reduced, it is now time we ſhould give the particulars of that tranſaction. General Amherſt, having taken every precaution neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs to this important attempt, Brigadier Prideaux ſet out from Schenectady, with the troops to be employed on it, on the 20th of May. Theſe troops conſiſted of the following regiments:

The Forty-fourth,
The Forty-ſixth,
The Fourth Battalion of Royal Americans,
Two Battalions of New-York troops,
A detachment of the Royal Artillery; and
A large body of Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnſon.

When Brigadier Prideaux arrived at Oſwego, he ordered Colonel Haldimand with a detachment, to remain and erect a tenable fort at that important poſt. On the 1ſt of July, the Brigadier embarked his troops on Lake-Ontario, and

landed them, without meeting any oppoſition, about ſix miles eaſt of Niagara. This place, being ſituated on a narrow peninſula, required no great labour effectually to inveſt it by land. As ſoon, therefore, as he could open a communication between the landing-place and the river, he began his approaches, and erected batteries, from which he fired on the defences of the fort; ſtill advancing new works, in proportion as thoſe defences were deſtroyed. The French, on their ſide, fully convinced of the importance of the place, exerted themſelves in taking every neceſſary meaſure to defeat the endeavours of the Engliſh to get poſſeſſion of it. With this view, all the troops they could ſpare from Detroit, Preſque-iſle, Venango, and Le-Bœuf, were ordered to aſſemble at the Rapids, on the eaſt ſide of Lake-Erie, and make the beſt of their way to attack the army beſieging Niagara, in the rear; while the beſieged made a ſortie on their front. Brigadier Prideaux, who fortunately received timely intelligence of their deſigns, made every diſpoſition that was neceſſary to fruſtrate them. But he did not live to reap the honours due to his uncommon zeal and abilities. On the evening of the 19th of July, as he was giving directions in the trenches, he was unfortunately killed through the careleſſneſs of a gunner in diſcharging a cohorn; the ſhell burſting inſtantly, as the Brigadier was paſſing by it. No time was loſt in giving General Amherſt an account of this accident; and his Excellency, on receiving it, ordered, as we have already ſeen, Brigadier Gage, from his own army, to ſucceed him. In the mean time, the command devolved on Sir William Johnſon, who continued the attack with the utmoſt vigour; took every precaution to receive the enemy, if they ſhould attack him; and reſolved to give them battle, rather than retreat; not doubting but that the courage and ardour of his troops would court victory to his banners.

1759.

1759. Whilſt in theſe diſpoſitions, he, on the 23d, in the evening, received advice, that the French troops were marching towards him, under the command of M. d'Aubrey, to the amount of about twelve hundred men. Upon this, Sir William ordered his light infantry and picquets to take poſt on the left, on the road between Niagara Falls and the fort; and then, after reinforcing them with the grenadiers, and another part of the forty-ſixth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Maſſey, and the forty-fourth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, diſpoſed of them to ſuch advantage, as effectually to ſupport the guard left in the trenches.

On the morning of the 24th, the French made their appearance; and the Indians of the Engliſh army advanced to ſpeak to thoſe of the French; but the latter declining the conference, the former gave the war-whoop, and the action commenced. The Engliſh regulars attacked the French in front, whilſt the Engliſh Indians gained their flank. This threw the French into great diſorder, and the Engliſh, ſeizing ſo favourable an opportunity with all the eagerneſs it naturally inſpired, charged the French with inexpreſſible fury, and totally routed them with great ſlaughter; which continued, without ceaſing, till mere fatigue obliged the conquerors to return. But the number of the killed could not be preciſely aſcertained, their bodies lying ſo diſperſed in the woods.

As the event of this battle, fought in ſight of the beſieged, might well be ſuppoſed ſufficient to deſtroy every hope they entertained of being relieved, Sir William Johnſon ſent the commandant, M. Pouchot, Captain in the regiment of Bearne, an account of it, by the Honourable Captain Hervey; and ſummoned him to ſurrender in conſequence of it, whilſt he yet

yet had in his power to restrain his savages from acts of cruelty. Besides, to leave the commandant no room to doubt his veracity, he permitted several of the officers he had made prisoners on the occasion, to visit him, and confirm it. These wise and humane measures had the desired and deserved effect. M. Pouchot consented to surrender on the following terms: 1759.

ARTICLE I. The garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drum beating, and match lighted at both ends, and a small piece of cannon, to embark upon such vessels as the commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall furnish, to convey them to New-York, by the shortest road, and in the shortest manner.

GRANTED.

II. The garrison shall lay down their arms when they embark; but shall keep their baggage.

GRANTED.

III. The officers shall keep both their arms and their baggage.

GRANTED.

IV. The French ladies, with their children, and other women, as well as the chaplain, shall be sent to Montreal; and the commander of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall furnish them with vessels and subsistence necessary for their voyage to the first French port; and this is to be executed as soon as possible: those women who chuse to follow their husbands, are at liberty to do it.

GRANTED, except with regard to those women who are his Britannic Majesty's subjects.

1759. V. The ſick and wounded who are obliged to remain in the fort, ſhall have liberty to depart, with every thing that belongs to them; and ſhall be conducted in ſafety, as ſoon as they are able to ſupport the fatigues of a voyage, to the place deſtined for the reſt of the garriſon: in the mean time, they are to be allowed a guard for their ſecurity.

GRANTED.

VI. The commanding officer, all the other officers, and private men, who are in the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhall quit the fort without being ſubject to any act of repriſals whatſoever.

GRANTED.

VII. An inventory ſhall be made of all the military ſtores in the magazine, which, with the artillery, ſhall be delivered up, *bona fide*, as well as all other effects, which are the property of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and which are found in the magazine at the time of the capitulation.

Anſwer. The veſſels and boats are included in this article.

VIII. The ſoldiers ſhall not be plundered, nor ſeparated from their officers.

GRANTED.

IX. The garriſon ſhall be conducted, under a proper eſcort, to the place deſtined for their reception; the General ſhall expreſsly recommend to this eſcort to hinder the ſavages from approaching and inſulting any perſons belonging to the garriſon, and ſhall prevent their being pillaged by them, when they quit their arms for embarkation; and the ſame care is to be taken on every part of the route where ſavages may be met with.

GRANTED.

X. An

X. An exact list shall be made of the names and surnames of the different troops, as well regulars as militia, and all others who are employed in his Most Christian Majesty's service; and all those who are so employed, shall be treated in the same manner as the rest of the garrison. 1759.

GRANTED in the first article.

XI. All the savages, of whatsoever nation they be, who are found in the garrison, shall be protected from insult, and be allowed to go where they please.

GRANTED; but it will be advisable for them to depart as privately as possible.

These articles being accepted, the General of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall be put in possession of a gate of the fort; but this cannot be done until to-morrow at seven o'clock in the morning.

Niagara,
25th July, 1759.

POUCHOT, Captain in the regiment of Bearne.

WM. JOHNSON

The next day, accordingly, the garrison, which consisted of about six hundred men, marched to the side of the lake, with the honours of war; and there laid down their arms, and embarked on board the vessels provided to transport them, by the nearest route, to New-York, agreeable to the capitulation. The French ladies, and other French women who had followed their army, were, at their own request, conducted to Montreal.

Though this siege was severe, it was not attended with any considerable loss, except that of Brigadier Prideaux and

1759. Colonel Johnſon of the Provincials. When the command devolved on Sir William Johnſon, he purſued the late Brigadier's vigorous meaſures; and, as his adopting them ſo readily did great honour to his modeſty, ſo the happy event contributed equally to diſplay his good ſenſe and ſound judgment.

This moſt important poſt of Niagara, the ſtrongeſt the French poſſeſſed in this part of America, being now in the hands of the Engliſh, there was no room to fear any great reſiſtance from the forts of Preſque-Iſle, Venango, and le Bœuf; eſpecially conſidering how much their garriſons muſt have been weakened by the draughts made from them to aſſiſt the French army in their late unſucceſsful attack of the 24th. Accordingly, Colonel Bouquet, who was detached from Brigadier Stanwix's army, for that purpoſe, had ſcarce any thing to do, but appear before them, to oblige the French to ſurrender.

We muſt now for a moment, return to Colonel Haldimand, who, as we have already mentioned, had been left at Oſwego by Brigadier Prideaux. In the forenoon of the 5th of July, whilſt he was executing the orders left him by the Brigadier, the Indian howl was heard, and word was brought by ſome ſcouts he had ſent out upon the lake, that they had diſcovered about one hundred boats. Between eleven and twelve, ſome Indians and Canadians appeared round the place by land, and made a ſhew of attacking two redoubts, which he had thrown up to ſtrengthen it; but he ſoon drove them off, into the woods. From thence, however, they continued to fire till ſun-ſet; but kept quiet all night. In the mean time a deſerter of the French *corps de marine* came

in,

in, and gave intelligence, that M. de la Corne commanded the party, consisting of about three hundred of the *corps de marine*, thirteen hundred Canadians, and one hundred and fifty Indians; and that la Corne had hopes of surprising the post: that the Abbé Piquet marched at the head of these troops till they began the attack, encouraging them, from the prospect of plunder they were to get, to give no quarter. The night, however, passed without any alarm. At day-break, the Indians made their appearance again; and, by half an hour after seven, most of them marched to the left of the English, as if they intended to attack the intrenchment: but two pieces of cannon, loaded with grape, seconded by the musketry, drove them back again very speedily. They, then, no less than three times, endeavoured to set fire to the boats; but all to no purpose. In these several attacks, the English had two men killed; and Captain Sowers, the Engineer, Lieutenant Otter of the Royal Americans, and eleven private, wounded. The French buried their dead; and took off their wounded; as appeared by the blood which could be traced to the batteaus. But the number was soon known by six deserters of the *corps de marine*, all Germans. By their report, an officer of the *corps de marine* was killed; the Commandant of *la Gallette*, another officer, and about twenty private men, were wounded. M. de la Corne got as little honour as intelligence by this attack; for he neither made a prisoner, or got a scalp, though the deserters declared that he offered a thousand livres for one. 1759.

As to the Abbé Piquet, who distinguished himself so much by his brutal zeal, as he did not expose himself to any danger, he received no injury; and he yet lives, justly despised to such a degree by every one who knows any thing of his past conduct.

1759. conduct in America, that scarce any officer will admit him to his table. However repugnant it must be to every idea of honour and humanity, not to give quarter to an enemy when subdued; it must be infinitely more so, not to spare women and children. Yet such had often been the objects of the Abbé Piquet's cruel advice, enforced by the most barbarous examples, especially in the English settlements on the back of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

We have still to relate the proceedings of Brigadier Stanwix, as part of the plan of operations immediately under the direction of the Commander in chief. He was ordered to Fort-Pitt, with a battalion of Royal Americans commanded by Colonel Bouquet, three battalions of Provincials, and some Indians, to attack the forts Venango, le Bœuf, and Presque-Isle; and likewise receive the submission of the Indians inhabiting that part of the country. He reached Fort-Pitt without any obstruction; and detached Colonel Bouquet to possess himself of the above posts, which he did without any great difficulty; the greater part of their garrisons, as we have already observed, having been detached with a view of raising the siege of Niagara; and, unfortunately for them, fallen in that attempt.

The Brigadier put Fort-Pitt and Fort-Ligonier into a good state of defence; and having attached some Indians to the interest of the English, returned to his former post. Venango and le Bœuf were well garrisoned, and likewise Presque-Isle. Detroit was the only fort of any consequence which the French still retained upon the Lake-Erie, and its garrison were exposed to the perpetual danger of perishing; as every communication, by which they could receive provisions, was entirely destroyed by the reduction of the above forts.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK VI.

Expedition against Quebec.——Forces employed in it.——Previous dispositions to insure success.——The English troops land on the island of Orleans, in the river St. Lawrence.——General Wolfe's manifesto.——Strength of the French.——An attempt made by them to destroy the English fleet by fire-ships——defeated.——A sally made by them to destroy the first works of the English——repulsed.——The English prepare to attack the French troops covering the town.——The French again attempt to destroy the English fleet by fire-rafts.——The English attack the French——are repulsed.——Orders issued by General Wolfe.——General Wolfe falls sick.——His letter, on the occasion, to the Brigadiers——and their answer.——Battle of Quebec——General Wolfe and M. de Montcalm killed.——The town invested——capitulates——the articles.——Reflections on the foregoing events.——Honours paid the conquerors by their King and country——and to M. de Montcalm by the French army.——The Cherokees ravage the frontiers of South-Carolina——are compelled to make a peace, by Mr. Lyttelton, governor of that province.——Articles of the peace.

WE shall now proceed to give a detail of the campaign against Quebec, the success of which, in some measure, depended upon the operations of General Amherst, either by 1759.

1759. his engaging the attention of a great part of the forces that might otherwiſe be employed to defend that place, or by his penetrating to the aſſiſtance of General Wolfe, who was to attack it. In the courſe of this expedition, we ſhall have occaſion to admire the moſt undaunted reſolution combined with the calmeſt perſeverance, amidſt an unuſual variety of oppoſition, ariſing from the peculiar ſituation of the country, and the great abilities of M. de Montcalm, who was charged with tis defence.

About the middle of February, a conſiderable ſquadron [illegible]d from England to Louiſbourg, where the fleet and the troops deſigned for the expedition up the river St. Lawrence were to rendezvous; and arrived off that place on the 21ſt of April. But the harbour was ſtill ſo blocked up with ice, that there was no entering it. The ſquadron, therefore, of which Admiral Saunders was commander in chief, aſſiſted by Admirals Durell and Holmes, ſteered for Halifax in Nova-Scotia; where being arrived, the whole fleet at that place conſiſted of the following ſhips of the line:

Names.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Neptune -	90	Admiral Saunders
Princeſs Amelia	80	Durell
Dublin - -	74	Holmes
Royal William	84	Captain Pigot
Shrewſbury	74	Palliſer
Northumberland	70	Lord Colville
Orford - -	64	Spry
Somerſet -	68	Hughes
Vanguard -	74	Swanton

Terrible

Names.	Guns.	Commanders.	1759.
The Terrible - -	64	Captain Collins	
Trident - -	64	Legge	
Alcide - -	64	Douglaſs	
Devonſhire -	74	Gordon	
Captain - -	70	Amherſt	
Stirling-caſtle	64	Everet	
Prince of Orange	60	Wallis	
Medway -	60	Proby	
Pembroke -	60	Wheelock	
Bedford -	68	Fowkes	
Centurion -	60	Mantle	
Sutherland -	50	Rouſe	
Prince Frederick	64	Booth	

Theſe capital ſhips were accompanied by an equal number of frigates, and ſmall armed veſſels.

The land-forces on this ſervice conſiſted of

The fifteenth regiment	- -	Amherſt's
twenty-eighth	- - -	Bragg's
thirty-fifth	- - -	Otway's
forty-third	- - -	Kennedy's
forty-ſeventh	- - -	Laſcelles's
forty-eighth	- - -	Webb's
fifty-eighth	- - - -	Anſtruther's
ſeventy-eighth	- - -	Fraſer's
Royal Americans	ſecond battalion	Monckton's
	third battalion	Lawrence's

1759. Three companies of rangers; a detachment of the Royal Artillery; and a brigade of engineers.

The whole commanded by Major-General James Wolfe.

The other general and ſtaff officers of the army were as follows:

The Honourable Colonels { Monckton, Townſhend, Murray } Brigadiers-General.

Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, Quarter-Maſter-General.
Captains Caldwell and Leſlie, aſſiſtants to the Quarter-Maſter-General.
Major Barré, Adjutant-General; and
Major Mackeller, Chief Engineer.

The regiments were formed into three brigades:

First brigade. Brigadier Monckton.
Fifteenth
Forty-third
Forty-eighth
Seventy-eighth

Second brigade. Brigadier Townſhend.
Twenty-eighth
Forty-ſeventh
Second battalion of the ſixtieth

Third brigade. Brigadier Murray.
Thirty-fifth
Fifty-eighth
Third battalion of the ſixtieth

The

The grenadiers of the army were formed into a corps, under the command of Colonel Carleton; a detachment, called the *Louiſbourg Grenadiers*, were to receive their orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Murray; the honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Howe had a detachment of light infantry under his command; and Major Dalling, another corps of the ſame troops. Major Scott headed the rangers. 1759.

Before Admiral Saunders left England, he had received intelligence, that the French would endeavour to throw into Quebec a reinforcement of troops, ammunition, and other ſtores. He therefore ordered Admiral Durell, with a ſmall ſquadron, to ſail up the river St. Lawrence, and intercept any ſupplies intended for Quebec. Admiral Durell picked up two ſtore-ſhips; but ſeventeen had arrived too ſoon for him, with recruits, proviſions, and military ſtores, under the convoy of three frigates.

From Halifax, Admiral Saunders proceeded to Louiſbourg, as ſoon as the ice would permit him to enter that harbour. Here, in conjunction with the General, he made ſuch diſpoſitions as were neceſſary for the proſecution of the intended enterprize againſt Quebec. Every poſſible precaution was taken by the Admiral to prevent any accidents that might happen to his ſhips in their progreſs up the river of St. Lawrence; the navigation of which the French had artfully repreſented as very dangerous. But had it been really ſo, the wiſe precautions of the Admiral, by poſting veſſels near every place there was any reaſon to ſuppoſe dangerous, would have procured ſafety to the fleet, as long as his order of ſailing ſhould be obſerved.

Though

1759. Though the ſhips began to ſail out of Louiſbourg harbour the 1ſt of June, it was the 6th before they had all cleared it. The Admiral then ſteered for Quebec; and on the 26th, arrived without the leaſt accident off the iſland of Orleans, where the troops were landed the next day. This iſland is ſituated a little below Quebec. It is fertile, and well cultivated, and produces great plenty of grain. Immediately after the troops were landed, there came on a very heavy gale of wind, by which many anchors and ſmall boats were loſt, and the tranſports ſuſtained much damage, by driving the one againſt the other.

On the 28th, General Wolfe publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth, "That the King his maſter, juſtly exaſperated againſt the French Monarch, had equipped a large armament to reduce the moſt conſiderable French ſettlements in America; but that it was not on the induſtrious peaſants, their wives, and children, nor againſt the miniſters of religion, that he intended to make war; on the contrary, he lamented the miſery to which they muſt be expoſed by the quarrel, and, therefore, he offered them his protection, and promiſed to maintain them in the enjoyment of their temporal poſſeſſions, as well as in the free exerciſe of their religion; provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. That, as the Engliſh were maſters of the river St. Lawrence, ſo as to be able to intercept all ſuccours from Europe; and as they had beſides a powerful army, under the command of General Amherſt, the reſolution which they ought on this occaſion to take, was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmoſt exertion of their valour would be uſeleſs, and ſerve only to deprive them of the advantages, which they might reap from their neutrality. He then mentioned the

cruelties exercised by the French, which he said would authorise the most severe reprisals; but that Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war; and left to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct; expressing his hopes that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favourable terms, to adopt violent measures. He concluded, by representing to them the power, as well as the generosity of Great Britain, who thus stretched out the hand of humanity, and offered her assistance, when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture." 1759.

This declaration had no effect. Every peasant exerted his utmost endeavours to be useful to his country. They either served in the army, or furnished it with provisions. Not content with this, they committed the most cruel hostilities, by scalping all those who fell in their way. General Wolfe exerted himself to put a stop to this inhuman practice, by representing these cruelties to M. de Montcalm, as contrary to the rules of war observed by all civilized nations. But the French General's authority was not sufficient to bridle the bloody disposition of the savages; and General Wolfe, in order to intimidate them, was obliged to connive at some irregularities by way of retaliation.

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, had greatly added to the natural strength of the country, by intrenching every accessible place; and seemed to put more confidence in his situation than in the number of his troops, though superior to that of the invaders. He had, likewise, thrown into

Quebec

1759. Quebec five battalions of regulars, completed from the beſt inhabitants of the country. Some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian able to bear arms, with ſeveral nations of ſavages, had taken the field, in a very advantageous ſituation; and encamped, along the ſhore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci.

The Admiral having conceived ſome ſuſpicion, that the enemy had artillery and a force upon the point of Levi; he communicated it to the General, who, thereupon, detached Brigadier Monckton, with four battalions, to drive them from thence. With this view, the Brigadier paſſed the river on the 29th at night; and marching next day to the Point, obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that poſt, after ſkirmiſhing a little with the Canadians and the Indians, without any material loſs. But the Brigadier found no cannon or batteries, as was ſuppoſed to be erected on this ſpot. Colonel Carleton marched, alſo, with a detachment to the weſtermoſt part of the iſle of Orleans, from whence there was ſome reaſon to think the operations would commence.

On the Point of Levi were now erected, though not without great difficulty, batteries of mortars and cannon, to fire the magazines, demoliſh the works, and ſilence the batteries of the town. It was incumbent on the Engliſh to make themſelves maſters of, and fortify theſe two Points, were it only becauſe the French, from either one or the other of them, could eaſily render it impoſſible for any ſhip to lie in the baſon of Quebec, or even within two miles of it.

M. de Montcalm, well aware of the advantage which theſe works would give to the Engliſh, by the time he judged they

were in ſome forwardneſs, ordered ſixteen hundred men to croſs the river and deſtroy them. But this detachment fell into diſorder, fired upon each other, and made a precipitate retreat; which, in all appearance, however, prevented their being entirely cut off. Theſe batteries were not long finiſhed, when they juſtified M. de Montcalm's fears; they did conſiderable damage to the upper town, though the fire was acroſs the river. As to the lower town, it was entirely deſtroyed by them. 1759.

In the mean time the fleet had been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. The enemy, judging that the ſtorm on the 28th muſt create great confuſion, prepared ſeven fire-ſhips to take advantage of it; and at midnight ſent them down from Quebec among the tranſports. But this ſcheme, though well contrived, was intirely defeated by the ſeaſonable orders of the Admiral, and the boldneſs and dexterity of the ſeamen, who towed the fire-ſhips a-ground, where they burnt to the water's edge, without doing the leaſt injury to any part of the ſquadron.

The works, for the ſecurity of the hoſpitals and ſtores on the iſland of Orleans, being now finiſhed, the army, in the night of the 9th of July, paſſed the north channel; and encamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorency lying between them. The next morning Danks's company of Rangers, who were poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen, were attacked and entirely defeated by a body of Indians; who, however, ſuffered conſiderably in this affair, and were, in their turn, repulſed by the neareſt troops.

The General had conceived ſome hopes of engaging M. de Montcalm upon more equal terms than thoſe of directly attacking him in his intrenchments; for the ground to the eaſtward of

1759. the Falls ſeemed to him to be, as it really is, higher than that on the enemy's ſide; and from thence he thought ſome advantage might be derived. There is alſo a ford below the Falls, which may be paſſed, for ſome hours, in the latter part of the ebb, and the beginning of the flood tide; and there was ſome reaſon to believe, that other means might be found to paſs the river above the Falls. But though, in reconnoitring the river, a ford was diſcovered about three miles up, the oppoſite bank was ſo ſteep and woody, and ſo well intrenched, that any attempt to paſs at that place muſt have proved ineffectual. The detachment ſent to reconnoitre it, was twice attacked by the Indians, but they were eaſily repulſed. Theſe rencounters, however, loſt the Engliſh forty private men, beſides ſome officers killed and wounded.

The General now determined to reconnoitre the country above the town. For this purpoſe, on the 18th of July, the Admiral ordered two men of war, two armed ſloops, and two tranſports, which had ſome troops on board, to run up the river; theſe paſſed by the town, and got into the upper river without any loſs, except that of the Diana, who ran aſhore upon the rocks of Point-Levi: but here the enemy had uſed the ſame precautions as in the lower, and the difficulties occaſioned by them were greatly increaſed by that of communicating with the flats, and by the nature of the ground. But the moſt forbidding circumſtance was, a well grounded apprehenſion that, if the General ſhould attempt a landing between the town and Cape-Rouge, the body firſt landed would be attacked by the enemy's whole army, before any more troops could be put aſhore to ſupport it.

Theſe mighty obſtacles, however, were not ſufficient to deter the General from forming a plan for landing at St. Mi-

chael's, about three miles above the town. But having discovered that the enemy, jealous of the design, had actually brought artillery and a mortar to play upon the shipping, and judging that, as it must be many hours before they could be attacked by his troops, even supposing that a favourable night should carry the boats unhurt beyond the reach of the town, he dropt the design as rather too hazardous. However, to divide the enemy's force, draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and at the same time procure some intelligence, he ordered Colonel Carleton, with a detachment, to land at the *Point-aux-Trembles*, to attack whatever he might find there, and bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers that he could; for information had been received, that several of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place; and this was a circumstance which rendered it not improbable, that a magazine of provisions had been formed there. 1759.

Colonel Carleton was fired upon by a party of Indians the moment he landed; but he soon dispersed, and drove them into the woods. He then searched for magazines; but all to no purpose. However he brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

The General now came to Montmorency, where Brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the banks of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade the English camp.

But as General Wolfe had not yet been fortunate enough to discover any spot where the difficulties were less, he resolved, at all events, to seize the first opportunity which presented itself of attacking the enemy, however advantageously they might be posted, and how well soever they might be prepared to receive him.

1759. The men of war could not get near enough to the enemy's trenches to annoy them, for want of a sufficient depth of water. The Admiral, therefore, prepared two transports that drew but little, to be run a-ground, if occasion required it, and thereby favour the descent. With the assistance of these vessels, which the General understood would be carried in close to the shore, he proposed to make himself master of a detached redoubt, close to the water's edge, which appeared to be out of musket-shot of the intrenchment upon the hill. If the enemy offered to support this work, it would bring on what he most wanted, an engagement; and if it did not, it would at least afford the means of discovering their situation, with sufficient precision to determine where it was most eligible to attack them.

Whilst preparations were accordingly making for an engagement, on the 28th of July, at midnight, the French sent down a raft of fire stages, consisting of near an hundred radeaux, which succeeded no better than the fire-ships. Things being in readiness for the service in agitation, on the last day of July, in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade, from the Point of Levi. The two brigades, under the Brigadiers Murray and Townshend, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought necessary; and the Admiral placed the Centurion in the channel, in order to facilitate their passage by checking the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford. This was a happy thought; her fire being extremely well directed, answered every purpose that could be expected from it. A numerous train of artillery was besides placed on the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's intrenchments. The two transports were then run

run a-ground; and that which was farthest upon the shore, afforded the General an opportunity of observing, that the redoubt was too much commanded, to be kept without very great loss. For the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover it, as was at first supposed, with their artillery and musketry at the same time. 1759.

These previous measures, however, having thrown the enemy into some confusion, the General, who was prepared for an action, thought it no bad opportunity to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. He therefore sent orders to the brigadiers-general, to be ready with the corps under their command; Brigadier Monckton to land, and the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford.

At a proper time of the tide, the signal was made for this purpose; but many of the boats, in rowing towards the shore, grounded on a ridge of rocks, that ran out a considerable distance into the river. This accident caused some disorder, and so much loss of time, that the General was obliged to stop the march of Brigadier Townshend's brigade, which he perceived to be in motion. During the time it took the seamen to get off the boats, the enemy fired a vast number of shot and shells; but they did little damage. The grounded boats being set afloat, the whole were soon ranged in a proper manner; and some of the navy-officers accompanied the General to discover a better place to land at. They took with them a flat-bottomed boat to make the experiment; and as soon as they had found what they wanted, the General ordered the troops to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the second battalion of the Royal Americans, got first on shore. The grenadiers

1759. grenadiers had orders to form themſelves into four diſtinct bodies, and to begin the attack, ſupported by Brigadier Monckton's corps, as ſoon as the troops ſhould have paſſed the ford, and were near enough to aſſiſt them. But, whether from the noiſe and hurry of landing, or from ſome other cauſe, the grenadiers, inſtead of forming themſelves as they were directed, ran on impetuouſly towards the enemy's intrenchments, in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, without waiting for the corps which was to ſupport them, and join in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not yet landed; and Brigadier Townſhend was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance from them, though upon his march to join them in very good order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's firſt fire, and were obliged to ſhelter themſelves in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned at their approach. In this ſituation they continued ſome time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire; and many gallant officers, careleſs of their perſons, having been wounded, it became neceſſary to call them off, that they might form behind Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order.

By this new accident, and the ſecond delay occaſioned thereby, it was near night before any more could be done; and then a ſudden ſtorm came on, and the tide began to make; ſo that the General thought it moſt adviſable not to perſevere in ſo difficult an attack; particularly as, in caſe of a repulſe, the retreat of Brigadier Townſhend's corps might become hazardous and uncertain.

The artillery had great effect upon the enemy's left, which Brigadiers Townſhend and Murray were to have attacked; and it is very probable, that, had it not been for the above accidents, the Engliſh would have penetrated there; and their

their left and center being more remote from their artillery, would have borne all the violence of the French musketry. 1759.

The enemy made no attempt to interrupt this retreat. But the savages, agreeable to their custom, came down, and murdered such of the wounded as could not be got off, and scalped the dead. Among the wounded who escaped their cruel hands, was Lieutenant Peyton of the Royal Americans; whose case, for the singularity of it, deserves to be particularly mentioned. Being providentially provided with a double-barrelled fusil, though not able to stir from the spot where he lay, he killed two of the savages as they were advancing to execute their horrid purpose; and, before others could come up, he was taken off the field by a Highlander, and laid down in a boat which was ready to put off.

In this attack the English had upwards of four hundred killed and wounded. Amongst the former, were two captains and two lieutenants; and, amongst the latter, Colonel Burton, six captains, and twenty-two subalterns. The two transports that had been run ashore, were ordered to be burnt, to prevent their becoming a prize to the enemy. The advantages which induced the General to make his attack at this place rather than any other, were, that here artillery could be brought into use; the greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure, at least till a certain time of the tide: advantages which could not be found any where else. But, to balance them, the beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was covered with a deep mud, full of holes, and intersected with many gullies; the hill to be ascended was steep, and not every where practicable; the enemy numerous in their intrenchments, from whence they kept up a heavy fire. The loss, therefore, even had the attack succeeded, must have

1759. have been very great; and, from the ſhelter which the neighbouring woods would have afforded the enemy, theirs would have been very inconſiderable. Beſides, the river of St. Charles was yet to paſs, before the town could be inveſted.

Soldiers, in general, have the honour of their regiment, or the corps in which they ſerve, greatly at heart. The cenſure or praiſe beſtowed on it, has therefore a particular effect on their imaginations; although every individual may not perhaps feel the ſting of reproach, yet, as a body, they ſeldom betray a want of ſenſibility. This no one was better acquainted with than General Wolfe. He, therefore, the next day, iſſued the following order: "The check which the grenadiers met with yeſterday, will, it is hoped, be a leſſon to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unſoldier-like proceedings, deſtroy all order, and put it out of the General's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not ſuppoſe, that they alone could beat the French army; therefore it was neceſſary the corps under Brigadiers Townſhend and Monckton ſhould have time to join them, that the attack might be general. The very firſt fire of the enemy was ſufficient to have repulſed men who had loſt all ſenſe of order and military diſcipline. Amherſt's and the Highland regiment alone, by the ſoldier-like and cool manner in which they formed, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army, if they had ventured to attack them. The loſs, however, is very inconſiderable, and may be eaſily repaired, when a favourable opportunity offers, if the men will ſhew a proper attention to their officers."

Immediately after this check, twelve hundred men, under the command of Brigadier Murray, were detached above the town, to attempt, in conjunction with Admiral Holmes, to deſtroy

ſtroy the French ſhips, if they could be got at, in order to open a communication with General Amherſt. Brigadier Murray was ordered, at the ſame time, to ſeek every favourable opportunity of engaging ſome of the enemy's detachments on tolerable terms; and even uſe all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. The Brigadier, after making two different attempts to land on the north ſhore, without ſucceſs, made a third attempt, unexpectedly, at de Chambaud, where he burnt ſome ſpare clothing belonging to the French troops. 1759.

The enemy's ſhips being ſecured in ſuch a manner as not to be approached, and no other object preſenting itſelf to induce Brigadier Murray's longer ſtay, he returned to the camp with ſome priſoners, who were the firſt to inform the Engliſh of the ſurrender of Niagara. It was likewiſe diſcovered, by intercepted letters, that the enemy had abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, and retired to the Iſle-Aux-Noix; and that General Amherſt was making preparations to paſs the Lake-Champlain to fall on M. Bourlemaque's corps, which conſiſted of three battalions, and as many Canadians as made the whole amount to near three thouſand men.

In the mean time, the General exerted his endeavours to retrieve the loſs he had ſuſtained at Montmorenci, but the bodily fatigues he had endured, increaſed a diſorder with which he had been afflicted even from his firſt leaving England, and this bringing on a fever, he was thereby totally diſabled. He therefore wrote the following letter to the brigadiers:

Major-General Wolfe's Letter to the Brigadiers.

" That the public ſervice may not ſuffer by the General's indiſpoſition, he begs the Brigadiers will meet and conſult together for the public utility and advantage, and conſider of the beſt method to attack the enemy.

1759. " If the French army be attacked and defeated, the General concludes, that the town would immediately surrender; because he does not find they have any provision in the place.

" The General is of opinion, that the army should be attacked in preference to the place, because of the difficulties of penetrating from the lower to the upper town; in which attempt, neither the guns of the shipping, nor of our own batteries, could be of much use.

" There appears to be three methods of attacking the army:

" *First*, In dry weather, a large detachment may march in a day and a night, so as to arrive at Beauport (fording the Montmorenci eight or nine miles up) before day in the morning. It is likely they would be discovered upon this march on both sides of the river.——If such a detachment penetrates to the entrenchments, and the rest of the troops are ready, the consequence is plain.

" *Second*, If the troops encamped here pass the ford with the falling water, and in the night march on directly towards the point of Beauport, the light infantry have a good chance to get up the Woody-hill; trying different places, and moving quick to the right, would soon discover a proper place for the rest. The upper redoubt must be attacked, and kept by a company of grenadiers. Brigadier Monckton must be ready, off the point of Beauport, to land where our people get up the hill; for which signals may be appointed.

" *Third*, All the chosen troops of the army may attack at Beauport at low water. A diversion must be made across the ford an hour before the second attack.

" *N. B.* For the first attack, it is sufficient if the water begins to fall a little before day-light, or about it. For the other two, it will be best to have it low water half an hour before day.

" The

"The General thinks the country ſhould be ruined and deſtroyed as much as can be done conſiſtent with a more capital operation. There are guides in the army for the detachment in queſtion." 1759.

The Brigadiers immediately aſſembled in conſequence of this letter; and having deliberated on it, returned the following anſwer:

Point-Levi, Auguſt 29, 1759.

"Having met this day, in conſequence of General Wolfe's deſire, to conſult together for the public utility and advantage, and to conſider of the beſt method of attacking the enemy, and having read his Majeſty's private inſtructions which the General was pleaſed to communicate to us, and having conſidered ſome propoſitions of his with reſpect to our future operations, we think it our duty to offer our opinion as follows:

"The natural ſtrength of the enemy's ſituation between the rivers St. Charles and Montmorenci, now improved by all the art of their engineers, makes the defeat of their army, if attacked there, very doubtful. The advantage which their eaſy communication along the ſhore, gives over our attack from boats, and by the ford of the river Montmorenci, is evident from late experience; and it appears to us that that part of the army which is propoſed to march through the woods, nine miles up the Montmorenci, to ſurpriſe their camp, is expoſed to certain diſcovery, and conſequently to the diſadvantage of a conſtant wood fight; but allowing that we could get footing on the Beauport ſide, the Marquis de Montcalm will ſtill have it in his power to diſpute the paſſage of the river St. Charles, till the place is ſupplied with proviſions from the ſhips and magazines above, from which it appears they draw their ſubſiſtence.

1759. "We therefore are of opinion, that the moſt probable method of ſtriking an effectual blow, is to bring the troops to the ſouth ſhore, and to carry the operations above the town.

"If we can eſtabliſh ourſelves on the north ſhore, the Marquis de Montcalm muſt fight us on our own terms; we are between him and his proviſion, and between him and the army oppoſing General Amherſt.

"If he gives us battle and we defeat him, Quebec, and probably all Canada, will be our own, which is beyond any advantage we can expect by the Beauport ſide; and ſhould the enemy paſs over the river St. Charles with force ſufficient to oppoſe this operation, we may ſtill, with more eaſe and probability of ſucceſs, execute the General's third propoſition, (which is in our opinion the moſt eligible) or undertake any thing elſe on the Beauport ſhore, neceſſarily weakened by the detachments made to oppoſe us above the town.

(Signed) Brigadiers { MONCKTON. TOWNSHEND. MURRAY."

This plan of operations being approved of by the General, preparations were immediately begun to carry it into execution.

The Admiral and the General had already reconnoitred the town with a view to a general aſſault; but, after conſulting with the chief Engineer, who was well acquainted with its interior part, it appeared, that, though the batteries of the lower town might be eaſily ſilenced by the men of war, the buſineſs of an aſſault could be but little forwarded by ſuch ſucceſs; ſince the few paſſages that lead from the lower to the upper town were carefully intrenched, and that the ſhips muſt be content to receive great damage from the ſhot and bombs of the upper batteries, without making the leaſt impreſſion on them. The enemy beſides, to the uncommon ſtrength of the

  country,

country, had added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats; and as to any thoughts of surprising them, their vigilance, together with the alertness of the Indians, who kept continually hovering round the English army, rendered it impossible. Seldom a day passed, that these savages did not skirmish with the English; and though they were always beaten, yet it was often at a considerable expence. Such an uncommon combination of circumstances, which left nothing but a choice of difficulties, was sufficient to perplex and distress the most able commander. 1759.

In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery there were reimbarked and landed at Point-Levi; and it being likewise determined to carry on the operations above the town, the General, after securing the post there, and at the isle of Orleans, marched with the remainder of the forces from Point-Levi the 5th and 6th of September, and embarked them in transports which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, Admiral Holmes with the ships sailed up the river, in order to amuse the enemy now posted along the north shore. But the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the General thought proper to cantoon half his troops on the south shore, in order to refresh them: in the mean time he was wholly employed in reconnoitring: at length he discovered a small path leading from the river side up a steep precipice, at the summit of which it appeared that the enemy had a post, but by their number of tents, which did not exceed a dozen, it was judged the strength of it could not be more than one hundred men; the General therefore determined, if possible, to land on this spot: preparations were accordingly made for this purpose the day and night preceding the attack, and the Admiral, to engage the attention of the enemy, caused many buoys to be laid, and employed a number of boats in sound-

ing

1759. ing the Beauport coaſt, to create a ſuſpicion that it was intended to land on that ſhore.

On the 13th, at one in the morning, the light infantry commanded by Colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Laſcelles, and Anſtruther, with a detachment of Highlanders and American grenadiers, the whole under the command of Brigadier Monckton, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, about three leagues above the intended landing-place; and, after ſome feints made by the ſhips, under the immediate direction of Admiral Holmes, to draw off the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide: the ſhips followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing-place juſt at the time that had been concerted to cover the landing. The troops landed on the north ſhore, within a league of Cape-Diamond, an hour before day-break. The rapidity of the tide of ebb having carried them a little below the intended place of attack, the light infantry were obliged to ſcramble up a woody precipice in order to ſecure the landing of the reſt of the troops, by diſlodging the men at the before mentioned poſt, which defended the ſmall intrenched path they were to aſcend. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and diſperſed the guard; by which means the reſt of the troops got up, and were formed with very little loſs from the oppoſition of a few Canadians and Indians in the wood. The boats, as faſt as they were emptied, were ſent back for the ſecond embarkation, which was immediately made by Brigadier Townſhend. Brigadier Murray, who had been detached, with Anſtruther's battalion, to attack a four-gun battery on the left, was recalled by the General, who now ſaw the French army croſſing the river St. Charles, and thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the Louiſbourg grenadiers; on the right of theſe again he afterwards brought Otway's; to the left,

were Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lascelles', the Highlanders, and Anstruther's. The right of this body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray. His rear and his left were protected by Colonel Howe's light-infantry; the Colonel being returned from the four-gun battery beforementioned, which had been taken possession of by part of Anstruther's. M. de Montcalm having, as he advanced, discovered an intention to flank the left of the English, Brigadier Townshend was immediately ordered there with General Amherst's battalion, which he formed *en potence*. His numbers were soon after increased by the arrival of the two battalions of Royal Americans. Webb's was drawn up by the General as a reserve, in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The French lined the bushes in their front with fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, and amongst them most of their best marksmen, and by means of them kept up a very galling, though irregular fire, on the whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience and good order; reserving theirs for the main body now advancing. This fire was, however, checked by the front posts of the English, which protected the forming of their line. The right of the enemy was composed of the troops of the colony, the battalions of la Saare, Languedoc, and the remainder of their Canadians and Indians. Their center moved on in a line; but as it advanced, accidentally gained the appearance of a column. It consisted of the battalions of Bearne and Guienne. Their left was formed of the remaining troops of the colony, and the battalion of Royal Rousillon. They brought up two pieces of small artillery. The English had been able to bring up but one gun. But as it was admirably well served, it galled the French troops exceedingly. The attack of the French was very smart and brisk to the right. The English troops reserved their fire till the French came within forty yards of them; and then gave it so heavily, and continued

1759.

1759. tinued it ſo ſmartly, that the French every where gave way. It was now that the General fell, at the head of Bragg's, and Colonel Carleton received a deſperate wound on his head; ſome time after, whilſt the Louiſbourg grenadiers were advancing with their bayonets fixed, Brigadier Monckton was ſhot through the body at the head of Laſcelles'. In the front of the oppoſite battalions fell alſo M. de Montcalm; his ſecond in command was likewiſe wounded, and afterwards died on board an Engliſh ſhip. Part of the French made a ſecond, but faint, attack. Part took to ſome thick copſe-wood, and made ſuch an effectual ſtand, as covered the retreat of the reſt of the French army. At this moment, each particular corps of the Engliſh ſeemed in a manner to rival each other, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, Bragg's and Laſcelles', preſſed on with their bayonets. Brigadier Murray, advancing briſkly with the troops under his command, completed the rout on this ſide. The Highlanders, then, ſupported by Anſtruther's, took to their broad ſwords, and drove part of the French into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the river St. Charles.

The action on the left and in the center of the Engliſh was not ſo ſevere. The houſes into which their light-infantry were thrown, were well defended by them, as they were ſupported by Colonel Howe, who, taking poſt with two companies behind a ſmall copſe, and frequently ſallying upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, and Brigadier Townſhend, by advancing platoons of Amherſt's regiment againſt the front of this body, totally prevented the right wing from executing their firſt intention. Before this, one of the Royal American battalions had been detached to preſerve the communication with the boats, and the other, to occupy the ground which Brigadier Murray's movement had left open. Brigadier Townſhend remained

with

with Amherſt's to maintain this diſpoſition, and keep in awe the right of the French, and a body of their ſavages, who waited ſtill more towards the rear of the Engliſh, oppoſite the poſts of their light infantry, for an opportunity to fall upon it. Things were in this ſituation, when the command in chief devolved on Brigadier Townſhend, who thereupon immediately repaired to the center; and, finding that ſome of the troops were in diſorder, occaſioned by their purſuit of the enemy, formed them again as ſoon as poſſible. A corps of cavalry, light infantry, and grenadiers, commanded by M. de Bougainville, was ſtill drawn up in the rear of the Engliſh army. This corps conſiſted of about two thouſand men, and was intended to march along the ſhore abreaſt with the boats of the Engliſh, to prevent their landing if poſſible; but the current of the river hurried down the boats with ſo much rapidity, that the troops were diſembarked, before the French could arrive. But Brigadier Townſhend did not think it prudent to quit his advantageous ſituation, and riſk the promiſing advantages of the day by ſeeking a freſh enemy, poſted, perhaps, in the very kind of ground he might have wiſhed for, which was woods and ſwamps. The loſs of the Engliſh in this memorable action was fifty-ſeven killed, and ſix hundred and ſeven wounded. The French had near fifteen hundred, chiefly regulars, killed, wounded, and made priſoners; among the priſoners were ſome officers, taken on the field of battle. M. de Montcalm died of his wounds; and the Brigadiers de Seneſergue and de Saint Ours were killed. The French, beſides, loſt one piece of cannon. 1759.

As ſoon as the action was over, Brigadier Townſhend redoubted his camp beyond inſult; made a road up the precipice for the cannon and artillery; conſtructed batteries

 againſt

1759. against the town; and cut off its communication with the country. But, on the 17th, at noon, two or three days before any of these batteries could be ready to play, he received by a flag of truce proposals of capitulation from the Governor, and then sent them back again with his answer, and a message, purporting, That unless he received a satisfactory reply in four hours, he should listen to no farther treaty. Admiral Saunders had, by this time, brought his large ships to bear on the town, as if he intended to attack it. This was another spur to the French to come to some speedy determination: and on the 18th accordingly, the same officer who had brought the Governor's proposals, returned at night with his reply; and the next morning, the commanding officers on both sides signed the following capitulation:

Articles of capitulation required by M. de Ramsey, Commander, for his Most Christian Majesty, in the higher and lower town of Quebec, Knight of the Military Order of St. Lewis, from his Excellency the General commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces.

ARTICLE I. M. de Ramsey requires the honours of war for his garrison; and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety, by the shortest road, with its arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or hawitzers, and twelve rounds.

ANSWER; the garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds; and shall be embarked, as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.

II. That

II. That the inhabitants ſhall be maintained in the poſſeſſion of their houſes, goods, effects and privileges. 1759.

GRANTED, provided they lay down their arms.

III. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be moleſted on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town; as they were forced to it, and as it is cuſtomary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to ſerve as militia.

GRANTED.

IV. That the effects belonging to the abſent officers or inhabitants ſhall not be touched.

GRANTED.

V. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houſes, until their condition ſhall be ſettled by a definitive treaty between their Moſt Chriſtian and Britannic Majeſties.

GRANTED.

VI. That the exerciſe of the Catholic and Roman religion ſhall be preſerved; and that ſafe-guards ſhall be granted to the houſes of the clergy, and to the monaſteries, particularly to the biſhop of Quebec; who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his dioceſe, deſires to reſide conſtantly in it, to exerciſe freely, and with that decency which his character and the ſacred myſteries of the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion require, his epiſcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he ſhall think it proper, until the poſſeſſion of Canada ſhall have been decided by a treaty between their Moſt Chriſtian and Britannic Majeſties.

1759. GRANTED, the free exercise of the Roman religion; and safe-guards to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely, with decency, the functions of his office, wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties.

VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof.

GRANTED.

VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties on the sixth of February, 1759.

GRANTED.

IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the English forces, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.

GRANTED.

X. That the commander of the city of Quebec shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general, of the reduction of the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the French ministry, to inform them thereof.

GRANTED.

XI. That

XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or the non execution of any preceding capitulation. 1759.

GRANTED.

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before Quebec, the 18th of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS.
GEORGE TOWNSHEND.
DE RAMSEY.

Agreeable to this capitulation, Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, with three companies of grenadiers, took possession of the upper town; and Captain Palifer, of the navy, with a large body of seamen, of the lower.

In the course of this campaign, Fortune distinguished herself by her usual caprice. If General Wolfe did not happen to be her favourite at the instant of the attack in the neighbourhood of Montmorenci, she amply compensated him when he made good his landing; and he so well knew how to improve her favours, by means of an able disposition, as to insure success: But unhappily, like another Epaminondas, death snatched him from the arms of victory.

A recent event, by the general's manner of communicating it, diffused new spirits amongst his troops. An order appeared the day preceding the action, informing the army, —" That the enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions

1759. provisions in their camp, and a universal discontent amongst the Canadians. The second officer in command is gone to Montreal or to Saint John's, which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony. The troops below are in readiness to join us, and the army will land where the French seem least to think of it. The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, are capable of doing against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry."

In war the most trifling accident may sometimes destroy the best imagined plan. The following circumstance had nearly proved fatal to the General's scheme of landing where he did. In the twilight of the evening preceding the battle, two French deserters, from the regiment of la Sarre, came in; and, being carried on board a ship of war commanded by Captain Smith, then lying near the north shore, gave information, that, that very night, the garrison of Quebec expected a convoy of provisions from M. de Bougainville's detachment, which was higher up the river. These deserters, some time after, perceiving the English boats gliding down the river in the dark, supposed them to be the expected convoy; and on this a noise ensued, which General Wolfe fortunately heard time enough to prevent the resolution which occasioned it: For Captain Smith, not having been informed of the General's intentions, was making preparations to fire into the boats, believing they were the convoy the deserters had been speaking of; and had he done so, would have not only considerably hurt his friends, but sufficiently alarmed the French to frustrate the attempt. Again, the French sentries, posted along the shore, were in expectation

expectation of the convoy; and therefore, when the English boats came near their posts, and properly answered their usual challenge, they suffered them to pass without the least suspicion. 1759.

Thus the great abilities of the English officers, exact discipline of the troops, and courage of both, gave them possession of Quebec.

Though the conquest of Quebec was of the utmost importance to the English, yet the heavy loss they sustained in the death of their commander, greatly abated its value. They lost a general who merits every encomium that is due to quick conception, to steady courage, to unwearied perseverance, to a nobleness of sentiment, and superior abilities. General Wolfe early habituated himself to study, and being perfectly acquainted with the theory of his profession, the practice of it was familiar to him: His genius was of that active kind, that no impediment could prevent the execution of any plan he once had formed: His judgment was conspicuous on every occasion; this begot an implicit confidence in all under his command, but more particularly those who were immediately to execute his orders; hence the alertness of the Brigadiers: And if they were assured that no ill-formed plan would fall to their lot to execute, on the other hand the General was certain of their full exertion of every endeavour to accomplish his orders. The House of Commons therefore voted them their thanks, but addressed his Majesty that he would be pleased to order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of General Wolfe: And it will not be improper here to observe, that the French army petitioned Mr. Pitt for leave

1759. leave to erect a monument, in the principal church at Quebec, to the memory of their late General, M. de Montcalm; to which Mr. Pitt gave his immediate consent, and sent proper instructions to the Governor for that purpose.

In combined expeditions, the capital parts of action must, in general, fall to the share of the land forces; yet, as in this case, it would, without a powerful fleet, have been impossible to succeed, the English admiral and his seamen have an equal claim to praise with the English generals and their troops. The sailors executed their part of the service with an alacrity and resolution peculiar to a body who are by nature the protectors and guardians of their country; and who have enriched it with trophies brought from every quarter of the world. The admirals therefore on this expedition, likewise received the thanks of the House of Commons.

Quebec being garrisoned with seven thousand men, and well victualled, the government of it was entrusted to Brigadier General Murray; and Colonel Burton was appointed Lieutenant Governor. Brigadier Monckton returned to New-York, where he soon recovered of his wound; and Brigadier Townshend embarked, with Admiral Saunders, for England where they both arrived about the beginning of the winter.

The Cherokees, all this while, were continuing to destroy the settlements on the frontiers of South Carolina, not without exercising the most shocking cruelties on the settlers themselves. Governor Lyttleton, therefore, convinced that it was only by an early and vigorous exertion of the force of the province,

vince, that the Indians, committing these ravages, could be brought to reason, determined to march against them as soon as possible. With this view, he applied to the legislature of his province, for the necessary authority and powers to raise and maintain a body of men; and when he had raised them, marched at the head of eight hundred provincials and three hundred regular troops into their country. This quick and spirited proceeding so intimidated the barbarians, that they immediately sent a deputation of their chiefs and head warriors to beg a peace, which the Governor thought proper to grant them by the following treaty. 1759.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship, concluded by his Excellency William Henry Lyttelton, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in chief of his Majesty's Province of South Carolina, with Attakulla-kulla, or the Little Carpenter, Deputy of the whole Cherokee nation, and other Headmen and Warriors thereof, at Fort Prince George; December 26th, 1759.

ARTICLE I. There shall be a firm peace and friendship between all his Majesty's subjects of this province and the nation of Indians called the *Cherokees*, and the said Cherokees shall preserve peace with all his Majesty's subjects whatever.

II. The articles of friendship and commerce, concluded by the lords commissioners for Trade and Plantations with the deputies of the Cherokees, by his Majesty's command, at Whitehall the 7th of September 1730, shall be strictly observed for the time to come.

III. Whereas the Cherokee Indians have, at sundry times and places, since the 19th of November 1758, slain divers of his

1759. Majeſty's good ſubjects of this province, and his Excellency the Governor having demanded that ſatisfaction ſhould be given for the ſame, according to the tenor of the ſaid articles of friendſhip and commerce aforementioned, in conſequence whereof two Cherokee Indians, of the number of thoſe who have been guilty of perpetrating the ſaid murders, have already been delivered up to be put to death, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of as his Excellency the Governor ſhall direct; it is hereby ſtipulated and agreed, that twenty other Cherokee Indians, guilty of the ſaid murders, ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible after the concluſion of this preſent treaty, in like manner be delivered up to ſuch perſons as his Excellency the Governor, or the Commander in Chief of this province for the time being, ſhall appoint to receive them, to be put to death or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, as the ſaid Governor and Commander in Chief ſhall direct.

IV. The Cherokee Indians, whoſe names are herein after mentioned, viz. Chenohé, Ouſanatah, Tallichama, Quarraſatahe Conaſaratah, Kataetoi Otaſſate of Watago, Ouſanoletah of Jore, Kataeleta of Cowetche, Chiſquatulone, Skiaguſta of Sticoe, Tanaeſſe, Wohatche, Wyeyah, Buccah, Chiſtanat, Nicholehe, Tony, Totaiah-hoi, Shallilofki, and Chiſtie, ſhall remain as hoſtages for the due performance of the foregoing articles, in the cuſtody of ſuch perſons as his Excellency the Governor ſhall pleaſe to nominate for that purpoſe; and when any of the Cherokee Indians, guilty of the ſaid murders, ſhall have been delivered up, as is expreſſed in the ſaid articles, an equal number of ſaid hoſtages ſhall forthwith be ſet at liberty.

V. Immediately after the concluſion of the preſent treaty, the licenſed traders from this government, and all perſons em-

ployed by them, ſhall have leave from his Excellency the Governor to return to their reſpective places of abode in the Cherokee country, and to carry on their trade with the Cherokee Indians in the uſual manner, according to law. 1759.

VI. During the continuance of the preſent war between his Moſt Sacred Majeſty and the French King, if any Frenchman ſhall preſume to come into the Cherokee nation, the Cherokees ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours to put him to death, as one of his Majeſty's enemies; or, if taken alive, they ſhall deliver him up to his Excellency the Governor, or the Commander in Chief of this province for the time being, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhall direct; and, if any perſon whatſoever, either white man or Indian, ſhall at any time bring any meſſages from the French into the Cherokee country, or hold any diſcourſes there in favour of the French, or tending to ſet the Engliſh and Cherokees at variance, and interrupt the peace and friendſhip eſtabliſhed by this preſent treaty, the Cherokees ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours to apprehend ſuch perſon or perſons, and detain him or them until they ſhall have given notice thereof to his Excellency the Governor, or to the Commander in Chief for the time being, and have received his directions therein.

Given under my hand and ſeal at Fort-Prince-George, in the province of South Carolina, this 26th of December, 1759, in the thirty-third year of his Majeſty's reign.

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON.

By his Excellency's command,

WILLIAM DRAYTON, Secy.

1759. We, whose names are here under-written, do agree to all and every these articles; and do engage, for ourselves and our nation, that the same shall be well and faithfully performed. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the day and year above-mentioned.

ATTAKULLA-KULLA.
OUCONNOSTOTA.
OTASSITE.
KITAGUSTA.
OCONOCCA.
KILLCANNOHCA.

JOSEPH AXSON, WILLIAM FORSTER, } Sworn Interpreters.

Witness HENRY HYRNE, Adjutant General.

The alacrity of the troops during this march, and the safety with which it was conducted, deserve the highest applause. But what does most honour to the Governor, is the almost incredible shortness of the time in which, withal, it was performed. It was the beginning of October before he could set out for Congrees, about one hundred miles off, to collect the militia; and from thence he had an uninhabited track to march them through, to Keowee, a place in the Cherokee country three hundred miles from Charles-Town, where he obliged the Indians to sue for peace. Yet this truce was to all human appearance happily concluded on the 26th day of the following December.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK VII.

Strength of the French and English in Canada after the reduction of Quebec.——Farther operations of the English.——French vessels pass Quebec.——Preparations of the French to attack Quebec in the winter.——Their first design frustrated——Their preparations to besiege Quebec and those of the English to defend it.——Farther attempts of the French miscarry.——Governor Murray marches out of Quebec.——Battle of Sillery.——French invest Quebec——who retire on the first appearance of English ships.——Governor Murray prepares to join General Amherst before Montreal.——Cherokees guilty of new ravages.——Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery marches against them——kills a great number, and burns Estatoé——offers them peace, which they refuse.——He returns to Charles-Town. ——Cherokees blockade Fort-London.——The garrison capitulates.

THE season being no longer favourable to military operations, the English troops, as we have seen, were ordered into winter-quarters; but General Amherst, in the mean time, formed his plan for the total reduction of Canada, the next campaign. Montreal was now the only place of consequence remaining to the French in that colony; but here they had collected 1759.

1759. collected their whole ſtrength, and here they intended making their laſt efforts: however, it was only to complete that diſgrace, which their too ambitious views deſerved. Againſt this place, therefore, to do the buſineſs at one ſtroke, if poſſible, the General reſolved to direct all his ſtrength, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, by ſending an army againſt it by the Lake-Champlain; conducting another, himſelf, by Oſwego, over the Lake-Ontario, and down the river St. Lawrence; whilſt General Murray led a third, up the ſame river, from Quebec; the three to rendezvous before Montreal, and, jointly, form the attack of that place, or whatever troops might be aſſembled there for its defence.

Although the winter afforded eaſe and repoſe to the generality of the Britiſh forces employed in North America, the garriſon of Quebec had too troubleſome neighbours to enjoy any long ceſſation from labour. The reduction of the city proved to them the commencement of a campaign as ſevere and as extraordinary as any they had yet ſerved. Though the garriſon conſiſted of the 15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, and 78th regiments, and the 2d and 3d battalions of the Royal Americans, with a detachment of artillery, amounting in the whole to between ſeven and eight thouſand men, and the Admiral had left the Race-horſe of 20 guns, and the Porcupine of 18, commanded by the Captains Miller and Macartney, yet great numbers of the men being entirely diſabled by an inveterate ſcurvy, the reſt were extremely haraſſed with every kind of duty.

The Canadians having retired to their habitations, the French army was thereby greatly diminiſhed. Nevertheleſs, it

it ſtill continued much ſuperior to that of the Engliſh, and had many other advantages over them. The French had endured but little fatigue compared with what the Engliſh had ſuffered. They were alſo accuſtomed to the climate, and were beſides warmly lodged. They had proviſions in great abundance, the country being under their command; whilſt, from the ſingular ſituation of the town, every movement of the Engliſh was open to them. Though the Engliſh were in Quebec, they were very far from being well provided with good, or indeed any quarters at firſt; the ſhells and ſhot thrown into it during the ſiege having left very few houſes that could afford them any ſhelter. Beſides, the whole defence of the town conſiſted of ſix baſtions with their courtines, forming a chain from St. Roch to Cape-Diamond; and even theſe baſtions had neither banquette, nor embraſure, nor covered way, nor any other exterior work; and the cannon were ſo much damaged by time as to be utterly uſeleſs.

1759.

The French had taken up their winter-quarters between Jacques-Quartier and Trois-Rivierres; their advanced poſts lay at the Point-Aux-Trembles, St. Auguſtin, and Calvaire. Their patroles frequently advanced to within muſket-ſhot of the Engliſh cattle guard; nay ſeveral detachments of them came up to the very gates of the town, by the aſſiſtance of their peaſants, and even without the knowledge of their late conquerors.

The ſecurity of the garriſon engaged Governor Murray's firſt attention. He ordered eight timber redoubts to be erected without the works of the town, with ramparts, embraſures and banquettes, and ſeven platforms for cannon; and the road.

1759. road leading to the town to be broke up. He likewise caused eleven months provision to be brought, by the soldiers, from the lower to the upper town; and five hundred houses to be repaired for the purpose of lodging the troops comfortably during the cold season.

The garrison being so far secured, the Governor determined to extend his quarters, and take post at St. Foix and Lorette; the first about five, and the other nine miles from Quebec. Accordingly, about the middle of November, Major Hussey took possession of these posts with a considerable detachment; and, as soon as he had established himself, another of seven hundred men was ordered on the same service to St. Augustine, where it carried off the advanced guard of the French, burnt about a dozen houses beyond it, and obliged the inhabitants to take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty. This blow alarmed the natives; but they were soon quieted by a promise, that the damage should be repaid. However, the Governor, at the same time, published a manifesto exhorting all the inhabitants to remain quiet, and strictly forbidding them, on the severest penalties, to assist the enemy, but giving them, withal, the fullest assurances of his utmost protection.

The establishing of posts at St. Foix and Lorette was of the utmost consequence, as thereby the motions of the English were concealed, and an opportunity secured of observing those of the French. The inhabitants of eleven parishes had now submitted themselves, and taken the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty; and were of great advantage to the army, by supplying it to the utmost of their ability with fresh provisions, during the whole winter.

Wood for firing now became an object of consideration. 1759.
When the fleet left Quebec, there was scarce enough remaining to supply the garrison for twenty days, and the winter advanced apace. No less than sixteen thousand cords was necessary for the hospital and the guards in their quarters. A small quantity was cut on the island of Orleans; but the getting it to Quebec was attended with great risk and difficulty, the river being full of floating ice. For this reason, a few days after the post of St. Foix had been established, two hundred men were ordered into the woods of that name to make a sufficient number of hand-sleds for the soldiers to draw their wood upon; and, about the latter end of November, these sleds were distributed to those who were ordered on the wood-cutting service. By these a magazine was formed for every regiment, and then distributed, in equal proportion, to each company. The severity of this duty was almost insupportable, as one fourth of the army was obliged to march ten miles every day while it lasted; and the frost so intense the whole time, that, in despite of every precaution, there scarcely passed a day that many of the men were not frost-bitten. The severity of this service, and the seducing arts of the priests, caused a defection in many of the soldiers; but the making an example of a Frenchman, who had inveigled an English soldier to desert, and of some soldiers, whose intention of deserting had been discovered, put a stop to so criminal and dangerous a practice.

The season was now so far advanced as to leave the French no room to doubt but that the English fleet had quitted the gulph. They therefore, in the night of the 24th of November, sent

1759. down eight or ten veſſels loaded with peltry, in order to paſs Quebec; and although the Engliſh were appriſed of this deſign, and the batteries of the town were prepared to prevent the execution of it, yet they all paſſed uninjured by the many ſhot and ſhells that were diſcharged againſt them. One, indeed, by ſome manœuvre in her working, ran aſhore; and an unfortunate accident happened, in conſequence of it, to Captain Miller of the Race-horſe, his lieutenant, and a number of his men, who, when the French abandoned their veſſel, went and boarded her; but before the French quitted their ſhip, they laid a ſlow match, which communicated with the powder magazine; but this match being diſcovered and extinguiſhed, no other danger was apprehended. Captain Miller, therefore, ordered a light to be ſtruck, to enable them to examine the ſhip; but ſome of the ſparks falling on a quantity of looſe powder that had not been obſerved, blew up the veſſel, and killed moſt of the party, wounding others in a moſt ſhocking manner. Captain Miller and his lieutenant died in a day or two afterwards.

The Governor, being aſſured that many of the merchants had gone to Montreal to purchaſe peltry; and that the ſilver they carried with them for that purpoſe was of no ſmall benefit to the French army, their paper currency being in great diſcredit, and his own military cheſt ſcarce containing money enough for the expences of the garriſon, he iſſued a manifeſto prohibiting a commerce that was ſo prejudicial to the ſervice of the King and his troops; and inviting all true patriots and friends to their country to bring in their caſh, and receive notes from himſelf and Colonel Burton, payable in ſix months, with intereſt at the rate of five *per cent.* In a few

few days after the publication of his manifeſto, the military cheſt was increaſed to eight thouſand pounds ſterling. 1760.

We have obſerved, that the inhabitants of eleven pariſhes had taken the oaths of fidelity to his Britannic Majeſty. In order to add to the proviſions with which they ſupplied Quebec, the Governor detached a party below the town, in order to give the inhabitants of that diſtrict every poſſible encouragement to bring theirs likewiſe to market. This meaſure was attended with the deſired effect; and the affairs of the garriſon might now be ſaid to be in a good way; but that the ſcurvy, which raged amongſt the troops, increaſed from day to day, and carried off great numbers. The French were not ignorant of this circumſtance. They therefore reſolved to attack Quebec in the winter, formed a plan for that purpoſe, and loſt no time in making every neceſſary preparation to carry it into execution. Snow-ſhoes were made, and diſtributed to their ſoldiers, who were withal exerciſed in mounting of walls with ſcaling-ladders. This attack they intended to make in the middle of February; but, notwithſtanding all their precautions to conceal their deſign, by cutting off all communication with Jaques-Cartier, which had hitherto been open to the Canadians, the Engliſh were appriſed of their intentions. The firſt ſtep of the Governor, in conſequence of this intelligence, was to order ſix weeks proviſion to be diſtributed to each regiment, as there were many Canadians in the town ready to attempt the deſtruction of the magazines, if an opportunity ſhould offer. It was likewiſe neceſſary that General Amherſt ſhould be made acquainted with the critical ſituation of the garriſon. The conſideration of the great fatigue, dangers and difficulties with which the conveyance of ſuch

1760. intelligence must be attended, prevented the Governor from exerting his authority to force the commission on any one. But his wishes were no sooner known, than Lieutenant Montresor, an engineer, offered himself for the performance of this necessary duty; and having received the Governor's dispatches the latter end of January, he, in twenty-six days, delivered them to General Amherst, after enduring in his journey every distress that cold, hunger, and so long a march could be attended with.

M. de Levi still persisting in his design to attack the town, M. de Cadet the commissary collected a quantity of flour and cattle for the subsistence of the troops to be employed in the enterprise; and a detachment was ordered to Point-Levi to cover it. Orders were likewise given to the inhabitants of the country to join the above detachment, and assemble for that purpose at the post of Calvaire. The French had been eight days at Point-Levi, when, on the 13th of February, Governor Murray ordered his light infantry, with two hundred men, and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge them; but, at the approach of these troops, the French retired with the greatest precipitation, leaving the principal part of their provisions behind them. The English, notwithstanding, took one officer and eleven soldiers prisoners, and then made a lodgment in the church of St. Joseph. All this while the French in Quebec had suffered greatly for want of proper subsistence; the Governor, therefore, ordered the provision taken on this occasion to be sold to them at a moderate price, and some flour and cattle to be restored to those to whom it belonged. This act of generosity was soon returned by the inhabitants of the adjacent country, bringing into the garrison every kind of fresh provision they could possibly spare.

On the 24th of February, the French aſſembled to retake the poſt of Point-Levi; but Governor Murray, being appriſed of their deſign, ordered ſome battalions with cannon to croſs the river on the ice, and cut off their retreat by the river Etchmin. The 15th regiment, with ſome light infantry, was to endeavour to get on their flanks, and in their rear. The French, ſeeing they were on the point of being ſurrounded, retired ſo precipitately, that, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Engliſh, they eſcaped with the loſs of a few of their rear-guard, who were made priſoners. The conquerors, after this, erected ſome redoubts, and felled a number of trees to ſecure themſelves from any ſudden attack. The inhabitants about ſix miles from Point-Levi, having, notwithſtanding their oath of fidelity, joined with the French army, the Governor, juſtly incenſed at this unprovoked breach of faith, on the 27th of February ordered a detachment to burn all their houſes; but not without publiſhing a manifeſto to make known his reaſons for having recourſe to ſuch meaſures. 1760.

In conſequence of theſe checks, M. de Levi poſtponed any farther attempts on Quebec till the ſpring, when he reſolved to beſiege that town in form: at leaſt his preparations ſeemed to denote ſuch a reſolution. He collected a vaſt number of veſſels and boats, caſt a great quantity of bullets and ſhells, formed a magazine of faſcines and gabions; and, in a word, did all that was neceſſary to carry on a vigorous ſiege. Governor Murray was not idle on his part. He ſtrengthened his works, and prepared for an obſtinate defence. Faſcines and picquets he had already cauſed to be made during the winter, that they might be in readineſs on any emergency, and be uſed, if not otherwiſe

1760. otherwiſe employed, in intrenching the heights of Abraham, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit.

Every day now became more critical than the preceding; there being the greateſt probability that the French army would come down as ſoon as the ice ſhould break up. We have already intimated, that Governor Murray intended to intrench on the heights of Abraham; but it was yet impoſſible, the earth being ſtill too hard frozen for that purpoſe. This circumſtance obliged him to order his light infantry to take poſt at Cape-Rouge, and there fortify themſelves, in order both to prevent the enemy from debarking at that place, and be near enough to them to obſerve their motions. Theſe works were ſcarcely begun, when the river became navigable. Accordingly, the French veſſels came down, and anchored off St. Auguſtine, whilſt their army proceeded by the rout of Lorette, to diſlodge the troops at that poſt, and cut off thoſe of St. Foix and Cape-Rouge. But Major Dalling, who commanded the light infantry at Cape-Rouge, having diſcovered that their advanced guard was within half a league of his poſt, gave notice of it to the governor; and his intelligence was confirmed by a ſerjeant belonging to the French artillery, who, being in a boat, was overſet by the violence of the wind, but had ſcrambled upon a cake of floating ice, and had been carried down on it by the tide, below Quebec, where he was taken up by a boat belonging to one of the Engliſh frigates.

The next day, being the 27th of April, the Governor, with part of his garriſon, marched out to cover the retreat of the troops poſted at St. Foix and Cape-Rouge; and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the French to obſtruct him, he loſt but

but two men in effecting it. The French cantoned themſelves in and about St. Foix. 1760.

Governor Murray now determined to take the field; and, if neceſſary, to hazard a battle. The French were indeed ſuperior to him in numbers; but his troops had already beaten them; and he had a fine train of field-artillery, an article with which they were wholly unprovided. Had he ſhut himſelf up in his walls, he muſt have riſked his whole ſtake on the ſingle chance of defending a wretched fortification. Should the event of a battle prove unfortunate, he could ſtill retreat into the town, hold out to the laſt extremity with the remainder of the garriſon, and perhaps defend the place as long as if he had not given himſelf the chance of an engagement in the open field. Agreeable to this reſolution, on the 28th of April, the Governor, with about three thouſand men, and twenty field pieces, marched out of the city, taking with them ſuch tools as were neceſſary to intrench on the heights of Abraham. His line was formed into three brigades; that on the right, conſiſted of the 15th and 48th regiments, and the ſecond battalion of Royal Americans, commanded by Colonel Burton; and that on the left, of the 28th, 47th, and 78th, under Colonel Fraſer; the 43d and the 58th compoſed the center, headed by Colonel James. The 35th, and the third battalion of the Royal Americans formed a ſecond line. Major Dalling's light infantry covered the right flank; and ſome volunteers and the rangers, the left; the field pieces were poſted where moſt neceſſary, under the direction of Major Godwin; and Mr. Mackeller attended as chief Engineer. This little army being thus drawn up on the heights of Abraham, the Governor went to reconnoitre that of the French. We have already obſerved, that the French army lay

1760. in and near St. Foix. The night having been extremely wet, and the greateſt part of the ſoldiers being uncovered, their arms had received the rain. Accordingly, when General Murray got near enough to make his obſervations, he found them irregularly employed in drawing their wet cartridges, and cleanſing their firelocks. This confuſion afforded an advantage of which the Governor determined to avail himſelf. He therefore immediately returned to his army, gave his orders for battle, and deſcended the heights.

The French beheld this movement with ſurpriſe, but an action was ſtill the fartheſt of any thing from their thoughts. M. de Levi could not believe the Engliſh General would abandon ſuch advantageous ground to give him battle; but when he ſaw the Engliſh colours ſtill advancing, he gave the word "To arms." The men hurried together; but, before they could be formed, two companies of their grenadiers, that had been advanced, by way of a covering party, as far as the entrance of the wood of Sillery, were attacked by the Engliſh light troops conſiſting of volunteers and rangers; and on their retiring, agreeable to their orders, the Engliſh, who took their retreat for a flight, briſkly purſued them; but theſe ſoon received a check by a heavy fire from the French, who had by this time acquired ſome form. In ſhort, they were entirely broken, and diſperſed themſelves along the front of the Engliſh right wing, by which means the cannon, that had hitherto played with ſucceſs, was now rendered entirely uſeleſs. Governor Murray, upon this, immediately ſent them orders to form on the right of the army; but in attempting it, they fell into ſuch confuſion, that they precipitately retired to the rear, and never again returned to the charge. The right flank

flank being now expofed, Major Morris was ordered, with Otway's regiment, to cover it from the attack of a column of the French troops, that had flipt along the efcarpement of St. Roche; and this movement of Major Morris had its defired effect, and reftored order on the right. All this while, the left fuffered greatly. As to the volunteers and the rangers, they were, as we have feen before, entirely defeated. The enemy took advantage of thefe circumftances, and advanced a column to attack the left; on which Governor Murray ordered the regiment of Kennedy from the center, and the third battalion of Royal Americans to fupport it; but they arrived too late. The diforder was now general, and a retreat enfued. Amherft's and Anftruther's fupported each other with great firmnefs; and retreated in fome order. The return of the other regiments refembled a flight more than a retreat, till they got under the cannon of the wooden redoubts. The field train which the Governor had brought with him, became the prize of the victors. In this affair, the Englifh had three hundred killed on the field of battle, and about feven hundred wounded. The lofs of the French was not fo confiderable.

The French followed their blow by intrenching themfelves, and making farther preparations to befiege the town, whilft Governor Murray employed himfelf in the erection of every work that could contribute to its defence. The lofs he fuffered on the 28th had reduced his army to two thoufand two hundred effective men. Six hundred were in the hofpital, moft of them unable to walk without crutches. Yet, in this fituation, they gave their comrades all the affiftance in their power; and that was far from being contemptible. Part,

1760. ſeated on the ramparts, filled ſand-bags; others made cartridges for the cannon. The women exerted themſelves likewiſe: They were indefatigable in taking care of the wounded, and dreſſing their meat for the ſoldiers, now too buſy to do it themſelves. At length the alacrity of the troops had brought the affairs of the garriſon into a very reſpectable ſituation, there being no fewer then one hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts, the greateſt part of them brought from the lower city by the labour of the ſoldiers; and ſo ſucceſsful was the continued fire of this numerous artillery, that the French were forced to deſiſt from an attack they had begun againſt St. John's gate. After all, the only hopes of preſerving the city centered in the arrival of Lord Colville, to whom Governor Murray had ſent an officer with all poſſible diſpatch to inform him of his critical ſituation. At length, on the 9th of May, the apprehenſions of the garriſon began to ſubſide, on the appearance of the Leoſtaffe frigate, commanded by Captain Deane; and brightened into hope on receiving by her the agreeable news of Commodore Swanton's being arrived from Old England, in order to intercept any aſſiſtance that France might attempt to give her army in Canada. On the 11th, the French opened three batteries of cannon, and one of mortars; but their fire was returned with great ſpirit till the 16th, when the happy hour arrived that ſaved Quebec. On this day, the Vanguard, Commodore Swanton, came in ſight, with the Diana. The next day, he paſſed the town, and made a ſignal for the two frigates to attack the veſſels, that had brought down the French artillery, ammunition and ſtores. They accordingly entered upon this ſervice with ſo much celerity, that the enemy ſlipt their cables, and

and made ſail. But the frigates purſued them ſo cloſely, and cannonaded them ſo briſkly, that the whole of them, ſix in number, were ſoon a-ground in different places. Part of their crews, indeed, eſcaped on ſhore. The remainder were made priſoners; and, amongſt them, M. Vauguelin, the commodore.

The arrival of Commodore Swanton was like a ſtroke of thunder to the French. They imagined that he had troops on board his men of war, and that he would land them at the Point-aux-Trembles, and endanger their retreat. They, therefore, raiſed the ſiege with a precipitation ſcarcely to be equalled. They abandoned their camp, thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, ſix mortars, all their ammunition and proviſions, and all the tools and materials they had collected to carry on their approaches. Governor Murray ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to purſue the fugitives as far as Cape-Rouge, and they made ſome priſoners. Thoſe who eſcaped, retired to the other ſide of Jacques-Cartier, to the quarters which they had formerly occupied.

It is impoſſible to expreſs what the garriſon ſuffered during the winter, from the inclemency of the weather, labour without intermiſſion, and a moſt inveterate ſcurvy. Yet there were ſoldiers, whom even the want of pay during the whole of that rigorous ſeaſon of near eight months continuance, could not tempt to deviate from the ſtricteſt obſervation of the moſt minute military duties. During this period, a thouſand died of the ſcurvy; and above two thouſand had been alternately in the hoſpital, ſo that the whole labour fell on about four thouſand men. Quebec being thus happily relieved, by the arrival of Commodore Swanton, General Murray proceeded to obey the orders he had received to join General Amherſt, before Montreal.

 Whilſt

1760. Whilſt the Engliſh were ſtruggling to preſerve a conqueſt of ſo much conſequence, in the manner we have related in the foregoing pages, the Cherokees, notwithſtanding the treaty they had concluded with Governor Lyttelton, their having given up, as we have already ſeen, ſome of the villains who had perpetrated the murders complained of, and even left two-and-twenty of their chiefs as hoſtages for the delivery of the remainder, relapſed into their native barbarity and perfidiouſneſs, if they had ever quitted it. Governor Lyttelton had ſcarce time to get home, when thoſe miſcreants began to ravage, as uſual, ſuch of the back ſettlements of the Engliſh as lay moſt convenient to them for that purpoſe. They firſt fell upon that called Long Canes, where they ſpared neither plantations or buildings, men or cattle, women or children. They, in particular, murdered as many of the Engliſh traders as they found there. Not content with this firſt irruption, they ſoon after made a ſecond, to the amount of about two hundred men, into the ſame wretched country, and ſpread themſelves over that bordering on the forks of the Broad River, where they cut off about forty ſettlers more. They likewiſe made an attack on Fort Ninety-ſix; and, finding it too ſtrong for them, took the rout to Congarees, or Orange County, where, with fire and ſword, they laid every thing waſte before them. But the provinces to which theſe ſettlements belonged were far from beholding theſe exceſſes with their uſual indifference, particularly that of South-Carolina. Governor Lyttelton, on the firſt news of this freſh infraction, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to General Amherſt for inſtructions and a ſpeedy reinforcement of troops; and, in the mean time, the Provincial Aſſembly, at his requeſt, earneſtly ſet about getting ready a force ſufficient to repel and chaſtiſe, with General Amherſt's aſſiſtance, theſe cruel

cruel and treacherous invaders, whenever the Governor's requiſition ſhould arrive for that purpoſe. 1760.

All this while, however, the Indians were following their blow. On the 18th of February, 1760, they aſſembled before Fort Prince George, in order, as it appeared, to ſurpriſe the garriſon. With this view *Ocunnaſto*, the great Warrior of Choté, coming within hearing, deſired to ſpeak to Lieutenant Coytmore, the commanding officer of the Fort, who thereupon went to the bank of the river to meet him, accompanied by Enſign Bell, Mr. Doharty, and an interpreter. The Warrior then informed Mr. Coytmore, that he intended to go down to the Governor on buſineſs of conſequence, and deſired a white man to accompany him as a ſafeguard. His requeſt being granted, he ſaid he would go and catch a horſe for him. This was objected to; but the Warrior made a feint to perſiſt in this offer; and, whilſt he was ſpeaking, he ſwung a bridle, which he held careleſsly in his hand, thrice over his head; when, inſtantly, a volley was diſcharged at Mr. Coytmore and his company from an ambuſcade, where ſome Cherokees were placed, and to whom the ſhaking of the bridle was a ſignal. Mr. Coytmore received a ſhot through the left breaſt, which proved mortal; Mr. Bell was wounded in the leg; and the interpreter in the buttock. Enſign Miln, who was left in the Fort, judging from this treachery that the garriſon was not ſecure, ſhould the hoſtages which the Fort contained be permitted to continue any longer under no reſtraint but that of mere confinement to a room, ordered the ſoldiers to put them in irons. Theſe orders they immediately ſet about executing; but the firſt who attempted to take hold of an Indian, was inſtantly killed with a tomahawk; and another was wounded. This outrage

1760. outrage ſo exaſperated and alarmed the garriſon, that it was thought expedient to put all the hoſtages immediately to death; and it was done accordingly. In the evening ſome Indians appeared again before the Fort, fired two ſignal guns; and, not knowing how the hoſtages had been diſpoſed of, cried out in the Cherokee language, "Fight ſtrong, and you ſhall be aſſiſted." Soon after which the Indians began to fire upon the Fort, and kept doing ſo moſt part of the night, but without effect. This attack was undoubtedly concerted between the hoſtages within, and their friends without, with a view to ſurpriſe and maſſacre the garriſon; for, upon ſearching the apartment in which the hoſtages lay, ſeveral tomahawks were found buried in the ground, which their friends, who had been ſuffered to viſit them, had privately conveyed there. From this circumſtance it appears, that putting the hoſtages to death was a very ſalutary, as well as neceſſary, meaſure, ſince it ſaved the garriſon at that time, and delivered it from any apprehenſions for the time to come.

In the mean time General Amherſt, on receipt of the expreſs ſent him by Governor Lyttelton, detached to his aſſiſtance ſix hundred Highlanders, and an equal number of the Royals, under the command of the Honourable Colonel Montgomery. This party arrived at Charles-Town early in April; and, as ſoon as every thing could be got ready for the purpoſe, the Colonel took the field, and led them to Fort Ninety-ſix, where he arrived on the 26th of May. Two days after, all his forces being now collected, he continued his march againſt the enemy, and, by the 1ſt of June, reached the paſs at Twelve-mile River, which, as it had been ſufficiently reconnoitred the preceding night, the troops got through without oppoſition, and, about eleven in

in the morning, drew up on a rising ground near the river. 1760.
About four in the afternoon the carriages were brought to the camp, having been dragged up rocky banks, and amazing steeps, by the force of hands, as the horses could not do it, they were so much jaded with a march of eighty-four miles without a day's rest.

As Colonel Montgomery had met with no opposition at Twelve-mile River, and his scouts could discover no Indian tracks, he concluded that the enemy knew nothing of his motions. This was a most favourable circumstance to avail himself of: he kept advancing, though the troops that morning had marched forty miles. Having at length halted, a camp was immediately formed upon very advantageous ground; and the Colonel (leaving the tents standing, with one hundred and twenty of the King's troops, a few Provincials, and about twenty Rangers, commanded by Captain Peter Gordon of the Royals, as a guard to the camp, waggons, cattle, &c.) pushed forward, at eight in the evening, with the rest of his troops, through the woods, in order to surprise Estatoé, a great Indian town, about twenty-five miles from the place where he had pitched his camp. When they had marched about sixteen miles, the barking of a dog was heard at some distance, in the front. It seems there lay, about a quarter of a mile out of the road, a few straggling houses, called Little Keowee, of which the guides had neglected to give intelligence. As soon as this circumstance came to be known, to prevent any inconvenience from a discovery, by the Indians of this village, the light infantry company of the Royals were detached to surround and surprise it, and put all the inhabitants to death with their bayonets, except the women and children, who

1760. who were to be made prisoners. The detachment found the Indians encamped near their houses, and rushing on them with their bayonets, made an end of most of those who were without the houses, and all who were within, except the women and children, whom they carried off.

During this affair the main body of the army had proceeded on its march to Estatoé. They found a few houses on the road just deserted. Early in the morning they entered Estatoé itself, which had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. About ten or a dozen Indians, who had not time to escape, were killed. The town, consisting of about two hundred houses, well provided with ammunition, corn, and, in short, all the necessaries of life, was plundered and laid in ashes; and many more of the inhabitants, who had endeavoured to conceal themselves in their houses, perished in the flames. In order to continue the blow, and thereby effectually convince the savages that it was possible to punish their insolence, the Colonel ordered the army to proceed, and every town and house in the lower nation shared the fate of Estatoé. After destroying all that could be destroyed, the army returned to Keowee, and arrived at Fort Prince George on the 1st of June, without halting.

In this expedition about seventy Cherokees were killed, and about forty taken prisoners, including women and children. Those who escaped, were in a most miserable condition, having no method left to subsist nature, but by flying over the mountains. It was, indeed, impossible they should have saved any thing; some of them having had but just time to get out of

of their beds, others left their ſepann warm in their kettles, and even upon their tables. The ſurpriſe in every town was equal; as every where the whole buſineſs was the work of a few hours only. There was at Eſtatoé and Sugar-Town plenty of ammunition, and every where aſtoniſhing magazines of corn, which were all burnt or otherwiſe deſtroyed. The barbarians had not time to ſecure even their moſt portable and valuable effects. The ſoldiers found in their houſes, ſkins, cloaths, wampum, ſome watches, and even money; in ſhort, every thing. Sugar-Town was intended to have been ſaved, and centries were placed for its ſecurity; but the body of a man, whom the ſavages had that very morning put to the torture, made it impoſſible any longer to think of mercy. 1760.

On the part of the Engliſh four ſoldiers were killed, and Lieutenants Marſhal and Hamilton, of the Royal, wounded.

The Indians are of ſuch a diſpoſition, that unleſs they really feel the rod of chaſtiſement, they cannot be prevailed on to believe that we have the power to inflict it; and accordingly, whenever they happened to be attacked by us unprepared, they had recourſe to a treaty of peace, as a ſubterfuge which gave them time to collect themſelves; then, without the leaſt regard to the bonds of public faith, they, on the firſt opportunity, renewed their depredations. Negociation and treaties of peace they deſpiſe; ſo that the only hopes of being able to bring to reaſon their untractable minds, and of making them acknowledge our ſuperiority, and live in friendſhip with us, muſt ariſe from the ſeverity of chaſtiſement: that which they now experienced, operated more ſtrongly to make them enter into articles of accommodation, than all the preſents the province of South-Carolina had in her power to beſtow.

1760. That this correction might make the deeper impreſſion on the Indians in general, and that a peace with the Cherokees in particular might be the more ſpeedily concluded, on ſuch terms as would ſecure their attachment to the Engliſh, Tiftoé and the Old Warrior of Eſtatoé were ſet at liberty to inform their nation, that "though they were in our power, we were ready to give them peace, as they were formerly friends and allies to the white people." An expreſs was likewiſe diſpatched to inform Captain Demere, at Fort-Loudon, of what had happened; and to deſire him to acquaint the Little Carpenter with it, and tell him, that "he might come down, with ſome other headmen, to treat, but it muſt be done in a few days, or he might expect to ſee all the towns in the upper nations in aſhes; but that the Engliſh were willing to give his people peace on his account."

Colonel Montgomery then retired to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian priſoners, and there encamped, to wait the arrival of the headmen to conclude a peace; but the intimations given for that purpoſe having produced little or no effect, the Colonel reſolved to make a ſecond irruption into the middle ſettlements of the Cherokees. To this intent he, on the 24th of June, led the army from Fort Prince George, and continued his march on the 25th and 26th without any interruption. On Friday the 27th, about ſix miles from Etchowee, the firſt town in the middle ſettlements, the advanced party, commanded by Captain Morriſon, diſcovered three Indians, one of whom they took. This man pretended that the middle ſettlements were for peace, and knew nothing of the army's coming up; but Colonel Montgomery, not giving much credit to what he ſaid, marched on with the greateſt

precaution. When they had proceeded about a mile, Captain Morrifon was fired upon, by fome Indians, from a thicket. However, he ftill kept moving on with his party, but was foon obliged to order a retreat, in which he was unfortunately killed. Colonel Montgomery, on hearing the fire, ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to advance. This detachment, though it was informed, on coming up with Captain Morrifon's party, that five hundred of the enemy lay in ambufh, marched on notwithftanding, braving a fire which annoyed them, without feeing the enemy who gave it. At length, coming to a rifing ground, they difcovered a party of Indians, whom they immediately charged, and obliged to retire into a fwamp. Colonel Montgomery then put himfelf at the head of the Royals, and ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Grant to the Highlanders, when the whole moved forward. The Indians ftill continued firing, and the army returned it, but at too great a diftance to do execution; till, having got fomewhat nearer, the enemy thought proper to retire, after a few platoons had been difcharged at them. The army was then ordered into a road leading to the Indian town; a deep river covered its right, and its left was well fecured by fcouts; but the path being narrow, the army was obliged to march in an Indian file. This circumftance being obferved by the Indians, they made a circuit, and came upon the rear of the army, firing frequently, and wounding feveral men; but, on the army's facing about, they retired haftily, dragging their killed and wounded with them by the legs and arms. The front, alfo, received two or three fires, but without any lofs. By the time the army reached Etchowee, the inhabitants were all fled. The troops then encamped on an extenfive plain, furrounded by hills. About five in the afternoon, an exprefs arrived, with

1760.

1760. advice that the piquet and guard left with the provisions were attacked by the Indians; upon which Captain Sinclair was immediately ordered with two hundred men to their assistance; but before he could get to them, they had bravely beaten off the enemy; whereupon he returned that night. On the 28th, about four in the afternoon, a shot was fired from a hill at a small distance from the camp, and followed by vollies from a body of Indians. Upon this, Captain Sutherland was ordered to the river side, with a company, to repulse them; but, being at too great a distance to do execution, he crossed the river, and obliged them to retire, at the expence of two or three men slightly wounded. Several horses being by this time killed, and many wounded, it became impracticable to advance, without leaving the provisions, or the sick and wounded, to the mercy of the savages. The provision could not be sacrificed, as there was no other possible means of subsistence; and there was no probability of being able to execute any farther service, which could be deemed an equivalent for the hazard of losing so many brave fellows, and that by the torture of a cruel and enraged enemy. The Colonel, therefore, ordered a retreat; and carriages were immediately made for the conveyance of such as were not able to bear the fatigue of riding on horseback. About twelve at night the whole army was in motion, and proceeded about twenty-five miles without hearing any thing of the enemy. On the 30th, at assembly-beating, several shot, which could not be drawn, were discharged. Upon this, a party of the Indians, imagining the camp was attacked by some other of their parties, advanced and fired upon the center of the piquet, who were posted at some distance in the woods; but they were soon made sensible of their mistake, and obliged to go off in great haste. The front

front being on their march, before the rear were off their ground, Lieutenant Montgomery, who commanded the flanking party of the front, fell in with about ſixty Indians, which he ſoon diſperſed, killing or wounding ſeveral of them, whom the reſt, however, found means to carry off on horſes. The rear was likewiſe attacked, but the enemy were ſoon beaten off; after theſe rubs, the Colonel continued his march to within nine miles of Fort-Prince-George, where he encamped; and the next day, being July the 1ſt, arrived at that place without any other moleſtation: His loſs in this expedition conſiſted of two captains killed; and one captain, two lieutenants, and one enſign wounded; two ſerjeants killed, and two wounded; fourteen rank and file killed, and fifty-eight wounded. 1760.

Colonel Montgomery returned with his troops to Charles-Town, and there embarked on the 15th of Auguſt, for New-York, where he arrived on the 1ſt of September. Notwithſtanding the labour and fatigue which his men had ſo recently endured, they were immediately ordered to the Mohawk's River: here they were ſcarcely arrived, when it became neceſſary they ſhould return to New-York, and embark for Halifax in Nova-Scotia, which they accordingly did. So that, in the ſpace of a few months, they had to endure, beſides the dangers of war, the extremity of heat and intenſeneſs of cold, during a tedious march, attended with a variety of hard labour, all which the men bore with that unrepining chearfulneſs and implicit obedience to their officers, which juſtly characteriſes the ſoldiers of North-Britain.

The Cherokees, to retaliate the diſtreſs Colonel Montgomery had brought on them, formed, in conſiderable numbers the blockade of Fort-Loudon, a ſmall fortification on the confines

1760. fines of Virginia. And the garrison, being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, Captain Paul Demere, the commandant, summoned the officers to deliberate on their critical situation, when they came to the following resolution:

Fort-Loudon, August 6, 1760.

"The officers being assembled by Captain Paul Demere, to concert proper measures to be pursued in the present distress of the garrison, it being represented, That our provisions are entirely exhausted: That we having subsisted upon horse-flesh, and such supply of hogs and beans, as the Indian women brought us by stealth, without any kind of bread, since the 7th of July, by which means our men are greatly weakened, and must, in a short time, become incapable of doing duty: That the enemy blockade us night and day: That, for two nights past, considerable parties have deserted, and some even have already thrown themselves upon the mercy of the enemy: That the garrison, in general, threaten to abandon us, and betake themselves to the woods: That we have no reason to hope for seasonable relief, having had no intelligence from any British settlement since the 4th day of June: We are, therefore, unanimously of opinion, that it is impracticable to maintain the fort any longer; and that such terms as can be procured from the Indians, consistent with honour, be immediately accepted of, and the fort abandoned: That Captain Stuart go to Chotee to treat with the warriors and headmen, and to procure the best terms he can."

Signed by all the Officers.

A copy of this resolution was immediately sent to Colonel Byrd, at Williamsburgh in Virginia, to be forwarded to Governor Lyttelton, accompanied with the following letter:

Fort

Fort-Loudon, August 8, 1760. 1760.

"This goes by an express to acquaint you, that we have agreed upon articles of capitulation with the Great Warrior, and head-men of the nation; which, considering the great distress we are in, I hope you will approve of. Nothing but the inclination these Indians have for a peace could have saved us; for we should have been obliged to abandon the fort this day, happen what would; and few of us would ever have reached Carolina. To-morrow morning, we set out; and we flatter ourselves the Indians mean us no harm. We shall make all the dispatch that our starved condition will admit of.

"The Indians expect that, immediately upon our arrival at Keowee, the prisoners confined there will be released, all thoughts of farther hostilities laid aside, and an accommodation heartily set about; that a firm peace and well-regulated trade may be established, which, they say, will last for ever. We can discover nothing in their present behaviour, that contradicts this; and hope, at least, that nothing will be undertaken which may endanger us upon the march.

PAUL DEMERE."

Although the troops were in such distressful circumstances, and a capitulation with the Indians the only means of relieving them, they were too sanguine in their hopes of its being observed with such a degree of faith, as they might depend upon for protection. Accordingly, they too soon experienced that they were deceived. They had not marched above fifteen miles from the fort, when they were most treacherously surprised by a large body of Indians; and all the officers, except Captain Stuart, were killed, together with about twenty-five of the

1760. the private men; the reſt were made priſoners, and diſperſed through the nation.

Captain Stuart was ſaved by the interpoſition of Atta-kulla-kulla, the Little Carpenter, who parted with every thing he had for that purpoſe. Indeed, his attachment to the Engliſh was ſuch, that his countrymen never informed him of their treacherous deſigns, leſt he ſhould thwart or counteract them. He now left the reſt of the Indians on pretence of hunting; and conducted Captain Stuart ſafe to a party of Virginians on the Holſton-River, who prevented Fort Ninety-ſix from ſharing the ſame fate with Fort-Loudon; the Indians having thought proper to retire at the approach of this body.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK VIII.

Diversion made by Major Rogers, in Canada, in favour of the garrison of Quebec.——General Amherst proceeds against Montreal.——A French armed vessel taken in the River St. Lawrence.——Fort Levi taken.——Rapids in the River St. Lawrence;——passed by the English army.——Extraordinary clemency of the English to the French inhabitants.——General Amherst arrives before, and invests Montreal; the French army having retired into it.——Letters between the English and French Generals.——The French General capitulates.——The articles.——Favourable impression made by the appearance of two other English armies before Montreal, under Governor Murray from Quebec, and Brigadier Haviland from Crown-Point.——Governor Murray's strength and progress——he is joined by two regiments ordered from Louisbourg——reaches the island of Montreal, and marches up to the town.——Brigadier Haviland's strength and progress.——Major Rogers sent to take possession of the forts in Canada, still in the hands of the French.——Reflections on the conquest of Canada.

IN our last book we mentioned an express being sent by Governor Murray to General Amherst, in consequence of which his Excellency, on the 25th of May, ordered Major 1760.

1760. Rogers, with a detachment of three hundred men, to enter Canada, that thereby the attention of the enemy might be drawn off, so as to prolong the siege of Quebec, till the men of war, expected to its relief, could get up the river St. Lawrence. As the most effectual method of executing this service, Major Rogers was ordered to fall down the Lake Champlain, under convoy of a brig; then, after laying up his boats, to proceed, by land, with two hundred and fifty men, on the west side of the Lake; get to St. John's, if possible, without the knowledge of the enemy; surprise the fort at that place, and destroy the vessels, boats, provisions; in a word, all the stores he might find laid up there for the use of the French troops at the Isle-Aux-Noix. From hence he was to proceed to Fort-Chamblé, on the same business. In short, he was to destroy every magazine he could meet with, and distress the enemy every other way as much as possible, particularly by sending fifty rangers against Wigwam-Martinique. But, as his arrival and operations must soon be known at the Isle-Aux-Noix, he had likewise directions to keep, in his return, on the east side of that island, in order to prevent his retreat being cut off. In the mean time Lieutenant Grant was to continue cruizing in the brig, to be ready to receive the Major on his return. To these orders was added a strong injunction, that neither women nor children should be injured.

On the 4th of June, Major Rogers landed at the place he was ordered, and proceeded on his expedition by land; but, two days after, he was attacked by a party of about three hundred and fifty French, and had sixteen men killed, and ten wounded. The enemy had about forty killed and wounded. After this affair Major Rogers thought proper to return to the Isle de la Motte,

Motte, where Lieutenant Grant was waiting for him in his brig. Here, being joined by the Stockbridge Indian company, he determined, at all events, to ſet forward again and purſue his orders; firſt agreeing with Lieutenant Grant upon the place where the latter ſhould cruize to receive him, and on ſome ſignals, by which he might know him at his arrival there. On the 9th of June the Major landed, about midnight, on the weſt ſhore oppoſite the Iſle de la Motte, and from thence proceeded, as faſt as poſſible, to St. John's; ſo that by the 15th, in the evening, he found himſelf but about two miles from the road that led to it from Montreal: the enemy, however, being too alert to be ſurpriſed, he marched down the river ſide to St. Thereſe, where there was a ſtockaded fort, defenſible againſt ſmall arms only. The French being carting hay, he ſeized the opportunity of a cart's being juſt entering the gate, and ruſhed into the fort before the carriage could be got clear enough of the gateway to let the gate be ſhut. The garriſon, conſiſting of twenty-four ſoldiers, were made priſoners, with ſeventy or eighty inhabitants, women and children included. From the intelligence he gained here, the attack on Fort Chamblé appeared impracticable. This determined the Major to burn the village and the fort, and deſtroy every thing in them that could be uſeful to the enemy. The women and children he ſent to Montreal, with proper paſſes to protect them from any ſcouting party. He then continued his march on the eaſt ſide of Lake Champlain; but, as he was paſſing by Miſſiſquey-Bay, oppoſite to the Iſle-Aux-Noix, his advanced party was attacked by an advanced detachment of the French, whoſe main body being about a mile in their rear, they thought proper to fall back upon it, whilſt the Major ſeized the opportunity of purſuing unmoleſted his march with all poſſible expedition. On the 20th of June he arrived at that

1760.

1760. part of the banks of the lake, oppofite to which Lieutenant Grant was to keep cruizing to receive him; and the lieutenant performed his duty on this occafion, fo much like an officer, particularly by keeping a diligent look-out for the appointed fignals, that the Major and his party were arrived but a few minutes before Lieutenant Grant had them on board, to the great mortification of a large body of French, who immediately after made their appearance. Lieutenant Holmes, who commanded the fifty rangers fent to Wigwam-Martinique, miffed his way by going down a river which falls into the Sorel, inftead of that called Wigwam-Martinique, which empties itfelf into the river St. Lawrence, at Lake Saint Francis.

The neceffary preparations having been made to bring the whole power of the Britifh forces in North-America, againft Montreal, in order to finifh by its reduction the war in that part of the world; and the feafon being fufficiently advanced to enable Sir Jeffery Amherft, the commander in chief, to commence his part of the operations, he embarked at New-York on the 3d of May, and proceeded to Schenectady. From thence, with part of his army, he purfued his rout to Ofwego, where he encamped on the 9th of July. The remainder he ordered to follow with the greateft diligence under the command of Brigadier Gage. On the 14th, two veffels hove in fight on Lake-Ontario, which proving to be thofe that had been fitted out at Niagara, under the command of Captain Loring, boats were immediately difpatched to him with orders to look out for, and attack the French veffels cruizing on the lake. On the 20th, two other veffels appeared, and proving to be the French veffels which had efcaped Captain Loring's vigilance, a fmall boat was immediately difpatched to cruize for

for him, with an account of this discovery: and, at the same time, to prevent his being obliged to return to Oswego for want of provisions, the General ordered Captain Willyamoz, with a detachment of one hundred and thirty men in twelve boats, to take post on the Isle-Aux-Iroquois, and supply Captaing Loring with every thing he might want. On the 22d, Brigadier Gage arrived with the rear of the army; as did Sir William Johnson, on the 23d, with a party of Indians. On the 24th, the General received intelligence, that the French vessels had escaped into the River St. Lawrence, and that Captain Loring was returning with the Onondaga of sixteen, and the Mohawk of eighteen six-pounders. 1760.

On the 5th of August, the General ordered the army, to be in readiness to embark. It now consisted of the following troops.

The first and second battalion of Royal Highlanders,
forty-fourth regiment,
forty-sixth,
fifty-fifth,
fourth battalion of the sixtieth,
Eight companies of the seventy-seventh,
Five of the eightieth,
Five hundred and ninety-seven grenadiers,
Five hundred and ninety-seven light infantry,
One hundred and forty-six rangers,
Three battalions of the New-York regiment,
The New-Jersey regiment,
Four battalions of the Connecticut regiment, and
One hundred and sixty-seven of the Royal Artillery;

amounting, in the whole, to ten thousand one hundred and forty-

1760. forty-two effective men, officers included. The Indians under Sir William Johnson were seven hundred and six.

On the 7th, Captain Loring sailed with his two vessels; and immediately after the first battalion of Royal Highlanders, the grenadiers of the army commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, with Captain Campbell of the forty-second to assist him as major; the light infantry commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst, with Captain Delancy, as major to assist him, with Ogden's and Whyte's companies of rangers; the whole under the command of Colonel Haldiman, embarked and sailed to take post at the entrance of the River St. Lawrence.

On the 10th, the General himself embarked, with the Royal Artillery, the regulars, Sir William Johnson and part of his Indians, in boats and whale-boats; but, the wind being very high, and the water of the lake very rough, they were forced to make for a small creek, at whose entrance there is a very dangerous bar, on which one of the artillery boats was lost. The next day, the weather being a little more moderate, the General, at noon, proceeded for the river de la Motte; and, on the 12th, was joined by Brigadier Gage, with the provincials, in a bay, where the enemy had lately encamped. On the 13th, the whole embarked; and that very day encamped, with Colonel Haldiman, at the post which he had taken at the head of the River St. Lawrence. Captain Loring, with his two vessels, having mistaken the channel from the lake to the River St. Lawrence, the army passed him, whilst he was endeavouring to extricate himself. On the 13th, the whole army gained Point de Barril, in the neighbourhood of the post called la-Gallette, which Brigadier Gage was ordered to destroy the preceding year. Here the enemy had a very good dock,

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in which they built their veſſels. The grenadiers and light infantry, with the row-gallies, took poſt that day, without halting, at Oſwegatchie, a few miles below the Point de Barril. 1760.

All this while, one of the enemy's veſſels kept hovering about the army; and, as Captain Loring had not yet got into the right channel, it became neceſſary, for the ſafety of the army, either to compel this veſſel to retire, or to take her. The General was, therefore, obliged to order Colonel Williamſon, with the row-gallies well manned, to do one or the other. On the 17th, the gallies advanced with the utmoſt intrepidity, under a very heavy fire from the enemy; but it did not in the leaſt damp the ardour of the aſſailants; their fire was returned with ſuch reſolution and bravery, that, after a ſevere conteſt of about four hours, the French veſſel ſtruck her colours. She mounted ten-twelve pounders; and had on board one hundred men, twelve of whom were killed or wounded. Two of Colonel Williamſon's detachment were killed, and three wounded. The General immediately named the veſſel the Williamſon, in honour of the Colonel, and to perpetuate the memory of ſo gallant an action. The ſame day the army proceeded to Oſwegatchie, from whence it was neceſſary to reconnoitre Iſle-Royal, ſo that it was noon the next day before the army could proceed.

Fort-Levi ſtood on this iſland, which was otherwiſe ſtrongly fortified. Though the reduction of Fort-Levi could be of little ſervice, merely as a fort, yet it was, certainly, of too much conſequence to be left in the rear of an army: beſides, the number of pilots, perfectly acquainted with the intricate navigation of the River St. Lawrence, which the making of the garriſon priſoners would afford, was alone a ſufficient motive for

1760. for attacking it. It was, therefore, inveſted that very evening. Whilſt the Engliſh were paſſing the point, the French kept up a very ſmart cannonade on them, and deſtroyed one of the row-gallies, and a few boats, and killed two or three men; but notwithſtanding this fire, and an uninterrupted continuance of it, the fort was ſo completely inveſted by the 20th, by the maſterly diſpoſition of the troops, as to make it impoſſible for the garriſon to eſcape.

Captain Loring had arrived the day before with his two veſſels, and the Williamſon brig; and the batteries being now ready, the General, on the 23d, determined to aſſault the fort, that as little time as poſſible might be waſted on it. He, therefore, ordered the veſſels to fall down the ſtream, poſt themſelves as cloſe to the fort as poſſible, and man their tops well, in order to fire upon the enemy, and prevent their making uſe of their guns; whilſt the grenadiers rowed in with their broad ſwords and tomahawks, faſcines and ſcaling-ladders, under cover of three hundred of the light infantry, who were to fire into the embraſures. The grenadiers received their orders with a chearfulneſs that might be regarded as a ſure omen of ſucceſs; and, with their uſual alacrity, prepared for the attack, waiting in their ſhirts till the ſhips could take their proper ſtations. This the Williamſon brig, commanded by Lieutenant Sinclair, and the Mohawk, by Lieutenant Phipps, ſoon did; and both ſuſtained and returned a very heavy fire. But the Onondaga, in which was Captain Loring, by ſome extraordinary blunder, ran a-ground. The enemy, diſcovering her diſtreſs, plied her with ſuch unceaſing ſhowers of great and ſmall arms, that Captain Loring thought proper to ſtrike his colours, and ſent Thornton, his maſter, on ſhore

ſhore to the enemy, who endeavoured to take poſſeſſion of the veſſel; but by Colonel Williamſon's obſerving it, he turned upon them a battery, which obliged them to deſiſt from the undertaking. The General then ordered Lieutenant Sinclair, from the Williamſon brig, and Lieutenant Pennington, with two detachments of grenadiers under their command, to take poſſeſſion of the Onondaga; and they obeyed their orders with ſuch undaunted reſolution, that the Engliſh colours were again hoiſted on board her. But the veſſel, after all, could not be got off; and was therefore abandoned about midnight. The Engliſh batteries, however, put a ſtop to any future attempt of the enemy to board her. Captain Loring, being wounded, was in the mean time ſent aſhore. This accident of the Onondaga's running a-ground, obliged the General to defer for the preſent his plan of aſſault; but this delay proved rather a fortunate event, as it ſaved a good deal of blood, for on the 25th, M. Pouchot, the commandant, beat a parley, demanding what terms he might expect; to which no other anſwer was returned, than that the fort muſt be immediately delivered up, and the garriſon ſurrender priſoners of war; and but ten minutes were given for a reply. Theſe terms were received within the ten minutes; and Lieutenant-Colonel Maſſey, with the grenadiers, immediately took poſſeſſion of the place. The loſs of the Engliſh before it, was twenty-one men killed, and nineteen wounded. The firſt ſhot from the Engliſh battery killed the French officer of artillery. Eleven more were killed afterwards, and about forty wounded. The garriſon, all to the pilots, for the ſake of whom chiefly the place had been attacked, were ſent to New-York; and the General named the fort, Fort-William-Auguſtus.

On the ſurrender of Fort-Levi, the Indians following the Engliſh army prepared, agreeable to their uſual bloody cuſ-

1760. tom when at war, to enter the fort in order to tomahawk and maſſacre the garriſon. But General Amherſt being appriſed of their intentions, immediately ſent orders to Sir William Johnſon, to perſuade them, if poſſible, to deſiſt; declaring, at the ſame time, that, if they offered to enter the fort, he would compel them to retire. The ſtores he promiſed ſhould be delivered to them, as his army was not in want of what few blankets might be found there. This meſſage had its deſired effect. The Indians, though with great reluctance and apparent ill humour, were prevailed on to return to their camp. However, their reſentment increaſed to ſuch a degree, that Sir William Johnſon informed the General, he was apprehenſive they would quit the army, and return to their reſpective villages and caſtles. The General replied, "That he believed his army fully ſufficient for the ſervice he was going upon, without their aſſiſtance; that, although he wiſhed to preſerve their friendſhip, he could not prevail on himſelf to purchaſe it at the expence of countenancing the horrid barbarities they wanted to perpetrate; and added, that, if they quitted the army, and on their return ſhould commit any acts of cruelty, he would aſſuredly chaſtiſe them." Upon this, moſt of theſe creatures, who amounted to about ſeven hundred, abandoned Sir William Johnſon, and retired to their reſpective villages and caſtles, but without committing the leaſt violence. The faithful few, in number about one hundred and ſeventy, who continued with the army, were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by medals, which the General gave them, that they might be known at the Engliſh poſts, and receive the civil treatment their humanity, and their affection for the Engliſh, entitled them to.

If the French plan of policy had admitted of ſimilar exertions of humanity towards their priſoners, there is no doubt but

but they might thereby have equally prevented the commiſſion of acts, which, even had they conquered, would have been ſufficient to ſully the glory of their greateſt atchievements. 1760.

Till the 30th, the army was employed in levelling the batteries, and repairing boats and rafts for the artillery, which was now embarked with the neceſſary ſtores; and, on the 31ſt, the General, with the firſt diviſion of the army, conſiſting of the artillery, the grenadiers and light infantry, the 44th and 55th regiments, the 4th battalion of Royal Americans, and three regiments of provincials, embarked about noon; and, in the evening, reached the Iſle-Aux-Chats, having paſſed the firſt rapids. On the 1ſt of September, they proceeded about ten miles farther, and encamped. On the 2d, Brigadier Gage, with the other diviſion, joined the General, having loſt three Highlanders in going over the Falls. The whole now proceeded together, entered Lake St. Francis, and that very evening reached Pointe-Aux-Boudets, where, the weather being extremely bad, the General halted. On the 3d, a priſoner was brought in, who gave intelligence, that Colonel Haviland had taken poſſeſſion of the Iſle-Aux-Noix, the enemy having abandoned it at his approach.

The navigation of the River St. Lawrence is, in this place, perhaps, the moſt intricate and dangerous of any actually uſed in North America, without the aſſiſtance of pilots accuſtomed to the force and direction of its various eddies. Though the French had been conſtantly going up and down this river ever ſince their poſſeſſion of Canada, General Amherſt's attempt to navigate it in the manner he did, was judged impracticable. No doubt, the route by Lake-George and Lake-Champlain

1760. might have been the eaſieſt to penetrate by into Canada; but this by the Mohawk-River, Oſwego, and the River St. Lawrence, opened a paſſage, which had as yet been unexplored by the Engliſh, and effectually deprived the French of the opportunity of carrying on the war another campaign, by retreating to their unconquered poſts at Detroit, and elſewhere to the ſouth. Thoſe who declared the river impracticable to the Engliſh, grounded their opinion on the unſucceſsfulneſs of the attempt made on La Galette the preceding year by General Gage; not conſidering the difference between a feeble irreſolute effort, and a ſtrong determined ſtroke. The pilots taken at Fort-Levi contributed much to the ſafety of the army in this navigation; or, if it could have been equally ſafe without their aſſiſtance, it would have been much more tedious. The chief art in getting through theſe rapids with a number of boats, conſiſts in the making them keep a proper diſtance. Without the greateſt attention to this precaution, the lives of thoſe who paſs the Cedar-Falls eſpecially, muſt be in the utmoſt danger.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the appearance of broken rocks and inacceſſible iſlands, interſperſed in the current of a rapid river, and the foaming ſurges rebounding from them, without a direct channel to diſcharge itſelf by, preſents a ſcene of horror unknown in Europe; yet the mind, by degrees, ſoon loſes the ſenſation of terror, and becomes free enough to direct the actions of the body.

On the 4th of September, the General put the army in motion, and it ſoon cleared the Lake St. Francis, and entered a country lately well inhabited, but now a mere deſert. About noon the van of the army entered the Cedar-Falls. This, as

we have already hinted, is by far the moſt dangerous part of the whole river, and had the boats crowded too cloſe upon each other, moſt of them muſt have periſhed. Accordingly, for want of ſufficient precaution, twenty-nine boats belonging to regiments, ſeventeen whale-boats, ſeventeen artillery-boats, and one row-galley, were daſhed to pieces, with the loſs of 88 men; and this too, before, on account of the night's approaching, the whole of the army could get through: what did, encamped on the Iſle-Perrot. On the 5th, in the morning, the remainder, taking care to preſerve a proper diſtance, paſſed the rapid with eaſe. During the ſtay the General was obliged to make, to repair the damaged boats, the inhabitants came flocking in, and took the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majeſty. Humanity and clemency ever attended on the victories of the Romans: the princes and people who ſubmitted to their arms were ſure of protection; and thoſe who dared to oppoſe them, were made to feel the weight of their greatneſs and power. True policy might alone be thought ſufficient, eſpecially after ſuch an illuſtrious example, to make the generals of every nation adopt ſuch conciliating meaſures. It would have been juſtly matter of ſurpriſe, if, from the natural feelings of his own heart, independant of any other motive, General Amherſt had neglected to ſtretch forth the hand of commiſeration to the number of trembling, deſpairing wretches, who now appeared before him. The blood that had been ſhed in the wantonneſs of cruelty, had expunged from their breaſts every hope of mercy; and they advanced like culprits approaching a judge to receive the ſentence due to their crimes. Full as they were of conſcious guilt, how great muſt have been their joy to find themſelves forgiven, reſtored to their poſſeſſions and to their families; to be received as

1760.

1760. as friends, and have every neceſſary provided for them as ſuch; and to crown all, to know, for certain, that they might ſecurely depend on a continuance, or rather an increaſe of theſe bleſſings.

On the 6th, the army paſſed by the Cocknawaga Indians, who promiſed the General, that they would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality: upon which he gave orders that they ſhould not be moleſted. Soon after, the army, being arrived within a ſmall way of the Falls of St. Lewis, diſembarked at La Chine, on the Iſland of Montreal, about nine miles from the city; which the General immediately marched to, and that night inveſted; the French army having retired into it. The next day, the following letters paſſed between the two Generals, and ended in a capitulation, which was ſigned on the 8th of September 1760.

SIR, Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I ſend to your Excellency M. de Bougainville, Colonel of foot, accompanied by M. de Lac, Captain in the regiment de la Reine; you may rely on all that the ſaid Colonel ſhall ſay to your Excellency in my name. I have the honour, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

SIR, Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I am to thank your Excellency for the letter you honoured me with this morning by Colonel Bougainville, ſince which, the terms of capitulation, which you demand, have been delivered to me. I ſend them back to your Excellency, with thoſe I have reſolved to grant you; and there only remains for me to deſire, that your Excellency will take your reſolution as ſoon as poſſible, as I ſhall make no alteration in them.

If

"If your Excellency accepts of these conditions, you may be assured that I will take care they shall be duly executed; and that I shall take a particular pleasure in alleviating your fate as much as possible, by procuring to you and your suite, all the conveniencies that depend on me. I have the honour, &c. 1760.

JEFF. AMHERST."

SIR, Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I have received the letter your Excellency has honoured me with this day, as well as the answer to the articles which I had caused to be proposed to you by M. de Bougainville. I send the said Colonel back to your Excellency; and I persuade myself that you will allow him to make, by word of mouth, a representation to your Excellency, which I cannot dispense with myself from making. I have the honour, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

SIR, Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"Major Abercrombie has this moment delivered to me the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me, in answer to that which I had addressed to you with the conditions on which I expect that Canada shall surrender: I have already had the honour to inform your Excellency, that I should not make any alteration in them: I cannot deviate from this resolution: Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to take a determination immediately, and acquaint me in your answer, whether you will accept of them or not. I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

SIR,

1760.

SIR, Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I ſend to your Excellency M. de Lapauſe, Aſſiſtant Quarter-Maſter-General to the army, on the ſubject of the too rigorous article which you impoſe on the troops by the capitulation, and to which it would not be poſſible for us to ſubſcribe. Be pleaſed to conſider the ſeverity of that article. I flatter myſelf that you will be pleaſed to give ear to the repreſentations that officer will make to you on my part, and have regard to them. I have the honour to be, &c.

LE CHEVALIER DE LEVI."

SIR, Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"The letter which you ſent me by M. de Lapauſe has this inſtant been delivered to me: All I have to ſay in anſwer to it is, that I cannot alter in the leaſt the conditions which I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil: And I expect his definitive anſwer by the bearer, on his return. On every other occaſion I ſhall be glad to convince you of the conſideration with which I am, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

SIR, Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

"I have determined to accept the conditions which your Excellency propoſes. In conſequence whereof, I deſire you will come to a determination with regard to the meaſures to be taken relative to the ſigning of the ſaid articles. I have the honour to be, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

SIR, Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

"In order to fulfil ſo much the ſooner on my part the execution of the conditions which your Excellency has juſt determined

mined to accept. I would propose that you should sign the articles which I sent yesterday to your Excellency; and that you would send them back to me by Major Abercrombie, that a duplicate may be made of them immediately, which I shall sign and send to your Excellency. 1760.

I repeat here the assurances of the desire I have to procure to your Excellency, and to the officers and troops under your command, all possible convenience and protection; for which purpose, I reckon that you will judge it proper that I should cause possession to be taken of the gates, and place guards immediately after the reciprocal signature of the capitulation: However, I shall leave this to your own convenience, since I propose it only with a view of maintaining good order, and to prevent, with the greater certainty, any thing being attempted against the good faith and the terms of capitulation; in order to which, I shall give the command of those troops to Colonel Haldimand, who, I am persuaded, will be agreeable to you. I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST.

SIR, Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

I have just sent to your Excellency, by Major Abercrombie, a duplicate of the capitulation which you have signed this morning; and in conformity thereto, and to the letters which have passed between us, I likewise send Colonel Haldimand to take possession of one of the gates of the town, in order to enforce the observation of good order, and prevent differences on both sides.

I flatter myself, that you will have room to be fully satisfied with my choice of the said Colonel on this occasion. I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST.

1760. The capitulation agreed to in consequence of these letters was as follows:

Articles of Capitulation between his Excellency General Amherst, commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's troops and forces in North-America, and his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand-Croix of the royal and military order of St. Lewis, governor and lieutenant-general for the King in Canada.

ARTICLE I. Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present capitulation, the English General shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the gates of the town of Montreal; and the English garrison shall not come into the place till after the French troops shall have evacuated it.

Answer. The whole garrison of Montreal must lay down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war. Immediately after the signing of the present capitulation, the King's troops shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards necessary to preserve good order in the town.

II. The troops, and the militia, who are in garrison in the town of Montreal, shall go out with all the honours of war, six pieces of cannon and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel where the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece. The same shall be granted to the garrison of Trois-Rivieres, as to the honours of war.

III. The troops and militia who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques-Cartier, and in the Island of St. Helen, and other forts, shall

ſhall be treated in the ſame manner, and ſhall have the ſame honours; and theſe troops ſhall go to Montreal, or Trois-Rivieres, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the firſt ſea-port in France, by the ſhorteſt way. The troops who are in our poſts, ſituated on our frontiers, on the ſide of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other poſts, ſhall enjoy the ſame honours, and be treated in the ſame manner. 1760.

Anſwer. All theſe troops are not to ſerve during the preſent war, and ſhall likewiſe lay down their arms. The reſt is granted.

IV. The militia after being come out of the above towns, forts, and poſts, ſhall return to their homes, without being moleſted on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms.

GRANTED.

V. The troops who keep the field, ſhall raiſe their camp, and march, drums beating, with their arms, baggage, and artillery, to join the garriſon of Montreal, and ſhall be treated in every reſpect the ſame.

Anſwer. Theſe troops, as well as the others, muſt lay down their arms.

VI. The ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſoldiers, militia, or ſeamen, who ſhall have deſerted, or left the ſervice of their Sovereign, and carried arms in North-America, ſhall be, on both ſides, pardoned for their crimes; and ſhall be reſpectively returned to their country; if not, each ſhall remain where he is, without being ſought after, or moleſted.

REFUSED.

1760. VII. The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, fabres, ammunition of war, and in general every thing that belongs to his Moft Chriftian Majefty, as well in the towns of Montreal and Trois-Rivieres, as in the forts and pofts mentioned in the third article, fhall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the commiffaries, who fhall be appointed to receive the fame in the name of his Britannic Majefty. Duplicates of the faid inventories fhall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Anfwer. This is every thing that can be afked on this article.

VIII. The officers, foldiers, militia, feamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds or ficknefs, as well in the hofpital as in private houfes, fhall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.

Anfwer. The fick and wounded fhall be treated the fame as our own people.

IX. The Englifh General fhall engage to fend back to their own homes the Indians and Morians, who make part of his armies, immediately after the figning of the prefent capitulation. And in the mean time, in order to prevent all diforders on the part of thofe who may not be gone away, the faid General fhall give fafe-guards to fuch perfons as fhall defire them, as well in the town as in the country.

Anfwer. The firft part refufed. There never has been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order fhall be preferved.

X. His Britannic Majefty's General fhall be anfwerable for all diforders on the part of his troops, and oblige them to pay the

the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in the countries. 1760.

Answer. Answered by the preceding article.

XI. The English General shall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before the and no person shall be lodged in his house till he is gone. The Chevalier de Levi, commander of the land forces; the principal officers and majors of the land forces, and of the colony troops; the engineers, officers of the artillery, and commissary of war, shall also remain at Montreal to the said day, and shall keep their lodgings there. The same shall be observed with regard to M. Bigot, intendant, the commissaries of marine and writers, whom the said M. Bigot shall have occasion for; and no person shall be lodged at the intendant's house before he shall be gone.

Answer. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all these gentlemen, shall be masters of their houses; and shall embark when the King's ships shall be ready to sail for Europe; and all possible conveniencies shall be granted them.

XII. The most convenient vessel that can be found shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, by the shortest passage, to the first sea-port in France. The necessary accommodations shall be made for him, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, Governor of Montreal, and the suite of this General. This vessel shall be properly victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being examined, and his equipages, plate, baggage, and all those of his suite.

GRANTED;

GRANTED; except the archives, which ſhall be neceſſary for the government of the country.

XIII. If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of peace ſhould arrive, and that, by the treaty, Canada ſhould remain to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil ſhall return to Quebec or Montreal, every thing ſhall return to its former ſtate under the dominion of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the preſent capitulation ſhall become null and of no effect.

Anſwer. Whatever the King may have done on this ſubject, ſhall be obeyed.

XIV. Two ſhips ſhall be appointed to carry to France the Chevalier de Levi, the principal officers, and the ſtaff of the land forces, the engineers, officers of artillery, and their ſuite. Theſe veſſels ſhall likewiſe be victualled, and the neceſſary accommodations provided in them. The ſaid officers ſhall take with them their papers, without being examined and alſo their equipages and baggage. Such of the ſaid officers as ſhall be married, ſhall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who ſhall alſo be victualled.

GRANTED; except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all the officers of whatever rank they may be, ſhall faithfully deliver up to us all the charts and plans of the country.

XV. A veſſel ſhall alſo be appointed for the paſſage of M. Bigot, the intendant, with his ſuite. In which veſſel the proper accommodations ſhall be made for him, and the perſons he ſhall take with him: he ſhall likewiſe embark with him his papers, which ſhall not be examined, his equipages, plate,

plate, and baggage, and those of his suite. This vessel shall also be victualled as before-mentioned. 1760

GRANTED, with the same reserve as in the preceding article.

XVI. The English General shall also order the necessary and most convenient vessels to carry to France M. de Longuevil, Governor of Trois-Rivieres, the staff of the colony, and the commissary of the marine: They shall embark therein their families, servants, baggage, and equipages; and they shall be properly victualled during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XVII. The officers and soldiers, as well of the land forces, as of the colony, and also the marine officers and seamen who are in the colony, shall be likewise embarked for France, and sufficient and convenient vessels shall be appointed for them. The land and sea officers who shall be married, shall take with them their families, and all of them shall have liberty to embark their servants and baggage. As to the soldiers and seamen, those who are married, shall take with them their wives and children, and all of them shall embark their havresacks and baggage. These vessels shall be properly and sufficiently victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XVIII. The officers, soldiers, and all the followers of the troops, who shall have their baggage in the field, may send for it before they depart, without any hindrance or molestation.

GRANTED.

XIX.

1760. XIX. An hospital-ship shall be provided by the English General, for such of the wounded and sick officers, soldiers, and seamen, as shall be in a condition to be carried to France, and shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

It shall be the same with regard to the other wounded and sick officers, soldiers, and sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered, they shall be at liberty to carry with them their wives, children, servants, and baggage; and the said soldiers and sailors shall not be solicited or forced to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XX. A commissary, and one of the King's writers, shall be left to take care of the hospitals, and of whatever may relate to the service of his Most Christian Majesty.

GRANTED.

XXI. The English General shall also provide ships for carrying to France the officers of the supreme council of justice, police, admiralty, and all other officers, having commissions or brevets from his Most Christian Majesty, for them, their families, servants, and equipages, as well as for the other officers; and they shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. They shall, however, be at liberty to stay in the colony, if they think proper, to settle their affairs, or to withdraw to France, whenever they think fit.

GRANTED; but if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered to us.

XXII.

XXII. If there are any military officers, whose affairs should require their presence in the colony till next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it, after having obtained the permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war. 1760.

Answer. All those whose private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who shall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.

XXIII. The commissary for the king's provisions, shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to answer the debts he has contracted in the colony, on account of what he has furnished; but if he should prefer to go to France this year, he shall be obliged to leave, till next year, a person to transact his business. This private person shall preserve, and have liberty to carry off all his papers, without being inspected. His clerks shall have leave to stay in the colony, or go to France; and in this last case, a passage and subsistence shall be allowed them on board the ships of his Britannic Majesty, for them, their families, and their baggage.

GRANTED.

XXIV. The provisions and other kind of stores which shall be found in the magazines of the Commissary, as well in the town of Montreal, and of Trois-Rivieres, as in the country, shall be preserved to him; the said provisions belonging to him and not to the king, and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French or English.

1760. *Answer.* Every thing that is actually in the magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the English Commissary for the King's forces.

XXV. A passage to France shall likewise be granted on board of his Majesty's ships, as well as victuals, to such officers of the India Company as shall be willing to go thither; and they shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage. The chief agent of the said Company, in case he should chuse to go to France, shall be allowed to leave such person as he shall think proper, till next year, to settle the affairs of the said company, and to recover such sums as are due to them. The said chief agent shall keep possession of all the papers belonging to the said Company, and they shall not be liable to inspection.

GRANTED.

XXVI. The said Company shall be maintained in the property of the ecarlatines and castors, which they may have in the town of Montreal; they shall not be touched under any pretence whatever, and the necessary facilities shall be given to the chief agent, to send this year his castors to France, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, paying the freight on the same footing as the English would pay it.

GRANTED, with regard to what may belong to the Company, or to private persons; but if his Most Christian Majesty has any share in it, that must become the property of the King.

XXVII. The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall subsist entire; in such manner, that all the

the ſtates, and the people of the towns and countries, places and diſtant poſts, ſhall continue to aſſemble in the churches, and to frequent the ſacraments as heretofore, without being moleſted in any manner, directly or indirectly. 1760.

Theſe people ſhall be obliged, by the Engliſh government, to pay to the prieſts, the tithes and all the taxes they were uſed to pay under the government of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

GRANTED, as to the free exerciſe of their religion. The obligation of paying the tithes to the prieſts, will depend on the King's pleaſure.

XXVIII. The chapter, prieſts, curates, and miſſionaries, ſhall continue, with an entire liberty, their exerciſe and functions of their cures, in the pariſhes of the towns and countries.

GRANTED.

XXIX. The grand vicars, named by the chapter to adminiſter to the dioceſe during the vacancy of the epiſcopal ſee, ſhall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country pariſhes, as they ſhall think proper. They ſhall at all times be free to viſit the different pariſhes of the dioceſe, with the ordinary ceremonies, and exerciſe all the juriſdiction they exerciſed under the French dominion. They ſhall enjoy the ſame rights in caſe of death of the future biſhop, of which mention will be made in the following article.

GRANTED, except what regards the following article.

XXX. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada ſhould remain in the power of his Britannic Majeſty, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty

1760. ſhall continue to name the biſhop of the colony, who ſhall always be of the Roman communion; and under whoſe authority the people ſhall exerciſe the Roman religion.

REFUSED.

XXXI. The biſhop ſhall, in caſe of need, eſtabliſh new pariſhes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his epiſcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he ſhall have the liberty to dwell in the town or pariſhes, as he ſhall judge proper. He ſhall have liberty to viſit his dioceſe with the ordinary ceremonies, and exerciſe all the juriſdiction which his predeceſſor exerciſed under the French dominion, ſave that an oath of fidelity, or a promiſe to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majeſty's ſervice, may be required of him.

Anſwer. This article is compriſed under the foregoing.

XXXII. The communities of nuns ſhall be preſerved in their conſtitutions and privileges; they ſhall continue to obſerve their rules; they ſhall be exempted from lodging any military, and it ſhall be forbid to trouble them in their religious exerciſes, or to enter their monaſteries: Safeguards ſhall even be given them, if they deſire them.

GRANTED.

XXXIII. The preceding article ſhall likewiſe be executed with regard to the communities of Jeſuits and Recolets, and of the houſe of the prieſts of St. Sulpice at Montreal. Theſe laſt, and the Jeſuits, ſhall preſerve their right to nominate to certain curacies and miſſions, as heretofore.

REFUSED till the King's pleaſure be known.

XXXIV.

XXXIV. All the communities, and all the priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the Seignories, and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they may be. And the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions. 1760.

GRANTED.

XXXV. If the canons, priests, missionaries, the priests of the seminary of the foreign missions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits and the Recolets, chuse to go to France, passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships; and they shall all have leave to sell, in whole or in part, the estates and moveables which they possess in the colonies, either to the French or to the English, without the least hindrance or obstacle from the British government.

They may take with them or send to France, the produce, of what nature soever it be, of the said goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the twenty-sixth article. And such of the said priests who chuse to go this year, shall be victualled during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty; and shall take with them their baggage.

Answer. They shall be masters to dispose of their estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all that belongs to them, to France.

XXXVI. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, merchants, and other persons, who chuse to retire to France, shall have leave to do so, from the English General, who

1760. ſhall procure them a paſſage. And nevertheleſs, if, from this time to that deciſion, any French or Canadian merchants, or other perſons, ſhall deſire to go to France, they ſhall likewiſe have leave from the Engliſh General. Both the one and the other ſhall take with them their families, ſervants, and baggage.

GRANTED.

XXXVII. The lords of manors, the military and civil officers, the Canadians, as well in the towns as in the country, the French ſettled or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other perſons whatſoever, ſhall preſerve the entire peaceable property and poſſeſſion of their goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandiſes, furs, and other effects, even their ſhips; they ſhall not be touched, nor the leaſt damage done to them, on any pretence whatſoever. They ſhall have liberty to keep, let, or ſell them, as well to the French as to the Engliſh; to take away the produce of them in bills of exchange, furs, ſpecie, or other returns, whenever they ſhall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the twenty-ſixth article. They ſhall alſo have the furs which are in the poſts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal: And for this purpoſe, they ſhall have leave to ſend this year, or the next, canoes, fitted out to fetch ſuch of the ſaid furs as ſhall have remained in thoſe poſts.

GRANTED, as in the twenty-ſixth article.

XXXVIII. All the people who have left Acadia, and who ſhall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada, on the ſide of Acadia, ſhall have the ſame treatment as the Canadians, and ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges.

Answer. The King is to dispose of his ancient subjects: In the mean time, they shall enjoy the same privilege as the Canadians. 1760.

XXXIX. None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried soldiers remaining in Canada, shall be carried or transported into the English colonies, or to Old England, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.

GRANTED; except with regard to the Canadians.

XL. The savages, or Indian allies of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they chuse to remain there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his Most Christian Majesty. They shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual vicars-general, and the bishop, when the episcopal see shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.

GRANTED; except the last article, which has been already refused.

XLI. The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the colony, shall not be forced to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever. The British government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.

Answer. They become subjects of the King.

XLII.

1760.

XLII. The French and Canadians ſhall continue to be governed according to the cuſtom of Paris, and the laws and uſages eſtabliſhed for this country; and they ſhall not be ſubject to any other impoſts than thoſe that were eſtabliſhed under the French dominions.

ANSWERED by the preceding articles, and particularly by the laſt.

XLIII. The papers of the government ſhall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and ſhall go to France with him. Theſe papers ſhall not be examined on any pretence whatſoever.

GRANTED, with the reſerve already made.

XLIV. The papers of the intendency, of the officers of comptroller of the marine, of the ancient and new treaſures, of the King's magazines, of the office of the revenues, and forces of St. Maurice, ſhall remain in the power of M. Bigott, the intendant, and they ſhall be embarked for France in the ſame veſſel with him. Theſe papers ſhall not be examined.

Anſwer. The ſame as to this article.

XLV. The regiſters, and other papers of the ſupreme council of Quebec, of the provoſt and admiralty of the ſaid city; thoſe of the royal juriſdictions of Trois-Rivieres, and of Montreal; thoſe of the Seigneural juriſdictions of the colony; the minutes of the acts of the notaries of the towns and of the countries; and, in general, the acts, and other papers that may ſerve to prove the eſtates and fortunes of the citizens, ſhall remain in the colony, in the rolls of the juriſdictions on which theſe papers depend.

GRANTED.

XLVI.

XLVI. The inhabitants and merchants ſhall enjoy all the privileges of trade under the ſame favours and conditions granted to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, as well in the countries, as in the interior of the colony. 1760.

GRANTED.

XLVII. The negroes and panis of both ſexes ſhall remain, in their quality of ſlaves, in the poſſeſſion of the French and Canadians, to whom they belong; they ſhall be at liberty to keep them in their ſervice in the colony, or to ſell them; and they may alſo continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

GRANTED; except thoſe who ſhall have been made priſoners.

XLVIII. The Marquis de Vaudreuil; the General and ſtaff officers of the land-forces; the governors and ſtaff officers of the different places of the colony; the military and civil officers, and all other perſons who ſhall leave the colony, or who already are abſent, ſhall have leave to name and appoint attornies to act for them, and in their name, in the adminiſtration of their effects, moveable and immoveable, until the peace: And if, by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominion, theſe officers, or other perſons, or attornies for them, ſhall have leave to ſell their manors, houſes, and other eſtates, their moveables and effects, &c. and to carry away or ſend to France the produce, either in bills of exchange, ſpecie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the thirty-ſeventh article.

GRANTED.

1760.

XLIX. The inhabitants and other perſons who ſhall have ſuffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their repreſentations to the Britiſh government, who ſhall render them due juſtice againſt the perſon to whom it ſhall belong.

GRANTED.

L. And laſt, The preſent capitulation ſhall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide* on both ſides, notwithſtanding any infraction, and any other pretence with regard to preceding capitulations, and without making uſe of repriſals.

GRANTED.

POSTSCRIPT.

LI. The Engliſh General ſhall engage, in caſe any Indians remain after the ſurrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns; and that they do not, in any manner, inſult the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Anſwer. Care ſhall be taken, that the Indians do not inſult any of the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

LII. The troops, and other ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who are to go to France, ſhall be embarked, at lateſt, fifteen days after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation.

ANSWERED by the eleventh article.

LIII. The troops, and other ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who are to go to France, ſhall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal, and other poſts, which they now occupy, till they ſhall be embarked for their departure: Paſſports,

Paſſports, however, ſhall be granted to thoſe who ſhall want them, for the different places of the colony, to take care of their affairs. 1760.

GRANTED.

LIV. All the officers and ſoldiers of the troops in the ſervice of France, who are priſoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, ſhall be ſent back, as ſoon as poſſible, to France, where their ranſom or exchange ſhall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and if any of theſe officers have affairs in Canada, they ſhall have leave to come there.

GRANTED.

LV. As to the officers of the militia, and the Acadians, who are priſoners in New England, they ſhall be ſent back to their countries.

GRANTED; except what regards the Acadians.

Done at Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

Done in the Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

JEFF. AMHERST.

Thus have we ſeen all Canada ſurrender, by capitulation, to his Excellency General Amherſt; yet, were it not that two other armies were in the neighbourhood of Montreal, it is moſt probable the French would have riſked the fate of a battle, before they formally parted with their country. They ſaw it was impoſſible to defeat the meaſures the Engliſh General had taken to form a junction with the other armies, in

1760. which caſe he would have been not only much ſuperior to them in numbers, but better provided with ammunition and warlike ſtores, to carry on the buſineſs of a ſiege, in caſe they ſhut themſelves up in Montreal. And this place was, beſides, in too defenceleſs a ſtate to ſuſtain a regular attack, with any reaſonable view of protracting the fall of Canada long enough to anſwer any good purpoſe. It was on theſe principles M. de Vaudreuil, no longer ſupported by the hopes of being able to preſerve his government under the dominion of France, capitulated with the Commander in Chief of the Britiſh forces. But ſince General Amherſt's plan to reduce Canada comprehended, as we have ſaid, his being joined by an army from Quebec, and another by the Lake Champlain, we muſt therefore give an account of the progreſs of theſe armies to the neighbourhood of Montreal, where we juſt now mentioned their being arrived.

The critical arrival of Commodore Swanton before Quebec, by relieving Governor Murray from the dangers with which he was ſurrounded, gave him an opportunity of purſuing ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to reſtore the troops of his garriſon to their former health and vigour. In October 1759, the garriſon of Quebec conſiſted of upwards of ſeven thouſand three hundred effective men; but by the ſeverity of the enſuing winter, and the incredible fatigues incident to a campaign in that ſeaſon of the year, it was, by the month of June 1760, reduced to conſiderably leſs than ſix thouſand. Out of theſe, beſides, there could not be muſtered more than two thouſand five hundred fit for duty. But the return of warm weather, and a good ſupply of milk and other ſummer refreſhments, contributed ſo much to the ſpeedy recovery of the reſt, that Governor Mur-

ray

ray now found himſelf in a ſituation to comply with the orders of the Commander in Chief, and prepare to join him before Montreal, with a corps of two thouſand four hundred and fifty effective men, officers included, beſides leaving a ſufficient number to do the garriſon duty of Quebec, and contain the conquered, ſhould they attempt any thing againſt it, during his abſence. The troops he took with him, conſiſting of detachments from the regiments in garriſon, were formed into ſeven battalions, and theſe into two brigades; the firſt of which was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Burton, and the ſecond by the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Howe, as brigadiers. The whole commanded by himſelf in perſon. 1760.

On the 5th of June, this little army encamped near the town, whilſt the ſquadron that was to tranſport it, worked up and anchored near the encampment. On the 13th it embarked, and on the 14th ſailed with a fair wind. The ſquadron was commanded by Captain Deane, and conſiſted of

The Penzance	-	40 guns
Diana	-	36
Porcupine	-	16
		8
Five gallies	-	1 twenty-pounder each
Four ditto	-	1 twelve-pounder each
Forty tranſports		
Twenty-ſix boats.		

On the 15th, in the morning, the fleet paſſed under the cannon of Jaques-Cartier; but without receiving the leaſt injury, though

1760. though the French fired very briſkly; and then anchored about a mile above Du-Platon. Upon this the French abandoned Jaques-Cartier, and proceeded to Dechambaud, in order to prevent the Engliſh putting any troops on ſhore at that place.

Dechambaud is a point that ſtretches out into the River St. Lawrence, on the north-ſide, and commands the paſs at the Rapids of Richlieu. Here the French had erected a battery to ſtop the fleet, and likewiſe ſome redoubts and intrenchments, to prevent a debarkation: however, on the 16th, part of the fleet got through the Rapids, under a heavy fire from the battery, which proved ineffectual; but the wind ſlackening, the remainder could not follow. By this accident the army was divided, and lay twelve days, part above and part below the Rapids, for want of wind ſufficient to enable the latter to ſtem the current. During this interval, Governor Murray made it a practice to land every day ſome part of his troops, as well to refreſh them, as to ſtrike a terror into the inhabitants, whom he at the ſame time informed by a manifeſto, that ſuch of them as did not deliver up their arms, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majeſty, ſhould have their houſes reduced to aſhes. One of theſe parties, which landed on the ſouth ſhore, ſurpriſed a guard of the French commanded by M. Hartel, who was mortally wounded in this affair, and taken priſoner. M. Hartel had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an excellent partizan during the whole war. On the 27th, the wind ſpringing up in a direction favourable to that part of the fleet below the Rapids, it came up the river. If the ſix French veſſels, which were deſtroyed at the ſiege of Quebec, had eſcaped and been ſtationed above the Rapids, it would have been impoſſible for the Engliſh to have paſſed them; and Governor

Governor Murray would, of courſe, have been obliged to carry on his operations by land. This would have expoſed his little army to a very diſagreeable march, in which the French would have had many advantages over him, from the number of rivers and narrow paſſes, which diſtinguiſh this country from moſt others. 1760.

On the 8th of Auguſt the fleet paſſed Trois-Rivieres, where the French had thrown up many intrenchments, and on the 12th it anchored oppoſite to Sorel: here the French had likewiſe intrenched themſelves, to prevent a junction of the troops under Governor Murray with thoſe that might come from Lake-Champlain.

M. Dumat, who had obſerved the fleet ſince its departure from Quebec, with the pickets of the French army, the light cavalry, and a body of Canadians, making in the whole about three thouſand men, abandoned every poſt, one after the other, immediately on the fleet's getting up beyond them; leaving at Jaques-Cartier but forty men, a ſmall guard at Dechambaud, and only two hundred at Trois-Rivieres. A detachment of three hundred men had, indeed, been poſted at St. François, with a view to prevent the communication between Governor Murray and Brigadier Haviland; but they now returned to Sorel, where M. Bourlemaque commanded a corps of about four thouſand men, moſt of them regulars.

We left the fleet at anchor oppoſite to Sorel. General Amherſt having ordered two regiments from the garriſon of Louiſbourg, to cover the retreat of Governor Murray from Quebec, if it ſhould become neceſſary for him to abandon that place; and the Governor having now received intelligence of their arrival

1760. there, he ſent for them, and diſpatched ſome flat-bottomed boats to take them in, and thereby accelerate their joining him in his preſent ſtation, where he reſolved to wait their arrival.

M. de Levi had now taken upon him the command of the French troops that were employed to obſerve the Engliſh fleet; and M. Dumat was ordered to Berthier, a village on the north ſide of the River St. Lawrence oppoſite Sorel, with a view to prevent Governor Murray from making a deſcent on the iſland of St. Ignatius; notwithſtanding which all the Engliſh troops landed on that iſland, in order that the tranſports might be thoroughly cleaned.

Governor Murray now diſpatched a ſerjeant with twelve rangers to Colonel Haviland, to inform him of his ſtrength; but he exaggerated it greatly in ſome letters, which the ſerjeant was to give up as all he was charged with, in caſe he fell into the hands of the French; the true ſtate of things being confined to others concealed between the ſoals of his ſhoes. He alſo ſent a Canadian on the ſame errand, but by a rout in which he was certain he could not eſcape; and in his diſpatches by him, he declared his intentions to attack Montreal. The Canadian was taken, as the Governor intended; and, after being examined by the French commander, hanged up by his orders, as an enemy to his country.

On the 17th of Auguſt, Lord Rollo came up with the twenty-ſecond and fortieth regiments; but the wind abating, he was obliged to drop anchor about a league from Trois Rivieres. Here he received a verbal meſſage from General Murray by Lieutenant Cocks of the navy, requeſting his lordſhip to make all the diſpatch he poſſibly could to join him.

Lord

Lord Rollo had with him Lieutenant Garnier of the navy, who had been ſent by Lord Colville, with proper inſtructions from his lordſhip, to conduct the tranſports up the River St. Lawrence. Oppoſite to Trois-Rivieres, the river is divided into two channels; the one, immediately under the cannon of that place; and the other, out of their reach. General Murray choſe to take his paſſage by the latter, notwithſtanding his ſhips of war and the artillery, with which the reſt of his fleet was provided; and Lieutenant Garnier intended to uſe it likewiſe for Lord Rollo's tranſports. But juſt as he had made the neceſſary preparations for that purpoſe, by diſpoſing his boats on the ſhoals and ſands, the better to ſhew the deep water to the other veſſels, Lieutenant Cock came on board Lord Rollo; and being an older officer than Mr. Garnier, inſiſted on taking upon him the command of the fleet, though, as we have ſaid before, Mr. Garnier had been ſent by Lord Colville with Lord Rollo, for that expreſs purpoſe. 1760.

Lord Rollo did not think proper to make any oppoſition to Mr. Cock's pretenſions. He put the tranſports under his direction, contenting himſelf with ſaying, "That Mr. Cock muſt abide by the conſequences." Mr. Garnier, whoſe inſtructions, as we have already ſaid, were to go by the channel fartheſt from Trois-Rivieres, told Lord Rollo he would engage to conduct him in ſafety, if he choſe to follow him; that he did not however mean to dictate to his lordſhip, but on the other hand, could not help owning, that he was apprehenſive ſome fatal conſequences muſt attend the attempting the channel under the cannon of the place, eſpecially as his lordſhip had none in his fleet to bring againſt them. But, notwithſtand-

1760. ing all these declarations, Mr. Cock still persisted in his resolution to carry the transports through that very channel; and Lord Rollo getting into the headmost ship along with Mr. Cock, gave orders for the fleet to follow them. A favourable wind now springing up, the vessels got under way to attempt the passage. Lord Rollo having, during the time he lay at anchor, sent several parties on shore to disarm the peasants, and oblige them to take the oaths of allegiance, his name by that means became perfectly well known to the Canadians, and they had sense enough to make the proper use of it. As his vessels were stemming the current of the river, that which carried his lordship was hailed, and asked in English, If Lord Rollo was on board? As the asking of this question was not suspected to proceed from any hostile design, it was answered in the affirmative. Nothing more, however, passed at that time; but when the vessel had got a little higher she was again hailed, and the same question repeated in French, and the same answer given. By this time, the ship had advanced to within three hundred yards of Trois-Rivieres, when she received a sudden salute of grape-shot from the courtin of a bastion. However, his lordship having taken the precaution to send the soldiers between the decks, none of them received any hurt. When the other transports saw Lord Rollo thus fired on, they tacked about, fell down with the stream, and were presently out of the reach of the cannon. But Mr. Cock obstinately persisted in his attempt to get up the river by the channel he was in, in spite of a brisk fire, not only from the before-mentioned bastion, but from two pieces of cannon placed on an eminence above the town. From the glaring absurdity of daring danger in such a manner, it may seem very extraordinary,

extraordinary, that Lord Rollo did not interpose his authority, and take the navigation, which General Murray had before experienced to be the safe one. To suffer a verbal message to supersede a person, who was expressly ordered by Lord Colville to conduct the transports to General Murray, is not to be accounted for. There is no danger that British resolution will not chearfully encounter, when it has for its object an apparent advantage: but wantonly to expose the lives of men to self-opinion and obstinacy, must effectually destroy the very idea of glory. What recompence can be made to a carpenter who lost his arm, to Captain Malcolm, then an ensign in the twenty-second regiment, who lost his leg, in this very extraordinary instance of weakness on the part of Lord Rollo, and of obstinacy in that of Mr. Cock, not to mention a poor lad who lost his leg likewise; but whom the humanity of General Murray has since provided for, by apprenticing him to a trade, by which he may earn a comfortable living. Disobedience to orders is scarcely ever to be warranted; but, on this occasion, General Murray thought it so commendable, that he thanked Major Saintlo for quitting Lord Rollo, and following Lieutenant Garnier, who conducted the major's and the other transports safe through the channel he had proposed for the whole fleet. 1760.

M. de Levi and M. Bourlemaque now quitted their post, and came opposite to the fleet; upon which General Murray ordered part of it, and the troops on board, to fall down the river opposite to Sorel, where they had been before; as the inhabitants had taken up arms, and burnt and destroyed all the houses they could. This they accordingly did on the 21st of August, in the face of the troops that M. Bourlemaque had left to protect them.

1760. The Canadians ſeeing they could hope for no ſecurity againſt the arms of the Engliſh, and finding themſelves attacked where they imagined themſelves ſafeſt, became diſpirited to ſuch a degree, that they deſerted in crowds, and delivered up their arms to General Murray.

On the 27th of Auguſt, all the fleet made ſail, and anchored in the evening between the Iſle-Thereſe and the church of Varannes. The General took poſt on the iſland, with the light infantry, intending to remain there, till he ſhould receive farther intelligence from General Amherſt. In the mean time, as he was but about three leagues and a half from Montreal, he ordered his veſſels to proceed, till they were juſt without cannon-ſhot of that place.

General Murray, having in view the opening of a communication with General Amherſt and Colonel Haviland, ordered a detachment to diſlodge the enemy at Varannes; and as ſoon as this ſervice was performed, landed the reſt of his army, and encamped on the Iſland of St. Thereſe.

On the 7th of September, Governor Murray ordered his troops to reimbark; and ſoon after landed them without oppoſition at the lower end of the pariſh of Point-au-Tremble on the Iſland of Montreal. On the 8th, he marched to the north-eaſt ſide of the city, where he immediately encamped.

The troops ordered to join General Amherſt before Montreal, by the way of Lake-Champlain, and under the command of Colonel Haviland, were aſſembled at Crown-Point, with every thing neceſſary to facilitate the expedition. They conſiſted of

Four

Four companies of the Royal, making	—		300 men	1760.
Seventeenth regiment	——	——	600	
Twenty-ſeventh	—— ——	——	600	
New-Hampſhire Provincials	——	——	250	
Rhode-Iſland Provincials	——	——	250	
Maſſachuſett's Provincials	——	——	1600	
Five companies of Rangers	——	——	250	
One company of Indians	——	——	50	

And a detachment of Royal artillery.

On the 11th of Auguſt, they embarked in

80 whale boats,
330 ſmall boats,
3 row gallies with one cannon each,
1 radeau with ſix 24 pounders, and
1 brigantine.

On the 16th, they encamped on the left bank of the river Richlieu, a little above the Iſland-Aux-Noix, where the Colonel erected three batteries of cannon, and one of mortars, which began to play on the French fort there the 24th of Auguſt. In the night of the 27th, M. de Bougainville retired from this iſland, leaving behind him a garriſon of thirty men, who were made priſoners.

Colonel Haviland, having thus made himſelf maſter of the Iſland-Aux-Noix, as well as the fort of St. John, advanced to St. Thereſe, where he encamped; and then diſpatched an officer to General Amherſt, and another to General Murray, to acquaint them of his arrival, and the operations which had preceded it.

M. de

1760. M. de Bourlemaque having abandoned Bouquerville and Longuille, and retired to the Iſland of Montreal, General Murray detached Colonel Burton, with the grenadiers and light infantry, to join Colonel Haviland; or to act otherwiſe, as circumſtances ſhould require: and, having received a letter by an officer from Colonel Haviland, he ſent the ſame officer, with Lieutenant Montreſor, to General Amherſt, to inform him of his ſituation. This officer found General Amherſt on the Iſle-Aux-Perrots.

The three armies being now within a ſmall march of Montreal, and able to form a junction without any difficulty, they were put in motion on the 7th of September. That of General Amherſt approached to within two miles of Montreal; that of Colonel Haviland quitted the poſt on the Iſland of St. Thereſe; and, as well as that of General Murray, directed its march to the ſame object.

As ſoon as General Amherſt came within ſight of this place, the French, as we have ſeen, demanded and obtained a ceſſation of arms; but General Murray happening to be ignorant of what paſſed, on account of his being on the other ſide of Montreal, proceeded to within one mile of the town. Upon this M. de Levi ſent an officer to inform General Murray of the ceſſation of arms; but he could not be brought to believe it, till he had the news confirmed by one of his own officers, whom he ſent for that purpoſe, to General Amherſt. He then conformed himſelf to the will of his ſuperior in command.

We cannot diſmiſs the ſubject without obſerving, that the arrival of three armies, which had ſo many obſtacles to encounter from the enemy, and the principal of which had ſo great

great a round to make to the place where they joined, almoſt at the ſame inſtant of time, is truly aſtoniſhing. Yet bold and daring, and almoſt deſperate as the attempt may appear, it muſt at the ſame time be allowed, that it was the only plan of operations by which the Canadian war could be effectually terminated without another campaign. 1760.

General Amherſt, immediately after the ſigning of the capitulation at Montreal, made the neceſſary preparations to take poſſeſſion of all the places which the French ſtill held in Canada, as equally included in that act. Accordingly, on the 13th of September, Major Rogers embarked with a party of two hundred rangers, another of the artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Davis, and Lieutenant Brehem, aſſiſtant engineer, to take poſſeſſion of Detroit, and the poſts eſtabliſhed on the upper lakes. He was, beſides, charged with the delivery of General Amherſt's diſpatches to Brigadier General Monckton, who commanded at Fort-Pitt. Theſe diſpatches Major Rogers ſoon delivered, and after a ſtay of only a few hours, to refreſh himſelf and his men, returned to Preſque-Iſle. He then proceeded to the Streights that join the Lakes Erie and St. Claire; and from thence diſpatched Lieutenant Brehem to M. Beletre, who commanded at Detroit, to acquaint him with the capitulation; and that he had a letter for him from M. de Vaudreuil, with inſtructions for his conduct on the occaſion. Major Rogers, ſoon after, took poſſeſſion of the fort in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, and hoiſted upon it the Britiſh colours. M. Beletre and the garriſon were ordered to Philadelphia, there to embark for Old France.

The ſeaſon was now ſo far advanced, that the ſnow and ice rendered it impracticable to proceed to Michilimakinack;

1760. the Major, therefore, left the troops at Detroit, and returned himself to Philadelphia.

The capitulation of Montreal gave to Great Britain the full possession of Canada.

England and France never contended for a greater prize, except when to attain the crown of either kingdom was the object of their armaments.

France very justly valued her colonies, and that at a high rate, as they were a source from which she might derive a prodigious quantity of subsistence and a powerful marine; the natural consequence of extensive commerce, and an unlimited fishery, in the management of which, the French, perhaps, have not their equal. The certain prospect of gain would naturally induce people of almost every denomination to embark in this trade; and from this trade, as from its proper nursery, would arise a number of hardy sailors, the sure means of increasing their navy to an equality with that of Great Britain. If this should ever happen, it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foretel what must be the consequence.

To form an estimate of the just value of this conquest, we must not alone consider what Great Britain has gained by it. What the French might have acquired from equal success, ought to have the greatest weight in the calculation. Had victory inclined to their side, the Continent, of which the English now enjoy the dominion, would, at this time, be obedient to their laws; and this would strengthen them to such a degree, as to enable them to seize on the British islands in the West Indies. Were they possessed of these, little less than the total ruin of Great Britain

Britain muſt be the conſequence. The Continent of North-America, and the iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, derive from each other a mutual ſupport, and a ſound policy would cauſe the riches of both ultimately to center in Great Britain. 1760.

If, in a war which has terminated ſo honourably to this nation, ſoldiers merit reward for patiently enduring every ſpecies of diſtreſs, and encountering every danger with the moſt ready obedience, Britain never had an army whoſe claim to her favour and protection was ſo juſt as that which ſerved in America; and though ſhe had been mortified with repeated accounts of diſgraceful checks, her general officers, and not her ſoldiers, were the cauſe of them.

It muſt be confeſſed, that it was a difficult taſk to ſurmount the numerous obſtacles which obſtructed the buſineſs of every campaign; but when Britain had a miniſter who could diſtinguiſh abilities, theſe difficulties in ſome degree vaniſhed. Firmneſs in the commander in chief ſurmounted every oppoſition, and the views of General Amherſt being confined to the acquiring of honour to his maſter's arms, and the putting a ſpeedy period to the expence and horrors of war, they were happily crowned with that ſucceſs, which ſuch patriotic and diſintereſted views, joined to the moſt irreproachable conduct, gave every Britiſh ſubject the beſt grounded reaſons to expect.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK IX.

Savages of North America troublesome, and again brought to reason.——General Amherst invested with the order of the Bath.——Preparations to attack Martinico.——Admiral Rodney to command the fleet.——Sails for Barbadoes.——Armament completed by the arrival of the Generals Monckton and Rufane, and Lord Rollo at Barbadoes.——Sails from thence for Martinico.——Landing effected in Port-Royal Bay.——Mount Tortonson carried;——and likewise Mount Garnier.——The citadel of Fort-Royal capitulates.——Most of the inhabitants of the island submit on terms.——Pigeon-Island surrenders.——La Trinité reduced.——The Governor-general capitulates for the whole island.——Reflections on the conquest of Martinico.——War declared between Spain and England.——Spanish register ship brought into Martinico.——The Grenades reduced.——St. Lucia surrenders by capitulation.——Arrival of the French fleet off Martinico.——Admiral Rodney assembles his ships to attack it, or cover Jamaica;——Is obliged to desist from his designs to favour a secret expedition;——Reinforces the Jamaica fleet notwithstanding.——Measures taken to forward the secret expedition.——The French squadron, commanded by M. de Blenac, blocked up in Port-St.-François, in the Island of Hispaniola.——M. de Blenac disembarks the troops, and determines to remain in the harbour.

1761. FROM the scenes which we have been just exhibiting on the Continent of North America, we are now to fol-

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low the brave and indefatigable actors to others ſituated under the ſcorching rays of a vertical ſun, where they are to encounter, not only the French, but a climate extremely inauſpicious, or rather fatal, to European conſtitutions. However inured to every danger and diſtreſs that could await a ſoldier in a temperate zone; the proſpect of thoſe peculiar to the torrid, could not but appear ſufficiently terrible: yet the hope of victory ſwallowed up every other conſideration, and ſteeled them equally againſt the fury of the enemy and the horror of the weather. 1761.

It muſt be owned, indeed, that the complete reduction of the power of France on the Continent of North America, had given them ſome ſhort reſpite. But the ſavages in the intereſt of the French ſtill continued their cruelties, where they could exerciſe them with impunity. The Cherokees, in particular, and other nations in alliance with them, yet held up the axe of war. To chaſtiſe this their unprovoked and barbarous violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties, Lieutenant Colonel Grant was ordered againſt the Cherokees; but they ſoon agreed to a peace. This was the only warlike expedition which diſtinguiſhed the year 1761 in North America. But General Amherſt, with the greateſt ardour, carried on his preparations to embark the partners of his former conqueſts, to reap freſh laurels in the Weſt Indies. In the mean time, Great Britain took every opportunity to teſtify her grateful approbation of their paſt ſervices. The courage, patience, and perſeverance of the ſoldiers, directed by General Amherſt, had ſubdued all the enemies of Great Britain on the Continent; and her then ever gracious Monarch, ſtill living in the hearts of his ſubjects, thought proper to reward his merit

1761. with the banners of chivalry, by creating him a Knight of the Bath.

The disgrace brought on the English arms, by the faint and ill-conducted attempt against Martinico in the year 1759, induced the minister to send another armament against that island. Accordingly, about the month of August 1761, the greatest preparations were begun to be made for the execution of it.

The troops, destined for this expedition, were to be assembled at Barbadoes, from the lately conquered island of Belle-Isle, and from North America, as we have already intimated. Sir Jeffrey Amherst gave the command of them to Major General Monckton.

The fleet was to be formed of some ships from the same places, and such as were already in the West-Indian seas, to be commanded by Admiral Rodney.

On the 10th of October 1761, the Admiral sailed from Spithead in the Marlborough of sixty-eight guns, accompanied by the Vanguard of seventy, the Modeste of sixty-four, the Nottingham of sixty, and the Grenada, Thunder, and Basilisk bombs. On the 11th, he was joined off Plymouth by the Foudroyant of eighty guns, and stood immediately for sea. The Dragon of seventy-four followed him. In a few days after these ships had cleared the channel, they were separated by a violent gale of wind: the Admiral, however, proceeded on his voyage, and was the first to reach Carlisle Bay, off Barbadoes, where he arrived the 22d of November; the Foudroyant,

ant, Modeſte, and Baſiliſk came in five days after; and, on the firſt of December, the Nottingham and Thunder; the Vanguard, with the reſt of the fleet, joined them on the 9th. 1761.

Commodore Sir James Douglas was there already, with four ſhips of the line, waiting for General Monckton with the troops from North-America. The Admiral, therefore, immediately on his arrival, diſpatched Sir James off Martinico, with orders to block up the harbours of that iſland, and prevent the throwing of any ſuccours into its ports; and, as ſoon as any ſhips joined him from England, North-America, or elſewhere, he ſent them to Sir James Douglas on the ſame errand.

The Admiral likewiſe hired ten ſmall ſloops, and having officered and manned them from the fleet, ſtationed them in ſuch a manner, as to prevent any veſſel from St. Euſtatia ſtealing with proviſions into the ſmaller ports. Theſe ſloops being conſtructed for the purpoſe of running into very ſhoal water, kept perpetually viſiting every little harbour; and thereby effectually completed the blockade. Expreſſes were likewiſe diſpatched to the different governors of the Engliſh Leeward Iſlands, acquainting them with the arrival of the armament; and requeſting from them every aſſiſtance in their power to promote the ſucceſs of it.

In purſuance of this intelligence and requiſition, the government of Barbadoes laid an embargo on all the ſhipping, to prevent the enemy's receiving intelligence of its real deſtination, and raiſed five hundred white and ſix hundred black men, to reinforce it. The other iſlands appeared lukewarm; and very little addition was received from them.

1761. Neceſſary as it was to keep the enemy in the dark with regard to the intentions and motions of this armament, it was equally neceſſary to be well informed of theirs: Yet this important buſineſs ſeems, through ſome fatality or other, to have been ſtrangely neglected; for no accounts had been procured of the enemy's ſituation, full and authentic enough to enable the Admiral to begin his operations as ſoon as he might otherwiſe have done. To remedy this neglect, he offered the greateſt encouragement to ſuch ſeamen as were ſufficiently qualified to ſerve as pilots; and alſo to thoſe who knew any thing of the interior parts of the Iſland of Martinico. Veſſels were likewiſe employed to ſound the coaſts, and an engineer to make a ſurvey of them; and, by theſe means, a foundation was at length laid, on which the Admiral and General might form ſomething of a plan for their ſubſequent conduct.

But ſtill, the uncertainty of the anchorage on the coaſt of Martinico, and the conſtant rapidity of the current in conſequence of the winds in thoſe latitudes blowing perpetually from the ſame quarter, rendered it impoſſible to prevent ſo large an armament's falling to leeward; and the pilots having repreſented this inſurmountable difficulty, together with the impracticability of working up to windward, the Admiral determined to begin his operations by taking poſſeſſion of the weathermoſt port of the Iſland of Martinico, from whence he could eaſily fall on any other place wherever the General and himſelf might think proper to attack. In the mean time, it having been reported, that the troops from North-America were to rendezvous at Guadaloupe, the Admiral ſent frigates to windward to cruize for them, with poſitive orders to the commanding officer of the convoy to join him in Carliſle Bay, in order to prevent their falling to leeward.

On

On the 14th of December, the Temeraire of ſeventy-four guns, and the Acteon of twenty-eight, came to an anchor in Carliſle Bay, with a number of tranſports, having on board General Rufane, with two thouſand two hundred effective men from Belle-Iſle. The fleet from North-America, with General Monckton and ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, arrived on the 24th. 1761.

It having been determined to take poſſeſſion of the neutral Iſland of Dominica, a detachment was ordered for that purpoſe, commanded by Lord Rollo, eſcorted by a ſquadron of four ſhips of the line, commanded by Sir James Douglas. In the beginning of June, this armament ſailed from Gaudaloupe to Dominica, the inhabitants of which ſurrendered, on the promiſe of protection till the pleaſure of the King of England ſhould be known. Part of the above detachment likewiſe now arrived from Dominica, under the command of Lord Rollo, which completed the armament.

A few days, however, were ſtill neceſſary to water the ſhips laſt arrived, and refreſh the men they brought, and make ſuch farther diſpoſitions for the execution of the intended enterprize, as could not be finiſhed till all the forces to be employed in it were aſſembled.

At length, on the 7th of January 1762, the whole fleet, consisting of ſixteen ſail of the line, thirteen frigates, three bombs with their tenders, a number of tranſports, and ſome hoſpital ſhips, ſailed from Barbadoes in the following order: 1762.

A Frigate.

1762.

A Frigate.
Dragon, 74.
Penzance, 44. Marlborough, 68. Woolwich, 44.
Repulse, 34. Acteon, 82.
Grenado, and Tender. Thunder, and Tender. Basilisk, and Tender.

Temple, 70. Blue division of transports. Foudroyant, 80.

Vanguard, 70. Modeste, 64. Dublin, 74.
Amazon, 20. Devonshire, 66. Stag, 34.
White division of transports. Stirling-Castle, 64. Red division of transports.
Culloden, 74. Alcide, 64.
Nottingham, 60. Raisonable, 64.

Store ships.
Victuallers.
Hospital ships.
Baggage ships.

Norwich, 50. Sutherland, 50.
Temeraire, 74.
Greyhound, 24. Rose, 24.
Lizard, 28. Echo, 28. Levant, 28.
Crescent, 36.

The land forces on board these ships were, the

4th Regiment, Major General Duroure,
15th, Major General Sir Jeffrey Amherst.
17th, Major General Monckton.
22d, Major General Whitmore.
27th, Lieutenant General Lord Blakeney.
28th, Major General Townsend.

35th, Lieu-

35th, Lieutenant General Otway.
38th, Major General Watſon.
40th, Major General Armiger.
42d, General Lord John Murray, two battalions.
43d, Major General Talbot.
48th, Major General Webb.
60th, Third battalion, Colonel Haviland.
65th, Colonel Lord Malpaſs.
69th, Major General Colville.
76th, Colonel Rufane, two battalions.
77th, The honourable Colonel Montgomery.
90th, Lieutenant Colonel Morgan.
91ſt, Lieutenant Colonel Vaughan.
98th, Lieutenant Colonel Grey.
100d, Major Commandant Campbell.

And the Barbadoes volunteers, with a detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ord; and a brigade of engineers commanded by Colonel Mackellar.

As the fleet drew near to Martinico, the Admiral detached five ſail of the line, with his flag flying, to lie before Fort-Royal, and as many frigates off La Trinité, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland, with an intention to divide the enemy's force. On the 8th of January, the reſt of the fleet and the army arrived off Martinico; and Sir James Douglas, with the ſhips under his command, was ordered to deſtroy the batteries in St. Ann's Bay; the fineſt and weathermoſt harbour of the iſland. This ſervice he ſoon effected, and took poſſeſſion of the place, though not without ſome loſs. The Raiſonable, through the ignorance of her pilot, though eſteemed the beſt acquainted with that iſland of any pilot in the Weſt-Indies, was run on a reef of rocks, and loſt.

1762. It being now repreſented to the Admiral and General, that, ſince the laſt attempt on this iſland, the enemy had ſo fortified the coaſt from Point-Negro to Pas-Pilotte, that it was impoſſible to land an army any where between them; there aroſe a doubt, in conſequence of the alteration in the circumſtances of the iſland, if it would not be better to land the troops at Port-St.-Lucre in the Bay of St. Ann, and march them over the iſthmus to Groſſe-Pointe, which, with Pigeon-Iſland, commanded the ſouth ſide of the bay oppoſite to Fort-Royal; as, theſe forts once reduced, the ſhips of war and tranſports could anchor in the Bay of Fort-Royal, and the attack againſt the citadel be carried on from the eaſt ſide of the Bay. But the difficulties with which the tranſporting of proviſions to the propoſed ſcene of action could not but be attended, and the want of freſh water on that part of the iſland, obliged the Admiral and General to abandon this deſign. They reſolved, however, to attempt Pigeon-Iſland: For this purpoſe, Commodore Swanton, with ſome ſhips, and the Brigadiers Haviland and Grant with their brigades, and the light infantry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, were ordered to Ance-Darlet, there to land; and from thence march to the heights oppoſite to, and commanding Pigeon-Iſland.

On the 10th of January, the Dragon, commanded by the Honourable Captain Hervey, was ordered into the Grand-Ance, where, in the ſmall ſpace of an hour, he deſtroyed a very ſtrong fort. He then landed with his marines, and took poſſeſſion of the battery, which, in about two hours, he delivered up to Lieutenant-Colonel Melville, who had been detached by Brigadier Haviland with eight hundred men to poſſeſs what remained of the fort, in order to ſecure a retreat, ſhould it be found neceſſary to make one.

On

On the 12th, Lieutenant Brown arrived with an expreſs from Brigadier Haviland to General Monckton, informing him, that he was then poſted near Pigeon-Iſland, within the range of the enemy's ſhells; but finding the road impaſſable for the cannon neceſſary for the reduction of that iſland, he judged it beſt to retire; and therefore ſhould embark the brigades at the Ance-Darlet, and there wait with Commodore Swanton for farther orders. The light infantry, while on ſhore, were attacked, in one of their excurſions, by three companies of grenadiers, ſome free-booters, negroes, and mulattoes, which had paſſed over from Fort-Royal; but they were ſo warmly received, that they retreated precipitately, leaving ſome dead, beſides a ſerjeant and three of their grenadiers priſoners. 1762.

The Admiral and the General now determined to make a trial on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, between Point-Negro and Cas-de Pilotte. They therefore proceeded, with their whole force, to Ance-Darlet, and from thence reconnoitred the coaſt. In the mean time, various other movements were made to alarm and fatigue the enemy; and this had the deſired effect. The continual marches and counter-marches they were obliged to make to oppoſe a landing, wore them down ſo much as to render them, in ſome degree, greater objects of pity than terror.

A place which had the leaſt appearance of being able to make any great oppoſition being at length fixed on to diſembark the troops at, and from thence commence the operations againſt Fort-Royal, every neceſſary diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe. In the night of the 15th of January, the grenadiers were diſtributed on board ſome ſhips of the line.

1762. The more effectually to expedite their landing, and to cover it, nine other ſhips of the line were ordered to ſilence the different batteries on the coaſt. In the morning of the 16th, the ſhips got under way for the attack, and the flat-bottomed boats were all ready to take the troops aſhore. About noon, the forts were almoſt all ſilenced; and, by ſix in the evening, near ſeven thouſand men landed. Next morning, a little after daylight, the whole army was diſembarked, at a ſmall creek called Cas-des-Navires, with two battalions of marines, without the loſs of a ſingle man; and this at a place which the enemy deemed utterly impracticable.

This ſucceſsful diſembarkation was conducted by Captain Shuldham on the right, Commodore Swanton in the center, and Captain Harvey on the left, whilſt the ſubaltern officers and ſeamen received their orders with the moſt ſpirited chearfulneſs. The army, on landing, was ſupplied with ſuch neceſſaries as it was moſt immediately in want of; and all the ſhips and tranſports anchored, as much in ſafety as the coaſt would allow.

This landing was greatly facilitated by the judicious diſpoſition of the ſhips, and the deliberate direction of their fire, which ſoon obliged the enemy to abandon the batteries they had erected to defend the inlet choſen for this purpoſe. Many difficulties, however, were ſtill to be overcome. The regular troops of the enemy were not, indeed, very formidable; but the militia and mulattoes were numerous, well armed, and well ſkilled in the only kind of war which could be carried on in a country like this, though covered with hills, and broken by gullies, and every height intrenched, which could thereby be made to retard the progreſs of an army. This was particularly

particularly the caſe with regard to the environs of Fort-Royal. Mount-Garnier, and Mount-Tortonſon, two very conſiderable eminences, which commanded and covered the citadel; ſo that, while theſe hills were poſſeſſed by the enemy, no approaches could be carried on againſt it; and though there could, and even if taken, it could not be kept. This the French knew full well; and they, accordingly, did every thing that was neceſſary to improve nature by art, in a manner ſuitable to the importance of the ſtake. 1762.

The hills we have been ſpeaking of were ſurrounded by deep gullies, and theſe gullies, however difficult in themſelves to paſs, they improved by ſuch contrivances, as might make any other than Britiſh troops deem them impregnable. The General, by this time, encamped on the heights above Cas-de-Navires, was therefore obliged to commence his operations by erecting batteries, as well for his own ſecurity as to facilitate his approaches againſt Mount-Tortonſon and Mount-Garnier; and, at the ſame time, made the proper diſpoſitions to carry them by a *coup de main*. Accordingly, on the 24th of January, at break of day, the troops ordered for this ſervice advanced to the attack. Brigadier Grant, with the grenadiers, ſupported by Lord Rollo's brigade, began it on the out-poſts, under a briſk fire from the Engliſh batteries: Brigadier Rufane marched along the ſhore on the right, to ſecure the redoubts, which were erected on the coaſts; whilſt a thouſand ſeamen in flat-bottomed boats rowed up as he advanced: the light-infantry, under the command of Colonel Scott, ſupported by Brigadier Walſh's brigade, marched on the left, to gain a plantation, by which they might get round the enemy. The attempt ſucceeded in every quarter; and the enemy's works were, ſucceſſively, carried with an irreſiſtible impetuoſity; ſo that by nine o'clock,

1762. o'clock, the Engliſh troops were in full and quiet poſſeſſion of the ſtrong poſts and redoubts on Mount-Tortonſon, though defended by a numerous artillery. Some of the enemy fled precipitately into the town, whilſt others ſeized on Mount-Garnier, which, being much higher than Mount-Tortonſon, overlooked and commanded it. Brigadier Haviland, with his brigade, two battalions of Highlanders, and a corps of light-infantry, commanded by Major Leland, had received orders to croſs the gulley to the left of Brigadier Walſh, attack a body of the enemy poſted on the oppoſite heights, and endeavour to get on their left. By this movement, it was intended to divide the force of the enemy; but the extreme difficulty of acceſs, from the number of dangerous paſſes they had to ſurmount, made it late before any conſiderable progreſs could be made in the execution of theſe orders, though the troops had begun their march by two in the morning.

The French having thus given way almoſt on every ſide, Colonel Scott's light-infantry, with Brigadier Walſh's brigade, and a detachment of grenadiers, were ordered to a plantation more to the left; upon which Brigadier Haviland was to have come down from Mount-Tortonſon, if he had carried it: They drove off the enemy who were poſted there, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a very advantageous ſituation upon it, oppoſite Mount-Garnier: They were ſupported by Haviland's brigade after it had croſſed the gulley: The grenadiers under the command of Brigadier Grant, and Walſh's brigade, kept poſſeſſion of this laſt plantation, which was higher than the firſt, and communicated with Haviland's brigade, while the marines were poſted ſo as to cover the road between the two plantations.

On the 25th, batteries were ordered to be erected, with the greateſt diligence, againſt Fort-Royal; but the General finding, that

that it was first absolutely necessary to be master of Mount-Garnier, he gave orders for the erection of batteries, as well to check those of the enemy on that post, which greatly annoyed his troops, as to facilitate his passage over the gulley. During these preparations, on the 27th, about four in the afternoon, the enemy's whole force descended from Mount-Garnier, favoured by a sally out of the town. Both made a furious attack on the posts occupied by the light-infantry and Brigadier Haviland's brigade; but they were received with the greatest steadiness, and immediately repulsed; and the ardour of the British troops hurrying them forward, they passed the gulley between Mount-Tortonson and Mount Garnier, with the runaways. 1762.

Night was now come on; but, notwithstanding, Major Leland moved on to the left with his light-infantry, and meeting no opposition, continued his rout towards the enemy's redoubt, which he soon came up to, and took possession of; the enemy, except a few grenadiers who were made prisoners, having abandoned it. Their regulars retired into the citadel, whilst the militia took to the country, and dispersed.

Brigadiers Walsh, Grant, and Haviland now advanced to support the light-infantry; and by nine at night, the troops were in possession of Mount-Garnier, which entirely commanded the citadel. So precipitate was the enemy's flight, that they left a mortar loaded, and eight or nine guns unspiked, with a quantity of ammunition and provisions. The next morning, the cannon and mortars were turned against the citadel.

The suddenness with which these atchievements were performed, redoubled the ardour of the troops; even the obstacles

1762. they had ſtill to encounter, gave freſh life to their activity. Accordingly, the work neceſſary to carry on their farther approaches, was undertaken and executed, with the moſt chearful alacrity. Fully convinced, that conqueſt alone could put a period to their toil, every individual ſoldier ſeemed, with unremitting zeal, to defy the moſt diſcouraging hardſhips, in order to add a new luſtre to the Britiſh arms, and join to the never-fading laurels they had acquired in North-America and at Belle-Iſle, thoſe which muſt bloom on the ſurrender of Martinico. Thus every idea of fatigue and danger was loſt in an inextinguiſhable thirſt of glory.

The enemy ſeeing the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of every height and advantageous ſituation in their neighbourhood; their own batteries turned againſt themſelves, and new ones hourly added by the Engliſh, began to tremble at the thoughts of another attack: They therefore beat the chamade on the third of January, and ſurrendered the citadel of Fort-royal on the following terms, which were ſigned the next day, by the Britiſh Admiral and General, and Monſieur de Lignery, Governor of the fort, for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

ARTICLE I. The commanding officer of the citadel ſhall march out at the head of the garriſon, compoſed of troops detached from the marine, the royal grenadiers, cannoniers, bombardiers, and Swiſs; the different detachments of the militia and freebooters, and the other volunteers, with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, two pieces of cannon, and three rounds of ammunition each.

Anſwer. The troops of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in garriſon, ſhall march out with drums beating, colours flying, and two pieces

pieces of cannon, two rounds of ammunition; and ſhall be embarked and ſent to France as ſoon as poſſible, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty. The militia, free-booters, and others belonging to the iſland, ſhall lay down their arms and be priſoners of war until the fate of it is determined. 1762.

II. The garriſon ſhall be ſent to the port of Rochfort in France, by the moſt ſhort and expeditious way, at the expence, and in the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty.

Anſwer. Anſwered in the firſt.

III. The ſaid garriſon ſhall be lodged and maintained in the town of Fort-Royal till their departure, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty.

Anſwer. They ſhall be maintained at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty, and ſhall be embarked as in the firſt article.

IV. It ſhall be lawful for the officers, creoles, and others, to go into the iſland, and ſtay there as long as it ſhall be neceſſary to ſettle their affairs.

Anſwer. A reaſonable time will be allowed to the officers to ſettle their affairs, they behaving according to the rules of war.

V. The officers and others who have effects in the country, ſhall be allowed to keep them.

GRANTED.

1762. VI. The officers ſhall take their ſervants along with them.

GRANTED.

VII. The militia and other inhabitants, that now make part of the ſaid garriſon, may retire to their homes, with their ſervants likewiſe.

Anſwer. Anſwered in the firſt article.

VIII. The volunteers of St. Vincent, who came here to the ſuccour of the place, ſhall be furniſhed with a boat and proviſions to carry them home again, with their ſervants, arms, and baggage, as ſoon as poſſible.

Anſwer. To remain priſoners of war.

IX. The inhabitants, likewiſe, ſhall be furniſhed with ſhallops, or boats, to carry them to the different quarters of this iſland.

REFUSED.

X. The ſick and wounded ſhall be removed to the hoſpital of this city, to be there taken care of by our own ſurgeons, till they are perfectly recovered; and the commiſſary of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall take care to furniſh them with ſubſiſtence.

Anſwer. They ſhall be taken the ſame care of as our own, and may be attended by their ſurgeons.

XI. The ſaid hoſpital ſhall take away with them their medicines, and all their utenſils and effects in general.

GRANTED.

XII.

XII. The chaplain of the troops ſhall be permitted to adminiſter ſpiritual ſuccours to the ſick, as well as others of the troops, and publicly to bury the dead, without moleſtation. 1762.

GRANTED.

XIII. The ſaid ſick, after their recovery, ſhall follow the fortune of their reſpective corps, as well as thoſe who ſhall actually be in the hoſpitals without the town.

GRANTED.

XIV. There ſhall be a general inventory taken by commiſſaries named by each party, of the artillery, ammunition, proviſions, and all other effects, within the place.

GRANTED.

XV. The Engliſh priſoners detained in this citadel, ſhall be exchanged for ours; among others, M. de Caponné, major of this citadel and iſland, ſhall be included in the exchange, to follow the fortune of the officers of the place.

REFUSED.

XVI. The effects of the officers and men belonging to the royal grenadiers, which were left upon Mount-Garnier, ſhall be reſtored to them.

Anſwer. It cannot be complied with, as it will be impoſſible to recover them.

XVII. The armed free negroes and mulattoes that entered into the citadel, as attendants on the companies of militia, ſhall go out likewiſe, with the ſaid companies.

Anſwer. They ſhall remain priſoners of war until the fate of the iſland is determined.

1762.

XVIII. Three days ſhall be granted for the evacuation of the place; at the end of which time, the gate ſhall be given up to his Britannic Majeſty, whilſt the garriſon ſhall march out.

Anſwer. The gate of the fort ſhall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majeſty this evening at five o'clock; and the French garriſon ſhall march out at nine to-morrow morning.

XIX. Before the capitulation is ſettled, the commanding officer of the place ſhall be permitted to communicate it to the General; and, in the mean time, there ſhall be a ſuſpenſion of arms, and all the works ſhall ceaſe on both ſides.

Anſwer. After the capitulation is ſigned, and the gate of the fort poſſeſſed by Britiſh troops, the commandant ſhall be allowed to acquaint his General with it.

In conſequence of this capitulation, the gate of the citadel was delivered up to his Britannic Majeſty's troops, the evening of the 4th of February; and, at nine the next morning, the garriſon marched out, conſiſting of about eight hundred men, grenadiers, marines, militia, and free-booters. About one hundred and fifty of the garriſon were killed and wounded during the ſiege. In the ſeveral attacks which preceded it, the enemy had not leſs than a thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. Among the latter were ſeveral principal officers of the militia who were taken on the 24th of January. The loſs, on the part of the Engliſh, was one captain, five lieutenants, one enſign, three ſerjeants, and eighty-ſix rank and file killed; and one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, eleven captains, fifteen lieutenants, three enſigns, twenty ſerjeants, five drummers, and three hundred and thirty-two rank and file wounded; with eleven rank and file miſſing.

The

The capital of the iſland, St. Pierre, and ſome ſtrong redoubts in its neighbourhood, ſtill remained to be reduced, and the Governor-General, M. de la Touche, having retired to it with his forces, threatened to defend it to the laſt extremity. This his ſeeming reſoluteneſs produced a general anxiety in the Britiſh army, not from any doubt of ſucceſs, but from the moſt juſtiſiable apprehenſions, that, in conſequence of a long ſiege, they might be overtaken by diſeaſes peculiar to the climate, the malignity of which was much more to be dreaded than the enemy: But theſe apprehenſions were greatly abated by the arrival of deputations from different parts of the iſland, with the following requiſition of terms for the ſurrender of all ſuch parts of it as were ſtill poſſeſſed by the inhabitants. 1762.

Capitulation demanded by the inhabitants of the Iſland of Martinico, repreſented by Meſſieurs D'Aleſſo, Knight, Seigneur Deſragny La Pierre, Captain of horſe, and Feryre, Captain of infantry of militia, furniſhed with full powers from nine quarters of this iſland.

To their Excellencies Meſſieurs Monckton and Rodney, Generals by land and ſea of his Britannic Majeſty's forces.

ARTICLE I. The inhabitants ſhall quit their poſts with two field-pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, and ſhall have all the honours of war.

Anſwer. The inhabitants ſhall march out of all their garriſons and poſts (none excepted) with their arms and colours flying, upon condition that they afterwards lay them down; and that all the forts, garriſons, poſts, and batteries of cannon

1762. and mortars, with all arms, ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to proper persons appointed to receive them.

II. The inhabitants of the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, who are come to the assistance of this island, shall have the liberty to retire with their arms and baggage, and shall be furnished with a vessel to carry them to their own islands, with their servants which they have brought with them; as also provisions necessary for their voyage.

Answer. They must remain prisoners of war, as those of St. Vincent in the capitulation of Fort-Royal.

III. The inhabitants shall have free exercise of their religion; the priests, friars, and nuns, shall be preserved in their cures and convents; and it shall be permitted to the superiors of the order to send for any of them from France, delivering their letter to his Britannic Majesty's Governors.

GRANTED.

IV. They shall be strictly neuter, and shall not be obliged to take up arms against his Most Christian Majesty, nor even against any other power.

Answer. They become subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and must take the oath of allegiance; but shall not be obliged to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, until a peace shall determine the fate of the island.

V. They shall retain their civil government, their laws, customs, and ordinances; justice shall be administered by the same officers who are now in employment; and there shall be a regulation made for the interior police, between the Governor for his Britannic Majesty and the inhabitants; and, in

in caſe the iſland, at the peace, ſhall be ceded to the King of Great Britain, the inhabitants ſhall be allowed to retain their political government, and to accept that of Antigua or St. Chriſtopher's. 1762.

Anſwer. They become Britiſh ſubjects (as in the preceding article); but ſhall continue to be governed by their preſent laws, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be known.

VI. The inhabitants, as alſo the religious orders of both ſexes, ſhall be maintained in the property of their effects, moveable and immoveable, of what nature ſoever; and ſhall be preſerved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions; their free negroes and mulattoes ſhall have the entire enjoyment of their liberty.

GRANTED, in regard to the religious orders; the inhabitants, being ſubjects of Great Britain, will enjoy their properties, and the ſame privileges, as in the other his Majeſty's Leeward-Iſlands.

VII. They ſhall not pay to his Majeſty any other duties than thoſe which have been paid hitherto to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and the capitation of negroes, on the ſame footing it is paid at preſent, without any other charges or impoſts; and the expences of juſtice, penſions to curates, and other occaſional expences, ſhall be paid out of the domain of his Britannic Majeſty, as they were out of that of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

ANSWERED in the ſixth article in what regards the inhabitants.

VIII. and IX. The priſoners taken during the ſiege, ſhall be reſtored on both ſides; the free mulattoes, as well as the negroes,

1762. negroes, which ſhall have been taken, ſhall be reſtored as priſoners of war, and ſhall not be treated as ſlaves.

Anſwer. The inhabitants and mulattoes, now priſoners, will become Britiſh ſubjects, upon the ſubmiſſion of the whole iſland, and will enjoy the benefit of it. The negroes who have been taken in arms, are deemed ſlaves.

X. The ſubjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in the iſland for crimes, or been condemned to puniſhments, ſhall have liberty of retiring.

REFUSED.

XI. No others than the inhabitants, reſident in this iſland, ſhall, till the peace, poſſeſs any eſtates in it, either by acquiſition, agreement, or otherwiſe; but in caſe, at the peace, the country ſhall be ceded to the King of Great Britain, then it ſhall be allowed the inhabitants who are not willing to become his ſubjects, to ſell their eſtates, moveable and immoveable, to whom they pleaſe, and retire where they ſhall think proper; in which caſe, they ſhall be allowed convenient time.

Anſwer. All ſubjects of Great Britain may poſſeſs any lands or houſes by purchaſe. The remainder of this article granted, provided they ſell to Britiſh ſubjects.

XII. In caſe any exchanges ſhall be thought of at the peace, their Moſt Chriſtian and Britannic Majeſties are intreated to give the preference to this iſland.

Anſwer. This will depend upon his Britannic Majeſty's pleaſure.

XIII.

XIII. The inhabitants ſhall have liberty of retiring; that is, of ſending their children to France for their education; the wives of officers and others out of the iſland, ſhall have liberty to retire with their effects, and the number of ſervants ſuitable to their rank. 1762.

Anſwer. The liberty of ſending their children to France to be educated, depends upon the King's pleaſure. The reſt granted.

XIV. The Government ſhall procure for the inhabitants vent for their commodities, which ſhall be looked upon as national commodities, and of conſequence ſhall have entry in England.

GRANTED; the iſland producing nothing but what may be imported into England.

XV. The inhabitants ſhall not be obliged to find quarters for the troops, or to do any works on the fortifications.

Anſwer. The inhabitants muſt furniſh barracks or quarters for the King's troops in the ſeveral diſtricts of the iſland.

XVI. The widows, and others abſent through ſickneſs, who ſhall not have ſigned the capitulation, ſhall have a fixed time for doing it.

GRANTED, on condition they ſign it in one month from this date.

XVII. Veſſels ſhall be granted to the free-booters and others, who have no effects in this country, and are willing to leave it, to retire.

GRANTED, to go to France; but no where elſe.

1762. XVIII. It ſhall be permitted to give freedom to negroe and mulattoe ſlaves, as a recompenſe for their good ſervices, according to cuſtom.

GRANTED to ſervants.

XIX. The inhabitants and merchants ſhall enjoy all their privileges of commerce, as the ſubjects of Great Britain.

GRANTED; ſo that it does not affect the privileges of particular companies eſtabliſhed in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on trade in other than Britiſh bottoms.

XX. It ſhall always be permitted to the inhabitants to continue to make white and clayed ſugar, as they have been uſed to do.

GRANTED; they paying duty in proportion to their ſuperior value, in point of quality, above the Muſcavado ſugar.

XXI. The ſea-veſſels, as well ſhips as boats or ſchooners, which are ſunk or afloat, and which have not been taken, ſhall remain to their owners.

REFUSED to all privateers and ſhips trading to diſtant parts: Granted to ſuch as are employed in paſſing to and from the different ports of the iſland.

XXII. The money, which is now made uſe of, ſhall remain upon the ſame footing, without being ſuſceptible of either augmentation or diminution.

(D'ALLASSO.) (LAPIERE.) (DORIENTERSACK for
(J. FERRIERE.) (MAUBOIX.) DORIENT HUBERT and
DORIENT CAMPAGNE.)

Demanded,

Demanded, all archives and papers, which may be neceſſary or relative to the government of the iſland, to be faithfully given up. Leave is granted to the gentlemen of the iſland to keep neceſſary arms for the defence of their plantations. 1762.

ROBT. MONCKTON.
G. B. RODNEY.

Settled, agreed, and cloſed by us, the deputies, repreſentatives, and bearers of the powers from the major-part of the quarters compoſing this colony, in the city of Fort-Royal, Martinico, this 7th day of February, 1762.

D'ALLASSO. ROBT. MONCKTON.
J. FERRIERE. G. B. RODNEY.
LAPIERE.

Deputies, (DORIENTERSACK.) (BERLAND.) (MAUBOIX.)

Pigeon-Iſland ſurrendered the ſame day this capitulation was ſigned, and on the ſame terms with Fort-Royal, the allowance of cannon to the garriſon only excepted.

It was now thought neceſſary to reduce the north-ſide of the iſland, were it only to cut off all relief from St. Pierre's, and the great redoubts in its neighbourhood, where, as we have already obſerved, Monſieur de la Touche had collected his whole ſtrength, and threatened a long and vigorous defence. With this view, therefore, the General gave orders for attacking La Trinité, the principal port and town in that quarter; and, accordingly, on the 7th of February, the Honourable Captain Hervey, with the Dragon, and ſeveral other ſhips, himſelf in the Dragon with a diſtinguiſhing pendant, ſailed for La Trinité, where they arrived on the 9th; landed Captain Hervey's

1762. marines, with five hundred ſeamen; took poſſeſſion of the fort and the town; and obliged the inhabitants of the ſeven diſtricts of that coaſt to conſult their own intereſt by ſigning the capitulation, which had been granted thoſe of the ſouth-ſide of the iſland. Ten days after, Captain Hervey delivered over theſe diſtricts in perfect tranquillity, to Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, who had been ſent by the General to take upon him the government of them.

In the mean time, the preparations more immediately requiſite for the reduction of St. Pierre, were carried on with ſuch vigour, that every thing was ready for that purpoſe by the time Captain Hervey ſailed againſt La Trinité. But while the General was marching towards it, Monſieur de la Touche determined, probably by the ſucceſs of Captain Hervey, ſent his brother and a general officer, on board the Marlborough, with the following heads of a capitulation, which being agreed to, St. Pierre and the whole iſland of Martinico, were formally ſurrendered up to his Britannic Majeſty's forces, on the 13th of February.

Capitulation propoſed for the whole Iſland of Martinico, on the part of M. le Vaſſor de la Touche, the Governor-General.

Preliminary Article. A ſuſpenſion of arms ſhall be agreed on for fifteen days; at the expiration of which, the following capitulation ſhall take place, if no ſuccour arrives.

Anſwer. Twenty-four hours will be allowed the General to accede to the terms offered, from the time Meſſrs. de Bournan and de la Touche ſhall be ſet on ſhore at St. Pierre; and if accepted, the troops of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall be immediately

ately put in possession of such forts and posts, as his Britannic Majesty's General shall think fit. 1762.

ARTICLE I. All the forts and posts of the island shall be evacuated by the troops of his Most Christian Majesty, whether regular or militia, or independent companies of free-booters, or livery-servants; they shall march out with four field-pieces, their arms, two rounds *per* man, their ensigns or colours flying, drums beating, and all the honours of war; after which the said forts shall be occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majesty.

Answer. The troops and inhabitants shall march out of all their garrisons and posts with their arms, drums beating, colours flying; and the troops to have four pieces of cannon, with two rounds each, and two rounds *per* man; upon condition that the inhabitants afterwards lay down their arms; and that all the forts, garrisons, posts, and batteries of cannon or mortars, with all arms, ammunition, and implements of war, shall be delivered up to proper persons appointed by us to receive them.

II. Transport-vessels shall be provided, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, sufficiently victualled, to carry to the Grenades the above-mentioned regular troops, and their officers and commanders, with the four pieces of cannon, arms, baggage; and, in general, all the effects of the said officers and troops.

GRANTED; to France only.

III. M. Rouillé, Governor of Martinico, the King's Lieutenants of the said island, the officers of the staff, engineers and sub-engineers,

1762. engineers, ſhall return to France in the veſſels, and at the charge of his Britannic Majeſty.

GRANTED.

IV. There ſhall, in like manner, be provided, at the charge of his Britannic Majeſty, a veſſel and the neceſſary victualling, to carry to the Grenades M. le Vaſſor de la Touche, Commandant-General for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty of the French Leeward Iſlands in America, his lady, and all perſons with him engaged in the king's ſervice, or belonging to his houſehold, and all their effects.

GRANTED, to France, the Grenades being blocked up.

V. M. de Rochemore, inſpector of the fortifications and artillery in this iſland, ſhall, in like manner, be conveyed to the Grenades in the ſame ſhips with the perſons in his retinue engaged in the ſervice of the King, their domeſtics, and their effects.

GRANTED, to France.

VI. There ſhall be made by two commiſſaries, who ſhall be named for that purpoſe, one of each nation, an exact inventory of all the effects, which ſhall be found to belong to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in the arſenals, in the magazines, upon the batteries; and, in general, of all the arms, utenſils, and ammunitions of war, to be delivered up to the commanding officer of his Britannic Majeſty.

GRANTED.

VII. Merchandizes, not being arms nor ammunitions of war, which may be found lodged in the ſaid magazines, or upon the

the ſaid batteries, ſhall not be made a part of the ſaid inventory, unleſs it be in order to their being reſtored to the true owners. 1762.

Anſwer. All military ſtores, and others employed as ſuch, become his Britannic Majeſty's.

VIII. All the priſoners made during the ſiege, or at ſea, before the ſiege, of whatever nation and quality, ſhall be reſtored on either ſide; and thoſe made in the citadel, if they be troops, ſhall follow the fortune of the other troops; and if inhabitants, they ſhall follow the fortune of the other inhabitants.

Anſwer. The troops, according to the cartel; the inhabitants will be releaſed upon the ſigning of this capitulation.

IX. The free-negroes and mulattoes made priſoners of war, ſhall be treated as ſuch, and reſtored, like the other priſoners, in order to their continuing to enjoy their liberties.

Anſwer. All negroes taken in arms are deemed ſlaves. The reſt granted.

X. The Sieurs Nadau Dutreil, de la Potterie, and Cornette, priſoners of ſtate, ſhall be likewiſe conducted, at the expence, and in the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty, to the Iſland of the Grenades, to be delivered into the hands of M. le Vaſſor de la Touche.

Anſwer. Meſſieurs de la Potterie and Cornette, ſhall be delivered up when taken; but M. Nadau having had our promiſe, (immediately upon his being made priſoner) to procure him a reaſonable time to ſettle his affairs, he has three months, from the date hereof, for that purpoſe.

XI. The Iſland of Martinico ſhall remain in the hands of his Britannic Majeſty, till ſuch time as its condition ſhall have been

1762. been determined, by treaty made between the two powers, without the inhabitants being compelled, in any caſe, to take up arms, either againſt the king of France, or againſt his allies, or even againſt any other power.

Anſwer. They become ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and muſt take the oaths of allegiance; but ſhall not be obliged to take up arms againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, until a peace ſhall determine the fate of the iſland.

XII. All the inhabitants of Martinico, either preſent or abſent, even thoſe that are engaged in his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſervice, as well as all religious houſes and communities, ſhall be maintained and preſerved in the poſſeſſion and property of their real and perſonal eſtates, of their negroes, ſhipping, and generally of all their effects, whether the ſaid real and perſonal eſtates and effects be actually in Martinico or in any other iſland; and the ſlaves, which have been taken from them during the ſiege, ſhall be reſtored to them.

Anſwer. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, will enjoy their properties; and, as they become Britiſh ſubjects, they will enjoy the ſame privileges as in his Majeſty's other Leeward Iſlands. In regard to the ſlaves, anſwered in the ninth article.

XIII. The boats, or other veſſels belonging to Martinico, which are actually out at ſea, or in neutral ports, whether they are equipped for war or not, ſhall be permitted to return into the ports and roads of this iſland, upon the declaration to be made by the owners thereof, of their intending to ſend them immediate orders to return, and upon their giving perſonal ſecurity, that the ſaid veſſels ſhall make no attempt upon any

any Engliſh ſhip: In conſideration of which declaration, paſſports ſhall be granted them, that they may return in all ſecurity. 1762.

REFUSED; as foreign to the capitulation: but any applications which may afterwards be made on this head, ſhall be conſidered according to the rules of juſtice and of war.

XIV. The inhabitants of Martinico ſhall freely and publicly exerciſe their religion; the prieſts, friars, and nuns, ſhall be maintained in the public exerciſe of their functions, and in the enjoyment of their privileges, prerogatives, and exemptions.

GRANTED.

XV. The ſuperior as well as inferior judges, ſhall likewiſe be maintained in their functions, privileges, and prerogatives; they ſhall continue to adminiſter juſtice to the inhabitants of this iſland, according to the laws, ordinances, cuſtoms, and uſages, which have been followed hitherto. No foreigner ſhall be allowed to ſit in the council as a judge: But, if any place in the magiſtracy becomes vacant, the ſuperior council of Martinico ſhall diſpoſe of it, proviſionally only, and the perſon choſen by them, ſhall perform the duties of it, till the one or the other of the two courts ſhall otherwiſe ſettle it, after that the condition of Martinico ſhall have been fixed by a treaty between them.

Anſwer. They become Britiſh ſubjects; but ſhall continue to be governed by their preſent laws, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be known.

XVI. M. le Baron d'Huart, commanding the troops and militia of this iſland, as well as M. de Bouran, Major-General, ſhall

1762.

be conveyed to the Grenades in the ſame veſſel in which the royal grenadiers are to be embarked, together with their domeſtics and effects, as well as thoſe of all the officers of the ſame corps: The ſaid officers ſhall have leave to collect together their effects, which are diſperſed in divers parts of the iſland, and the neceſſary time for the recovery of them ſhall be allowed them. Orders ſhall be given to the inhabitants, that are indebted to the officers of this corps, to pay them before their departure. The officers ſhall likewiſe be bound to diſcharge the debts they have contracted in this iſland.

Anſwer. They ſhall be ſent to France. The reſt granted.

XVII. All the land and ſea-officers who are in the iſland, either on actual duty, or with leave, ſhall have a year's time to ſettle all the affairs they may have there.

Anſwer. A proper time will be allowed to ſuch as have eſtates upon the iſland, with the uſual reſtrictions; and ſuch as ſhall have M. de la Touche the Governor-General's leave.

XVIII. The nobility ſhall continue to enjoy all the privileges and exemptions which have been always granted them.

GRANTED; ſo that it is not inconſiſtent with the Britiſh laws.

XIX. The ſlaves that have been made free during the ſiege, or to whom their freedom has been promiſed, ſhall be reputed and declared free, and they ſhall peaceably enjoy their ſtate of freedom.

GRANTED.

XX. The duties of the poll-tax, thoſe of importation and exportation; and, in general, all the duties eſtabliſhed in this iſland, ſhall

ſhall be continued to be paid for the future, on the ſame footing as heretofore. 1762.

Anſwer. Anſwered in the 15th article.

XXI. As it imports the glory and intereſt of every prince whatſoever, to make it publicly known, that he honours with a ſpecial protection the action of every ſubject which bears the character of zeal, love, and loyalty for his king; it has been agreed, that the things furniſhed to the colony on occaſion of the ſiege, either before or during the ſame; ſuch as proviſions, utenſils, ammunition, arms, or money; ſhall continue to be conſidered as debts of the colony, juſt as they were and ought to be, in its former ſtate; conſequently, that the amounts of theſe ſupplies ſhall not ceaſe to be reputed as debts of the colony itſelf, and which it muſt ſatisfy, into whatſoever hands it may paſs, through the fortune of arms: that, conſidering the nature and quality of theſe debts, it will add to the dignity of his Britannic Majeſty, to grant the creditors all manner of protection; conſequently, they ſhall be paid out of the firſt funds that ſhall ariſe, as well from the poll-tax as from the duties of importation and exportation on merchandizes that are liable to them. To which purpoſe, the ſtate of theſe debts ſhall be ſettled and verified by M. de la Riviere, intendant of the American Leeward Iſlands.

Anſwer. Will be ſettled by the generals of both ſides, being foreign to the capitulation.

XXII. In virtue of the ſame principle, and conſidering the neceſſity of ſpeedily bringing proviſions into this colony, it has likewiſe been agreed, that ſuch merchants of the town of St. Pierre, as, by orders from the intendant, M. de la

1762. Riviere, have entered into meaſures and engagements, to bring over hither proviſions from the neutral iſlands, ſhall be permitted to fulfil their engagements, as well to ſave them from the loſs they would otherwiſe ſuffer, as to procure to this iſland a more ſpeedy ſupply; conſequently, two months ſhall be granted them, from the day of ſigning theſe preſents, to complete their undertakings: But, to avoid all abuſes in this reſpect, M. de la Riviere ſhall give a note of the nature and quantity of the proviſions which he has ordered to be procured from the neutral iſlands; and, as he has promiſed and granted an exemption from all duties on this importation, the ſaid exemption ſhall take place in the ſame manner as it was promiſed, and as it is actually practiſed; being a profit in which the colony and the merchant have both their ſhare.

Anſwer. All ſupplies whatever, that were engaged to be thrown into this iſland by any neutral power, for the ſupport of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's troops and colony, will be deemed legal prizes, if taken by his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips; and all engagements with neutral powers for ſuch a ſupply, made before the reduction of this iſland, being void, no commerce for the future can be carried on but in Britiſh bottoms.

XXIII. M. le Vaſſor de la Touche ſhall be allowed five of the inhabitants, whom he ſhall cauſe to be put on board ſuch of the veſſels as are to tranſport his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's troops. His reaſons for this demand are, that it imports all ſovereign powers not to grant any protection to any one who breaks through the allegiance and fidelity a ſubject owes to his king.

Answer. Cannot be allowed, as we have already granted them his Britannic Majesty's protection. 1762

XXIV. M. de la Riviere, intendant, and M. Guignard, commissary-comptroller of the marine in this island, shall be allowed time sufficient to settle all the departments of their respective administrations, and do whatever is absolutely necessary in that respect. A ship with provisions shall afterwards be furnished, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, in order to convey to the Grenades, the said intendant, his wife, children, secretaries, and servants, with all their effects. The said commissary-comptroller of the marine shall go on board the same ship, and be conveyed to the same island.

GRANTED; afterwards to be sent to France.

XXV. The persons employed in the administration of the domaine, of the marine, the classes and the finances, who shall be willing to return to France, shall be transported thither with their effects, in the vessels, and at the charge of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XXVI. The public records shall be again forthwith deposited in their proper places; and the Governor for his Britannic Majesty shall grant all necessary protection for this purpose.

Answer. They must be delivered to such persons as the General shall appoint to receive them.

XXVII. With regard to any papers of accounts, they shall again be put into the hands of the proper accomptants, that they may be enabled to proceed to the rendering of their accounts, and

1762. and to vouch them by ſuch pieces as are neceſſary for their diſcharge.

GRANTED.

XXVIII. The inhabitants, merchants, and other private perſons, reſident or not, ſhall have leave to go to St. Domingo or Louiſiana, with their negroes and effects, in cartel ſhips, at their own expence.

GRANTED.

XXIX. If any of the grenadier ſoldiers ſhould endeavour to remain in the iſland, or to fly their colours, a protection and guard ſhall be granted to prevent their deſerting, and what remains of the ſaid grenadiers ſhall be embarked complete.

GRANTED; except in particular caſes.

XXX. The merchant-ſhips belonging to the French traders in Europe, which are at this time in the harbours and roads of this iſland, ſhall be preſerved to their true proprietors, with the liberty of ſelling them, or of clearing them for France in ballaſt.

REFUSED to all privateers and ſhips trading to diſtant ports. Granted to ſuch as trade to and from the different ports of this iſland.

At Martinico, February 13th, 1762.

LE VASSOR DE LA TOUCHE.

Done at Fort-Royal in the Iſland of Martinico, this 13th day of February, 1762.

ROBT. MONCKTON.
G. B. RODNEY.

The

The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh in the conqueſt of Martinico, muſt appear very trifling, when we reflect on the numberleſs difficulties which every where preſented themſelves, and the value of the prize contended for. Nature had, in every part, been laviſh of her defences to oppoſe an invaſion; and Art, far from neglecting to improve her bounties, had added every ſtrength that judgment and experience could ſuggeſt. Beſides, the vaſt conſequence of the iſland itſelf to France, together with the riches of the inhabitants, could not fail calling forth their utmoſt exertions to repel their invaders; and they had continually before them every motive that could animate and inſpire them with fortitude to bear every fatigue, and courage to brave every danger: The houſes in which they were born, the land which nurtured them, the graves of their anceſtors, the cradles of their children, their wives, their daughters, their whole eſtates, expoſed to the inſults of a conquering foe, were ſufficient to excite the utmoſt eſforts of human ſkill; yet, however ſtrong ſuch a variety of ſenſations muſt have operated to the purpoſe of inſpiriting the French, it proved unequal to the true valour and perſevering ardour of the Engliſh troops, who, in ſurmounting every obſtacle, gave a noble example of Britiſh ſpirit. But the grenadiers commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonels Fletcher, Maſſey, and Vaughan; and the light infantry headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, Major Leland, and Captain Quintin Kennedy, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner; the warmeſt part of the ſervice having fallen to their lot. 1762.

Nor was the innate bravery of the Britiſh ſailors ever more conſpicuous than during this expedition; and the ſervices they performed, as well on ſhore as on their own element, are

1762. almoſt incredible; and, to the everlaſting honour of both the ſea and land forces, the utmoſt harmony ſubſiſted between them, and Admiral Rodney gave the General every aſſiſtance in his power, with all the cordiality that might be expected, had his own glory alone depended on the event.

Though it was merely by the right of arms that the iſland of Martinico and its inhabitants, with all their riches, thus fell into the power of the Engliſh; the humanity and generoſity of the conquerors made ſo deep an impreſſion on the hearts of the conquered, that, inſtead of regarding them as outrageous foes, they hailed them their deliverers from tyranny and oppreſſion; and, from the hitherto unknown degree of liberty they were now permitted to enjoy, conceived ſuch an high idea of the Britiſh government, as made them break out into open prayers of long continuing to enjoy the bleſſings of it.

During the progreſs of the army, the Admiral kept his ſhips differently employed; but moſt of them were obliged to remain with the army, not only to cover the ſiege of Fort-Royal, and be able to do the ſame at St. Pierre's; but becauſe their marines were all on ſhore, doing duty with the troops; and even many of their ſeamen were daily employed in the neceſſary taſk of hauling up the cannon to the troops, and carrying them proviſions and ammunition. Proper officers were appointed to forward theſe ſervices with that diſpatch which the importance of them required.

The conqueſt of Martinico being thus accompliſhed, General Monckton would have proceeded in perſon to have reduced the other iſlands mentioned in his Majeſty's inſtructions; but that

that he thought it of more consequence to the service, considering the then critical situation of affairs, to remain where he was. Besides, his presence was absolutely requisite to settle many material points conducive to the security of his new conquest: Accordingly, every measure was pursued that prudence could dictate, and that could tend to the preservation of harmony between his own troops, and secure order and obedience from the inhabitants. The execution of the remainder of the King's instructions being a second consideration; it was, therefore, prudently resolved to send a small squadron under Commodore Swanton, with the fifth brigade under Brigadier Walsh, and the corps of light-infantry, commanded by Colonel Scott, to reduce the Grenades. These troops soon arriving at their place of destination, landed on the 5th of March, without the least opposition. The Governor having, with some regulars and free-booters, possessed himself of a very strong and advantageous post commanding the fort, shewed, for some time, a resolution to defend the place; and his dispositions indicated an obstinate intention of repelling the invaders, if possible; but he no sooner saw the British troops landed, and favourably posted, than he abandoned his strong situation; and then, finding himself deserted by the inhabitants, and that the communication with the country was cut off in such a manner as to preclude all hopes of relief, he submitted without firing a gun; so that this valuable conquest, left to the crown of Great Britain by the definitive treaty, did not cost her a single man.

1762

All this while, the greatest part of the fleet kept cruizing on different stations, to watch if any of the enemy should appear; and commodore Sir James Douglas, in particular, off the Salines: Notwithstanding which, the Admiral determined to at-

1762. tack the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been an object of contention between the French and the English. Accordingly, on the 24th of February, he ordered

The Hon. Capt. Hervey, in the Dragon, with the
Norwich,
Penzance,
Dover, and
Basilisk,

to proceed on this service; with liberty, on his making the island of St. Lucia, reconnoitring the coasts of it, and making all the other observations in his power, to attack it without waiting for farther instructions, if he thought himself strong enough to carry his point; otherwise he was only to send the Admiral the best account he could, of the enemy's force and situation, and block up their ports, in the best manner he could, to prevent their receiving any supplies, and acquaint the Admiral, from time to time, of his proceedings: in case he attacked the island, he was left entirely to the direction of his own judgment, in his operations against it. If Captain Hervey should subdue the island, after taking possession of the forts, and acquainting the Admiral therewith; he was to proceed to the Island of St. Vincent, and inform the chief of the Indians there, that he was not come to molest them, and much less strip them of their possessions; but to free them from the yoke which the French had imposed on them, and oblige the usurpers to evacuate that island; his Majesty being desirous to grant the natives his royal protection, and maintain them in that state of neutrality to which they had an undoubted right: And, that Captain Hervey might the more effectually comply with these instructions, he was ordered to wear a broad pendent when not in sight of a senior officer.

The

The first of these services was performed by the 27th, when the Island of St. Lucia surrendered by the following capitulation. 1762.

Articles of capitulation agreed on between the Honourable Augustus Hervey, Commander of a squadron of his Majesty's ships, employed off the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent; and Monsieur de Longueville, Commander and Governor of his Most Christian Majesty's forces on the Island of St. Lucia.

ARTICLE I. The troops of the Most Christian King, which are in the Island of St. Lucia, shall be allowed the same capitulation with the Island of Martinico; they shall be supplied with a vessel and provisions to remove to the said island; they shall leave St. Lucia with the honours of war, their arms and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, and a field-piece, and so proceed to Martinico, with ten rounds for said field-piece; and they shall be allowed two days to bring down their baggage from the redoubts.

Answer. The troops of his Most Christian Majesty shall march out of their garrisons and posts, with the honours of war, and be allowed a field-piece of cannon, with four rounds, and lighted match; they shall be allowed forty-eight hours to get their baggage from the redoubts, and then be embarked at his Britannic Majesty's expence for Martinico, and from thence to France as soon as possible.

II. The inhabitants of this island ask the same terms, which have been granted to those of Martinico, by the late capitulation made with M. le Vassor, our General.

1762. *Answer.* The inhabitants of St. Lucia shall immediately surrender up their arms, send in their names with places of their abode, and submit themselves *at discretion* to his Britannic Majesty; but they shall not be obliged to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty.

III. All forts, garrisons, posts, cannon, mortars, magazines of ammunition, provisions, and implements of war delivered up *bona fide* to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them.

GRANTED.

IV. The inhabitants shall have free exercise of their religion; their priests and nuns shall be reserved in their cures and convents, until his Britannic Majesty's pleasure is known.

GRANTED.

V. All archives and papers, which may be necessary or relative to the government of the island, to be faithfully given up; as also, all plans of the island, fortifications, harbours, bays, &c.

GRANTED.

VI. All vessels whatsoever, that have been employed on any other voyage, or on any other account than merely transporting the produce of this island from one place to another of this island, or carrying such produce from this island to Martinico only, shall be seized by his Majesty's ships at St. Lucia.

GRANTED.

Dated on board his Majesty's ship Dragon at St. Lucia, February 26th, 1762.

A. HERVEY.
LONGUEVILLE.

This

This capitulation gave Captain Hervey poſſeſſion of the fineſt harbour in the Weſt-Indies, ſtrongly fortified by art as well as by nature. St. Lucia is, beſides, remarkable for ſeveral freſh water rivers, and great plenty of wood. It extends north north-eaſt, and ſouth ſouth-weſt about forty-five miles, and is about thirteen in breadth. It is indeed mountainous and but little cleared, and contained but about one thouſand inhabitants, though very fruitful and capable of yielding the ſame commodities with all the other Weſt-Indian iſlands. But, after all, its chief merit conſiſts in the excellent harbour called the Little Carenage on the leeward ſide of the iſland. This harbour is one of the beſt in the Weſt-Indies, and it is impoſſible to attack it by ſhipping when properly fortified, though it can receive veſſels of the greateſt draught, having ſeven fathom water cloſe to the ſhore, and a cove where a firſt rate man of war may be careened.

We cannot help remarking in this place, that it is not bravery alone which conſtitutes a good officer. A wiſe attention to circumſtances, with the neceſſary vigilance to gain by ſtratagem, what force, perhaps, would never effect, has ſuperior merit. It is on this principle we muſt relate a ſingular circumſtance that attended the reduction of St. Lucia. When Captain Hervey arrived off the iſland, he was entirely at a loſs for intelligence concerning the ſituation of its French inhabitants, and the troops which defended it. From the peculiar poſition of the harbour, there was no reconnoitring it from without; and the coaſt was every where ſo well defended, that it was impracticable to land; he, therefore, determined to ſummon the Governor, and to accompany the officer charged with the ſummons in perſon, but dreſſed as a midſhipman, ſent, as it were, to

1762. ſerve as an interpreter. By this means he got into the harbour, and had an opportunity of ſeeing that the water was every where deep; nay, he was carried up to the fortreſs where the Governor reſided.

The ſummons was anſwered with a ſpirit that threatened a ſtout defence; but next morning, whilſt the Engliſh ſhips were under ſail to force the harbour, and the marines and ſeamen ready in the boats for the aſſault, the commodore received an offer of capitulation from the Governor, M. de Longueville. The officer ſent on this errand, knowing again the Commodore, whom he had ſeen the day before in a different character, could not help betraying great ſurpriſe; but at the ſame time, rightly judging of the real cauſe of this duplicity, he preſently recovered himſelf; and, without taking any farther notice of it, returned to the Governor, and ſoon after brought back thoſe articles ſigned, which the Commodore had ſent in by him. The ſhips then went in and took poſſeſſion of the harbour, and the whole iſland immediately ſubmitted: From hence, on the 4th of March, the Commodore ſailed to reduce the Iſland of St. Vincent; but, on his way, he met an expreſs from Admiral Rodney, with orders to join him with all expedition. The following extract of a letter from the Admiral to Captain Forreſt, who commanded his Majeſty's fleet at Jamaica, will ſufficiently account for the above orders.

" I muſt acquaint you, that the French ſquadron, under the
" command of M. de Blenac, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line,
" and five frigates, having on board two thouſand troops,
" commanded by M. Belſunce and M. de St. Croix, appeared off
" Martinico on the 9th inſtant. I immediately put to ſea, with

1762.

" ſix ſhips of the line, and four or five frigates, in hopes of " being able to bring them to an action; but was diſappointed " in my aim. Having gained intelligence, that the Iſland of " Martinico belonged to his Britannic Majeſty, they made off, " without my being able to learn, for forty-eight hours, what " courſe they had taken. I had great reaſon to believe, that " they were gone to the relief of Grenada, then beſieged; " but, upon receiving a certain account that they were ſeen off " St. Chriſtopher's, ſteering weſt with all the ſail they could " crowd, I collected, with the utmoſt diſpatch, all my force, " and ſhall haſten to join you as ſoon as poſſible, and you may " every hour expect me. But, as I think the beſt way to defeat " the enemy's deſigns, will be to attack them in their own " ports, I ſhould be glad that you would join me with all the " ſhips under your command, off Cape St. Nicholas; or, in " caſe that ſhould be found impracticable, that you would " cauſe frigates to cruize to windward in queſt of me, to " give me an account of the preſent ſtate of the iſland, and " the intelligence you have been able to procure of the ene- " my's motions, that I may the better know how to take my " meaſures for the preſervation of Jamaica."

In conſequence of the above orders to Captain Hervey, he made all the ſail he could to join the Admiral; and, on the 6th of March, came up with him off St. Pierre's, as did Sir James Douglas and Commodore Swanton; ſo that, within a few hours, his whole fleet was collected. It was in vain to think of intercepting the enemy before they could arrive at St. Domingo. However, not a moment was loſt in victualling and watering, and getting every ſhip ready for action, in order to ſuccour the Iſland of Jamaica, as expreſſes had been received from the Governor

1762. Governor and Council of that iſland, that they were in imminent danger; that the iſland was to be attacked by the united forces of France and Spain; and requeſting that the Admiral and General would endeavour to prevent the ſaid iſland from falling into the hands of the enemy, by ſending them ſpeedy ſuccour.

Immediately on the receipt of this expreſs, the Admiral communicated it to the General; and propoſed to him to hold a conſiderable body of troops in conſtant readineſs to embark for the relief of Jamaica, the moment intelligence ſhould be received, of the Breſt ſquadron's having quitted thoſe ſeas; the Admiral being, on his ſide, determined to aſſiſt them with all the naval force, that could poſſibly be ſpared from the immediate protection of the Carribee Iſlands.

General Monckton was much diſtreſſed at the critical ſituation of Jamaica; eſpecially as he did not think himſelf authoriſed to part with any of his troops without expreſs orders from England. This, however, did not prevent the Admiral from proſecuting his purpoſe of haſtening to the relief of Jamaica: he, therefore, ordered Captain Hervey to St. Chriſtopher's, to collect all the ſhips on that ſtation, and to remain there till joined by him with the reſt of his fleet, in readineſs to ſail at a moment's warning; and ſoon after, the Admiral took the ſame rout himſelf, leaving Sir James Douglas at Martinico. But before he could ſail from St.-Chriſtopher's, he received an expreſs, on the 26th of March, by Captain Elphinſtone of the Richmond, with orders to deſiſt from any enterpriſe he might have in view, as it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary, that all operations ſhould yield to the grand object, a ſecret expedition, which had been then reſolved upon.

Thus

Thus we ſee, that the time in which Martinico was reduced, was a circumſtance of as much conſequence as the reduction itſelf; for, the war againſt Spain having been declared in the beginning of the year, it became adviſeable to ſtrike early ſuch an effectual blow againſt that nation, as might incline her to a ſpeedy peace, or materially influence the fortune of the war, if ſhe ſhould perſiſt in her hoſtile deſigns. It was, on this plan, neceſſary to employ, on one and the ſame ſervice, a very great force; and, of courſe, call away a conſiderable part of that which had been employed at Martinico. 1762.

To be thus ſtopped in the career of glory, and ſuperſeded in command, when juſt on the point of ſeizing freſh laurels, muſt have been extremely mortifying; for it was now impoſſible to proceed to the protection of Jamaica, or attempt any thing againſt the fleet of the enemy in their own ports, without acting in contradiction to the inſtructions received from the Lords of the Admiralty. However, as the preſervation of Jamaica was an object of ſo much conſequence, the Admiral thought himſelf juſtifiable in obeying a ſtanding poſitive order, reſpecting all admirals or commodores commanding on the ſtation of the Leeward Iſlands, that, in caſe any French ſquadrons paſſed theſe ſeas, they ſhould detach immediately an equal number of ſhips after them, or follow them in perſon; beſides, the Admiral knew that the Jamaica fleet was to compoſe part of that commanded by Sir George Pococke, which was to be employed in the ſecret expedition, and had not received the leaſt intimation againſt what place that expedition was intended; he therefore thought it abſolutely neceſſary, not only for the preſervation of Jamaica, but to prevent the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, to

1762. detach Sir James Douglas with ten ſail of the line, to Commodore Forreſt, who had already ſeven ſail of the line and ten frigates under him: And accordingly he ſent Captain Holwell to Martinico, with orders for Sir James to repair with all the expedition poſſible, in the Culloden, to St. Chriſtopher's, there to take on him the command of a ſquadron for Jamaica. On the 2d of April, Sir James arrived at St. Chriſtopher's, and the Admiral immediately ordered the Captains of the

Culloden	Temeraire
Dublin	Devonſhire
Dragon	Stirling-caſtle
Temple	Sutherland
Nottingham	Alcide
Dover	Thunder and Grenada bombs,

with the Cæſar tender, and a ſloop laden with maſts, to put themſelves under Sir James's command, and then ordered Sir James himſelf to proceed with them immediately to the Iſland of Jamaica, there to take upon him the command of the ſhips on that ſtation, and get them ready as faſt as poſſible, to join Sir George Pococke, who was expected in theſe ſeas by the middle of April; and moreover, make ſuch a diſpoſition of his ſhips, as ſhould appear moſt conducive to the defence of that iſland. He was likewiſe to diſpatch a tender or frigate, on his arrival at Jamaica, with what intelligence he could procure, to Sir George Pococke at Martinico, and give directions to the commanders of ſuch veſſels, to keep in the uſual track of ſhips bound from Martinico to Jamaica; and then order his other frigates to cruize to windward, on the ſouth-ſide of Hiſpaniola, that Sir George Pococke might have as early and as full intelligence as poſſible.

On the 3d of April the Admiral ſailed with Sir James and the whole fleet, to deceive the Dutch, who might obſerve their ſeparation, and give notice of it to the enemy; they kept company till night, when the ſignal was made for Sir James to proceed to Jamaica; the Admiral ſteered for St. Pierre, and anchored in the road on the 9th. Immediately on his arrival, he began the neceſſary preparations for getting the ſhips in readineſs for Sir George Pococke; and, in the mean time, ſent off an expreſs to acquaint him, that Cas-de-Navirre Bay was the fitteſt place for him to water in, and that the fleet and troops at Martinico ſhould be ready to ſail the moment of his arrival. 1762.

Sir James Douglas made Jamaica on the 11th of April, and having received intelligence from Commodore Forreſt, that a French ſquadron was in Port-St.-François, in the Iſland of Hiſpaniola, and that they intended to join the Spaniards at the Havanna, with all the reinforcements they could collect; it was, in conſequence of theſe advices, thought neceſſary to diſpatch immediately as many of the ſhips as could be ſpared from the Jamaica ſtation, to cruize off the port of St.-François, and, if poſſible, block up the French ſhips in it. It was off Port-Royal, in Jamaica, that this reſolution was taken; and the ſhips to be employed in this ſervice, had ſixty or ſeventy leagues to work up to windward. Captain Hervey was ordered, with a broad pendant, on board the Dragon, to take on him the command of the

Temeraire	Alcide
Nottingham	Stirling-caſtle
Pembroke	Defiance
Dover	Portmahon, and
Huſſar	Trent,

1762. and to take, besides, under his orders, all the ships he might meet with cruizing about that island.

Captain Hervey, on his arrival off Port-St-François, found the French squadron all ready for sea; but on the third day after, the troops that were on board disembarked, and M. de Blenac, in consequence of a message he had received from the Governor of the Havanna, gave over all thoughts of going immediately to sea.

THE

Engraved for M. Monts History of the War in America. By J. Leslie.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK X.

The English resolve to attack the Havanna.——Sea and land-forces sent against it.——They arrive at Barbadoes;——at Martinico.——Proceed to the Havanna.——Spanish vessels taken.——Force of the Spaniards at the Havanna.——The English land in its neighbourhood.——Rout a body of Spanish cavalry.——Take post at Guanamacoa.——Besiege the Moro.——The Spaniards make a sally;——are repulsed.——The Moro cannonaded by sea.——Arrival of troops from North-America.——The Moro taken by assault.——The cannon of the Moro turned against the Havanna.——The Governor summoned to surrender.——Refuses.——Batteries erected against the town, opened.——The Governor desires to capitulate;——Granted.——The articles of capitulation.

WE have already mentioned the declaration of war made by the English against the Spaniards, and are now to give an account of the hostilities which followed it. The most effectual method that the former could take to annoy the latter, and at the same time counteract the formidable accession of strength which France, by this time almost subdued, must 1762.

1762. otherwiſe receive from the acquiſition of ſuch an ally, was vigorouſly to attack ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements in America, before they could be put into a proper poſture of defence: For, ſhould this plan be attended with ſucceſs, it would not only obſtruct the channels through which the Spaniards received all their wealth from that quarter of the globe, but poſſibly deprive them of the very ſources which furniſhed it. The Havanna, on the Iſland of Cuba, was therefore the object ſingled out by the Britiſh miniſtry, as the moſt proper to accompliſh theſe ends.

This city is ſituated exactly under the tropic of Cancer, 83° weſt of London, and is by far the moſt conſiderable place in the Weſt-Indies, as well on account of its trade, as of its harbour and docks, in which ſhips of war of the firſt magnitude are built. But what rendered it of yet far greater conſequence, was its being alſo the key of the riches of Mexico, and the uſual repoſitory till their final embarkation for Old Spain. The harbour lies to the eaſt of the town, and is ſpacious enough to receive an hundred ſhips of the line. The entrance into it is defended by the Moro, a fort built upon a narrow point of land to the north of the town, and which is large enough to hold a garriſon of one thouſand men, with all neceſſary proviſions to reſiſt a long and vigorous ſiege. It contains very good caſements, and two ciſterns which afford plenty of water. As it ſtands on ſteep rocks, it is inacceſſible from the ſea, which laſhes its foundations. It is fortified to the eaſt with two baſtions, a courtin and good covered way, with a dry ditch, half of which is cut out of the ſolid rock. It commands the Fort de la Punta on the oppoſite ſide of the harbour's mouth, part of the town, and its three baſtions to the north. A little more

more within the entrance into the harbour, and on the Moro side, is a battery built of stone, called the Twelve Apostles; and a little higher up, another called the Shepherds battery; above these a chain of hills called the Cavannos, extend themselves from the Moro to the plains of Guanamacoa. These hills command the town and docks, and can always be protected by the ships in port, the very bottom of the harbour affording anchorage for men of war of the first rate, and being withal defended by a steep hill called Gonzales. 1762.

A chain of ten bastions and nine curtines, with an indifferent covered way, and some counterguards before the fronts of the bastions, form the ceinture of the town to the west. The ground in front is, in some places, marshy, the rest is nothing but bare rock, the earth that formerly covered it having been taken away to construct the ramparts of the town. It is no uncommon thing, however, to meet upon such rocks, with morasses two or three feet deep, formed by the rain-water collected in the hollows, and producing, in the course of its stagnation, herbs and slime, the general materials of morasses on all bottoms.

All the eastern coast is covered with wood, the rest of the environs of the town is entirely cleared, and well cultivated; and besides embellished with several small villages, and a prodigious number of country houses.

The operations against this capital object, by the possession of which England might be sure to intercept the treasures that were to give vigour to the united efforts of the house of Bourbon, were to be conducted by the Right Honourable the Earl of

1762. of Albemarle, as Commander-in-chief of the land-forces, and by Admiral Sir George Pococke, who was to command the fleet.

This enterprize, ſo great in its conſequences, that it might at once influence the fortune of the whole war in favour of the Engliſh, ſeemed to demand a very great force, to be attended with certain ſucceſs; and it was therefore but reaſonable to conclude, that every nerve and ſinew would be ſtrained in fitting out the armament to be employed on the occaſion, in a manner ſuitable to the importance of its deſtination. But according to the plan of collecting the army and the navy for this ſervice, there were, in all appearance, ſo many and ſuch great obſtacles to overcome, eſpecially with regard to the diſpoſition of the ſhips and troops which were to compoſe them, that fortune muſt be extremely partial in favour of the Engliſh, if the neceſſary junction of them ſucceeded in every particular. The army was to be compoſed of ſixteen thouſand men; of which, notwithſtanding, four thouſand only were to go from England. General Monckton, it was ſuppoſed, could furniſh eight thouſand more; and the remaining four thouſand were to be ſupplied by General Amherſt, from the Continent of North-America. The fleet was to be made as powerful as poſſible: yet Sir George Pococke was to take with him from England but five ſhips of the line; the moſt conſiderable part of his ſtrength being to be formed by ſhips already in the Weſt-Indies, under Admiral Rodney: But a Spaniſh fleet of nine ſhips of the line, then lying in Ferrol harbour, cauſed an addition of two more ſhips, which, however, were only to accompany the fleet to the latitude of Cape-Finiſterre, and then return to England. As to the troops expected from General Monckton, no accounts had been received from him ſince he ſailed on his expedition from New-York; nor was it known whether

whether he had undertaken the reduction of Martinico, or in what part of the West-Indies he was to be found in case he had, and had miscarried in the attempt. The fleet under the command of Admiral Rodney was in the same predicament; and the quota of troops to be furnished by Sir Jeffery Amherst was to consist only of two thousand provincials yet to be raised, and two thousand regulars to be drawn from Canada and the interior garrisons in other parts of North-America. 1762.

By the slenderness of this force, and the extreme uncertainty of collecting it, at least in due time to enter on action before the Spaniards could be prepared to receive an enemy, and take advantage, withal, of the only season fit for military operations within the tropics, we can scarcely conclude that this plan against the Havanna was adopted with any spirit, or that it was intended to operate to any great advantage. Yet, by the instructions to the Earl of Albemarle, the British ministry seem to have been uncommonly solicitous, that no time should be lost in carrying the enterprize into immediate execution; for every other plan of operations in the West-Indies, even those actually entered upon, were to yield to the intended operations of the fleet and the army under Sir George Pococke and the Earl of Albemarle; nay, had General Monckton already attacked Martinico, he was to relinquish it, and directly embark with his troops to reinforce the Earl of Albemarle. As, under these circumstances, the General could not possibly know where to assemble his forces, it was judged necessary to dispatch the Richmond, Captain Elphinstone, immediately in quest of Admiral Rodney, with the orders for him we have already mentioned, to collect all his ships and hold them in readiness to receive Sir George Pococke's commands on his arrival in those seas.

1762. The Admiral and the General now repaired to Portſmouth, where the one was almoſt without a fleet, and the other without an army. However, with the little certain force they had, they were going to attempt the execution of a plan, the iſſue of which, whether fortunate or unfortunate, would in ſome degree affect almoſt every power in Europe.

However inadequate to the ſervice, the force to execute it appeared to be, the hopes of the nation were animated from the confidence that the people had in the Admiral; whoſe abilities, ſupported by an inflexible reſolution, had, during a long command, been the preſerver and guardian of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in Aſia, and whoſe naval ſkill gained his inferior ſquadron a ſuperiority over that of the French in two engagements on thoſe ſeas; it was not therefore doubted, but that the ſame abilities would be exerted with the ſame ardour againſt a new enemy in a new quarter of the globe.

In this enterprize the Honourable Commodore Keppel was appointed ſecond in command, with a diſtinguiſhing pendant. This officer had ſignalized himſelf during the whole progreſs of the war. He added Goree to the Britiſh empire: But his great judgment and activity, ſo eminently diſplayed during the more recent reduction of Belle-Iſle, was aſſurance of ſucceſs to any operations that the Admiral might think proper to entruſt to his execution.

The ſtaff of the army was as follows:

The Earl of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief.
Six aids de camp.
Lieutenant General Elliot, ſecond in command.
Two aids de camp.

1762.

Major General la Fauſille.
One aid de camp.
Major General Keppel.
One aid de camp.
Colonel Carleton, quarter maſter general.
Major Poole his deputy, with two aſſiſtants.
The Honourable Colonel Howe, adjutant general.
Lieutenant Colonel Ackland, his deputy.
Captain of the guides.
Charles Leechmere, commiſſary general of ſtores.
George Durant, Eſq; deputy paymaſter general of the forces.
Provoſt Martial.
Sir Clifton Wintringham, director general, and firſt phyſician to the hoſpital.

One deputy director.

Three phyſicians.	Four apothecaries.
Four ſurgeons.	Forty-four aſſiſtants.

The army was compoſed of the following troops:

The 9th	Regiment, Whitmore's, conſiſting of	977
34th,	Lord Frederic Cavendiſh's, ——	976
56th,	Honourable Major General Keppel, —	933
72d,	The Duke of Richmond, —— ——	986
	Volunteers, being French priſoners drawn out of the different priſons, but ſuppoſed to be proteſtants, commanded by Major Freron, —— —— ——	217
	Royal artillery, —— ——	270
	Brigade of engineers, —— ——	6
	Total,	4365

1762. These troops being all embarked, and the ſtore and victualling ſhips all in readineſs by the fifth day of March, the Admiral and the General, both on board the Namur, immediately ſailed from Portſmouth, with the

Valiant, the Honourable Commodore Keppel, Captain Duncan.
Belleiſle, - Captain Joſeph Knight.
Hamptoncourt, - - Innis.
Rippon, - - - Jekel.
Thirty tranſports.
Nineteen ſtore and victualling ſhips, beſides
Eight loaded with artillery.

Off Plymouth they were joined by the Burford and the Florentine. On the 11th, the St. Pret, a French Eaſt-India ſhip, of ſeven hundred tons burthen, with 230 men, beſides paſſengers, and laden with coffee and pepper, bound from the Iſland of Bourbon to Port-L'Orient, ſtruck to the Valiant, and was eſcorted into Plymouth by the Burford. One of the large ſtore-ſhips having run foul of another veſſel, and being thereby too much diſabled to proceed, the ſtores were taken out of her, and ſhe was ſent into port, under convoy of the Rippon. By the departure of theſe two men of war, the fleet was reduced to its original ſtrength; and ſoon after it had entered on the Atlantic Ocean, there aroſe a violent ſtorm, which ſeparated it; but without any other material injury. The Namur arrived at Barbadoes on the 20th of April, after a paſſage of forty-five days, and here the fleet again united; the Rippon, notwithſtanding her having been ſent into Plymouth, had come in with ſome

ſome tranſports, a few days before. To this place Major Moneypenny had been diſpatched by General Monckton, to acquaint Lord Albemarle with the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms againſt Martinico. The Admiral therefore now ſteered for that iſland, where he arrived on the 26th of April, and anchored in Cas-de-Navire's Bay, where Admiral Rodney delivered up the command of his ſhips to Sir George Pococke, and General Monckton that of his troops to the Earl of Albemarle; and then both navy and army vigorouſly entered, in their different departments, upon all the preparations neceſſary for the proſecuting of their intended enterprize. The ſeamen were employed in victualling and watering the ſhips, the ſoldiers in cutting and making faſcines. Diſpatches were ſent to Sir James Douglas to repair immediately, with all the ſhips under his command, and others ſent him by Admiral Rodney to Cape-Nicholas, the north-weſt point of Hiſpaniola, and there wait the arrival of Admiral Pococke. 1762.

The fleet now immediately under Sir George Pococke, conſiſted of the

Namur, -	90 guns,	Sir George Pococke,	Captain Harriſon.
Valiant, -	74	Commodore Keppel,	Duncan.
Belleiſle, -	64 - -	Captain Knight.	
Hamptoncourt,	64 - -		Innis.
Orford, -	66 - -		Arbuthnot.
Edgar,	60 - -		Drake.
Marlborough,	68 - -		Burnet.
Rippon, -	60 - -		Jekel.
Culloden, -	74 - -		Barker.

Mercury,

1762.

Mercury, - - -	Captain Goodall.
Basilisk,	
Alarm, - - - -	Almes.
Lurcher.	

The following regiments composed the army:

From England,

9th,	Whitmore's, - -	977	
34th,	Lord Frederic Cavendish, -	976	
56th,	Major General Keppel, -	933	
72d,	Duke of Richmond, -	986	
	Volunteers, - - -	217	
	Royal artillery, - -	270	
	Brigade of engineers, - -	6	
			4365

From North-America.

15th,	Amherst's, - - -	423	
17th,	Monckton's, - - -	535	
27th,	Blakeney, - - -	536	
28th,	Townsend's, - - -	378	
35th,	Otway's, - - -	471	
40th,	Armiger's, - - -	380	
42d,	Second battalion, Royal Highlanders,	484	
43d,	Talbot's, - - -	380	
48th,	Webb's, - - -	525	
60th,	Third battalion, Royal Americans,	587	
	Royal artillery, - - -	107	
	Brigade engineers, - - -	9	
			5382
	From England and North-America,		9747

From England and North-America, 9747

From South-Carolina,

1ſt Regiment, four companies, -	320	
77th, Montgomery's, - - -	605	
95th, Burton's, - - -	585	
		1510

From Dominica,

22d, - - - - -	602	
94th, Vaughan's, - - -	387	
		989

From Guadaloupe,

4th, - - - -	225	
65th, Malpaſs, - - -	104	
100th, Campbell's, - -	356	
		685

From Antigua,

38th, Watſon's, - - -	289	
		289

From Belleiſle,

69th, Colville's - - -	556	
76th, Two battalions, Rufane, - -	1048	
90th, Morgan's, - - -	465	
98th, Grey's, - - -	370	
		2439
	Total,	15659

Out

1762.

Total,		15659
Out of the above troops, Lord Albemarle, besides leaving some sick at Martinico, garrisoned it with		
The 69th, - - - -	556	
76th, - - - -	1048	
And St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, and the Grenadillas, with the		
38th, - - - -	289	
94th, - - - -	387	
98th, - - - - - -	370	
100th, - - - - -	356	
		4308
So that there remained for the Havanna expedition but - - - -		11351

The maritime defence of Martinico was entrusted to Admiral Rodney, with a small squadron. General Monckton, who so lately led an army to victory, had now the choice left him of the inactive government of the Island of Martinico, which he had conquered, or to accompany the earl of Albemarle as third in command: but his health being much impaired, he, in order to re-establish it, desired leave to return to his government of New-York; which being complied with, the government of Martinico devolved on Major General Rufane.

The regiments which the Earl of Albemarle received from General Monckton, having each a light-infantry company, those from England were ordered to be put on the same footing; and the light-infantry of the whole were formed into one corps. The grenadiers were divided into three battalions,

lions, and the remainder of the army into five brigades, to be commanded by brigadiers Haviland, Grant, Reed, Lord Rollo, and Walſh. The four companies of light-infantry from England, with one battalion of the grenadiers, were given to Colonel Carleton, and the remaining two battalions of grenadiers to Colonel Howe. 1762.

Previous to Lord Albemarle's leaving England, orders were ſent to the Governor of Jamaica, to raiſe two thouſand ſtout negroes, for the ſervice of the army, it being thought impoſſible for the troops to do all the laborious work incident to the buſineſs of a ſiege in ſo hot a climate. He was likewiſe ordered to raiſe five hundred negroes accuſtomed to arms, who were to be regimented with proper officers. But Lord Albemarle, being apprehenſive of ſome delay in the execution of theſe orders, conſidering how much the governor and the inhabitants of Jamaica were alarmed at the arrival of M. de Blenac's ſquadron, or that theſe negroes, if raiſed, might be intercepted by ſome part of that ſquadron, on their paſſage to join him, prudently gave orders, at all events, for the purchaſing of eight hundred or a thouſand negroes at Martinico, St. Chriſtopher's, and Antigua. Matters being thus ſettled, the Admiral and General, on the 6th of May, ſailed from Martinico, with the ſhips and troops before mentioned; and, on the 17th arrived off Cape-Nicholas, where, on the 23d, they were joined by the ſhips from Jamaica, and the ſquadron under Captain Hervey, that had been cruizing off Cape-François, to block up M. de Blenac, whoſe deſign was, if poſſible, to form a junction with the Spaniſh fleet in the harbour of the Havanna; as together, they would be in a condition to give battle to the Engliſh fleet.

762. Accordingly, he had, with this view, offered his endeavours to the Governor of the Havanna; but all the anſwer the latter returned, was a verbal meſſage, that he would as ſoon admit an Engliſh as a French fleet into his harbour.

The Engliſh fleet now conſiſted of

Ships of the line.	Guns.	Captains.	Frigates.	Captains.
Namur, -	90	Harriſon.	Sutherland,	Everett.
Valiant, - -	74	Duncan.	Thunder,	
Culloden, -	74	Barker.	Lizard,	Bankes.
Pembroke, -	60	Wheelock.	Mercury,	Goodall.
Orford, - -	66	Arbuthnot.	Glaſgow,	Douglas.
Temeraire, -	74	Barton.	Grenado,	
Rippon, - -	60	Jekel.	Trent,	Lindſay.
Marlborough, -	68	Burnett.	Cerberus,	Webber.
Belliſle, -	64	Knight.	Alarm,	Almes.
Dragon, -	74	Hervey.	Dover,	Ogle.
Centaur, - -	74	Lampriere.	Richmond,	Elphinſtone.
Edgar, - -	60	Drake.	Ferrett,	
Alcide, - -	64	Hankerſon.	Bonetta,	
Devonſhire, -	66	Marſhall.	Baſiliſk,	
Defiance, -	60	M'Kenzie.	Echo,	Lendrick.
Dublin, -	74	Gaſcoigne.	Lurcher,	
Cambridge, -	80	Gooſetree.	Enterprize,	Holton.
Hampton-court,	64	Innis.	Porcupine,	
Stirling-caſtle,	64	Campbell.	Cygnet,	Napier.
Temple, -	70	Legge.	Peggy.	
Nottingham, -	60	Collingwood.		
Intrepid, -	60	Hale.		

With

With this fleet the Admiral had the choice of two routs to the Havanna: The first and most obvious was the common one, along the south-side of Cuba, and so into the tract of the galleons. But this, though by much the safest, could not but prove equally tedious; and delays, above all things, were to be avoided, as the success of the whole enterprize depended, to all appearance, on its being in forwardness before the hurricane season came on. He therefore resolved to run along the north shore of that island, through that very intricate and almost unknown passage of the old Bahama Straits, in length near sixty leagues; and this though in great want of pilots for such a course: for, though many had arrived from Providence and other islands, yet scarce any one of them had the least satisfactory knowledge of these straits, or was able to take the charge of a single ship through them, much less to conduct so large a fleet: But these circumstances, however discouraging, could not check the resolute ardour of an admiral long used to struggle with difficulties. The first reason that induced him to risk this passage, and it must be allowed to be a very material one, was, that if he endeavoured to go round the island of Cuba, besides the unavoidable great tediousness of the passage, many of the transports and heavy laden store-ships would not, perhaps, have been able to beat up again in time from the west-end of Cuba to the Havanna, against the trade-winds and currents. The second was, that by going that way, he must have left the passage of the old Bahama Straits open to the French, and they might, in the interim, slip through them to the Havanna, and reinforce the Spaniards, if the latter would accept of their assistance; for, from the west-end of Hispaniola, they could not avoid seeing the English fleet

1762.

1762. bear away along the ſouth-ſide of Cuba; and this circumſtance muſt ſoon be known at Port-St.-François.

The Admiral, therefore, having firſt prepared a ſufficient number of frigates, tenders, long-boats, and barges to take the lead, and place themſelves all along the paſſage, on the different ſhoals, with lights by night, and flags by day, to direct the headmoſt ſhips of the fleet, divided this great armament into ſeven diviſions, the better to work clear of each other, and avoid all confuſion. Then, on the 27th of May, he made the ſignal to bear away in the following order:

Firſt diviſion.

Alarm. Mercury.

Dragon. Namur, Centaur.

Sir George Pocock.

Light-infantry.

Three battalions of grenadiers.

Two hoſpital ſhips.

Nottingham. Three artillery ſhips. Dover.

Second diviſion.

Grenada. Valiant, Edgar.

Commodore Keppel.

Firſt Brigade.

Two hoſpital ſhips.

Trent. Three artillery ſhips. Richmond.

Third

1762.

Third Diviſion.

Rippon.	Belleiſle,	Orford.
	Captain Joſeph Knight.	
	Second Brigade.	
	One hoſpital ſhip.	
Pembroke.	Three artillery ſhips.	Huſſar.

Fourth Diviſion.

Glaſgow.	Temeraire,	Penzance.
	Captain Barton.	
	Twenty-four ſtore ſhips.	
Thunder.	Four ſhips with faſcines.	Deptford.
	Two with negroes.	
	Three with horſes.	
Barbadoes.	Six with the baggage of general officers.	Boreas.

Fifth Diviſion.

	Culloden,	
Viper.	Captain Barker.	Ferret.
	Third Brigade.	
	One hoſpital ſhip.	
Cerberus.	Two with artillery.	Bonetta.

Sixth Diviſion.

Alcide.	Cambridge,	Baſiliſk.
	Captain Gooſetree.	
Centurion.	Fourth brigade.	Eccho.
Devonſhire.	One hoſpital ſhip.	Roſe.
	Two ſhips with artillery.	

Seventh

1762.

Seventh Division.

Defiance.	Marlborough,	Temple.
	Captain Burnet.	
	Fifth brigade.	
Hampton-court.	One hospital ship.	Portmahon.
	Three with artillery.	
Stirling-castle.	Hampshire.	Lurcher.

The whole fleet consisted of

Ships of the line, - - - -	23
Frigates, bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and their tenders,	24
Transport ships with troops on board, - -	93
Artillery ships, - - - -	16
Hospital ships, - - - -	8
Provision ships, - - - -	24
Ships with fascines, - - -	4
with negroes, - - - -	2
with horses, - - - -	3
with the baggage of general officers, -	6
Total,	203

On the 2d of June, the Alarm and Echo being ordered a-head to lie on the *Cayo Sal* bank, the former made the signal for seeing five sail in the north-west quarter, and then both chaced. About two o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Alms in the Alarm, came up with, and engaged the Vanganza, a Spanish frigate of twenty-two guns and two hundred men; and the Phœnix store ship armed for war, of eighteen guns and seventy-five men; and, in three quarters of an hour, both struck to him. The Vanganza had ten men killed and fourteen wounded; the Alarm seven men killed and ten wounded. A brigantine

and two ſchooners were at firſt in company with the Vanganza; but one of the latter eſcaped. They were bound to Sagoa, in the ſtraits, for timber for the uſe of the ſhips at the Havanna, from whence they had ſailed twelve days before. During the paſſage through the Straits of Bahama, the weather proved very fine, and the current moderate; and, on the 5th of June, the whole fleet was clear through and in ſight of the Metances. 1762.

By the taking of the above Spaniſh frigates, the Admiral and the General obtained very good intelligence concerning the condition of the enemy; a circumſtance at this time particularly deſirable. The purport of this intelligence was, that the Spaniards had ſixteen men of war in the harbour of the Havanna, almoſt ready for ſea; that they were not in the leaſt expectation of a viſit from the Engliſh; and that the garriſon conſiſted of very few troops: But on the other hand, the Governor of Havanna was now as certainly informed of the nature of the viſit he was going to receive, by the veſſel which eſcaped; he therefore immediately ſummoned a council of war, in which, beſides the reſident officers of his own garriſon, he was aſſiſted by the Count de Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Catholic Majeſty's forces, and late Viceroy of the kingdom of Peru; and Don Diego Tavares, a Major General, knight of the order of St. James, and late Governor of Carthagena; theſe officers being accidentally at the Havanna on their paſſage to Old Spain from their reſpective governments. In this council, it was reſolved to defend the Moro to the laſt extremity, as the preſervation of the town wholly depended upon the defence that fort could make. Accordingly, the preſent Governor being old and infirm, Don Lewis de Velaſco, captain of a man of war, was entruſted with this important ſervice; and the Marquis de Gonzales,

1762. Gonzales, likewiſe captain of a man of war, was nominated the ſecond in command. Theſe points being ſettled, the Governor proceeded to declare war in form againſt England, that ceremony being abſolutely neceſſary to juſtify the arraying the militia, who, by law, ſerve only in time of war. The regular troops at the Havanna were as follows:

Cavalry,		
1 Squadron of the place.		
4 of Arragon,		
4 of Edingburgh,		
9 Squadrons, at 90 men *per* ſquadron,	-	810
Infantry,		
1 Battalion of the place,	700	
2 of Spain,	1400	
2 of Arragon,	1400	
3 Companies of artillery,	300	
1 Brigade of engineers,		
		3800
Total of land forces,		4610
Marines and ſailors,		9000
	Total,	13610

To the above forces, the activity and the diligence of the Spaniſh officers ſoon added a number of militia, mulattoes, and negroes, ſo as to form, all together, a body of thirty thouſand men, by the time the Engliſh arrived in ſight of the Havanna. The principal part of their regular troops were ordered to oppoſe the progreſs of the invaders; and, for that purpoſe, take poſt at a conſiderable village called Guanamacoa, and the remainder were occupied in ſuch buſineſs as was judged

judged moſt eſſential towards contributing to their ſafety. But the fleet, conſiſting of 1762.

The Tiger,	70	The Sovereign,	70	The Aſia, -	64
Queen,	70	Neptune,	70	America,	60
Infant,	70	Eagle, -	70	Conqueror,	60
Europe,	60	January,	60	St. Anthony,	60

which lay in the harbour, was ordered to continue at anchor. Whether they were thus inactive for want of inſtructions, whether all their ſhips were not in a fighting condition, or whatever elſe was the cauſe, we cannot determine. If ſome of the above reaſons did not forbid it, we may very rationally ſuppoſe, that their beſt way would have been to come out and fight the Engliſh ſquadron; and though the iſſue of a battle might have proved unfavourable to them; yet a battle tolerably maintained, would have much diſabled the Engliſh armament, and perhaps have been the means of diſconcerting the whole enterprize. The loſs of their fleet in this way might have poſſibly ſaved the city; but the city once taken, nothing could preſerve the fleet. It is true, the Spaniards much truſted to the ſtrength of the place, and to thoſe aſtoniſhing difficulties which attend military operations drawn out to any length in this unhealthy climate. In other reſpects, they were very far from being deficient in proper meaſures for their defence.

But to return to the operations of the Engliſh: On the 6th of June, the Havanna, the aim of ſo long a voyage, and the object of ſo many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them.

1762. them. The Admiral brought to, about five leagues to the eastward of that city, to issue directions to the captains of his fleet, and the masters of the transports, with regard to the landing of the army.

The fleet was formed into two divisions. Six ships of the line, some frigates, and the flat-bottomed boats, manned from the fleet, formed the division that was to cover the debarkation of the troops, under the command of Commodore Keppel. Thirteen sail of the line, two frigates, the bomb-ketches, and thirty-six sail of victuallers and store-ships, formed the Admiral's division, with which, about two in the afternoon, he bore away and ran down off the harbour, where he discovered twelve ships of the line, and several merchantmen. There not being on board the whole fleet a single man acquainted with the coast, nor any spot being as yet absolutely fixed on for the making of a descent, the Alarm and Richmond were sent, with the Colonels Carleton and Howe, to reconnoitre the shore. In the mean time, orders were given for the disposition of the first debarkation of the troops, who were to be commanded by Lieutenant General Elliot, Major General Keppel, and Brigadier Haviland. The third battalion of grenadiers was to do duty as a corps de reserve under Colonel Carleton. The first and second battalions were commanded by Colonel Howe. The Earl of Albemarle was to be in the barge of the Valiant, with the Commodore. The troops, on landing, were to form into one line, the corps de reserve in their rear. A lieutenant was appointed to conduct each flat-bottomed boat; and when the signal was made, these boats were to repair to their respective rendezvous, at the sterns of the following men of war, whose Captains were to conduct

them on ſhore, under the immediate direction of Commodore Keppel. 1762.

Rippon,	Orford,	Dragon,	Valiant,	Temeraire,	Dover,	Pembroke,
35. reg.	56. reg.	2d batt. of grens. and the royal.	1ſt batt. of grens.	light infantry.	3d batt. Royal Amer.	corps de reſerve.

The officers of the troops were, upon no account, to interfere in the manœuvres performed on the water, the Commodore having the ſole direction of every thing to be done on that element.

The third, fourth, and fifth brigades, under the command of Major General Lafauſille, were to remain on board, till flat-bottomed boats were ſent to receive and land them. Brigadier Walſh was to land with his brigade. The tranſports of the firſt debarkation were ordered to get as cloſe to land as poſſible, for the greater convenience of putting the troops on ſhore; and the Generals Elliot and Keppel were on board the Dragon, Captain Hervey, in readineſs to land with the troops when the Commodore ſhould make the ſignal. A convenient place having been fixed upon for this purpoſe, the next morning, about ten, the Admiral made a feint to land four miles to the weſt of the Havanna, at the ſame time that the Commodore began to land in good earneſt, and did it ſo effectually, that in about an hour, the troops were all on ſhore, without any oppoſition, between the rivers *Boca-Nao* and *Coximer*, ſix miles to the eaſtward of the Moro. The Commodore ordered Captain Hervey in the Dragon to run in, and batter a ſmall fort ſituated at the mouth of that river, which prevented the troops from fording

1762. it. This ſervice Captain Hervey executed in about an hour. The army then moved on; and the advanced guard, commanded by Colonel Carleton, forded the river. The Earl of Albemarle, on being informed of Captain Hervey's ſucceſs, liberally rewarded the crew of his ſhip; then, having paſſed the Coximer with the grenadiers and light infantry, his Lordſhip took up his quarters that night upon the banks of that river, the army lying upon their arms along the ſhore, with the pickets advanced into the woods.

All this while, the men of war and the tranſports kept moſtly under ſail, not being very certain of ſafe anchorage; but the Dragon having continued at an anchor off the Coximer, the Commodore went on board in the evening, and made a ſignal from that ſhip the next morning, for the fleet to anchor, which was immediately obeyed. In England, it was not thought practicable to anchor on this coaſt; at leaſt it was believed, that the ſhips could not remain ſo any time: but had this been the caſe, it would have been impoſſible for the general to carry on his operations aſhore. This coaſt, it muſt be confeſſed, is full of danger, when the wind blows from a certain point; but prudence muſt ſometimes give way to neceſſity, and this was now the caſe; for the ground on which the Commodore's diviſion actually lay, was ſo foul, that the cables were continually cutting; and conſequently, had a north wind ariſen, the ſhips muſt have been in inevitable danger of going on ſhore upon a bed of pointed rocks.

The General having determined to take poſt at a village called Guanamacoa, about ſix miles from the landing place, he ordered a road to be cut through the woods to a large plain, at

at the extremity of which the above village is ſituated; and 1762.
having added the light infantry of the army to the corps under the command of Colonel Carleton, he ordered the Colonel with that corps through the wood, by another rout, to gain the ſame village; and detached Colonel Howe with two battalions of grenadiers, to reconnoitre the Moro. The road being cut by the morning, the General marched the remainder of the army through it, and gained the plain. Colonel Carleton, on his ſide, having penetrated the wood, diſcovered in his paſſage through the gorge of the hills which ſkirt the plain, a large body of cavalry advantageouſly poſted upon a riſing ground between his corps and the village. Upon this he changed his order of march, which had, till now, been in a column, by breaking the column into two parts, the rear of which marched by files to the left of the front, till the head men of both were abreaſt. In this poſition, with a hundred light infantry in his front, and as many grenadiers in his rear, he continued his march, leaving on his right a moraſs, which lay between him and the Spaniards. But now he diſcovered a large body of infantry in and about the village of Guanamacoa: He moved on, however, with a view of gaining ſome advantageous poſt; and though he ſucceeded, he did not think it prudent, as the men under his command did not exceed eleven hundred, to advance any farther without orders, or a reinforcement from the main body of the army led on by the Earl of Albemarle in perſon, who was now in ſight, with only the River Coximer, which was fordable in every part between them. Lord Albemarle having ordered the Colonel to advance and fall upon the Spaniards on his ſide of the village, whilſt his Lordſhip charged them on the other ſide; the former, as ſoon as he

1762. judged the latter ſufficiently advanced for the intended attack, put his corps in motion again; but when he had got within half a mile of the village, he was obliged, from the ſituation of the ground, and the intervention of a deep road, to change his order of march. This being obſerved by the Spaniards, the Edingburgh regiment of dragoons came down on a gallop to attack his right, hoping to reach it before his new poſition was completed; but they were diſappointed: His troops were already formed, the grenadiers being thrown into the hollow of the road; and the light infantry, on the approach of the Spaniſh cavalry, threw them, by a ſmart fire, into ſuch confuſion, that before it was poſſible for Lord Albemarle to come up, they were totally diſperſed.

On the 9th, the Moro caſtle was farther reconnoitred, and the General marched the army from Guanamacoa, and encamped in the woods between the Coximer river and the Moro, leaving a corps at Guanamacoa, under the command of Lieutenant General Elliot, to ſecure the avenues on that ſide, and a large tract of country which could ſupply the army with cattle and vegetables. His Lordſhip then, having brought with him from England a number of ſaddles and bridles, formed a troop of light horſe, conſiſting of one hundred. The horſes were taken from the Spaniards, and proved of great ſervice, as well for patroles, as to procure cattle for the ſubſiſtence of the army left under the command of General Elliot, and was added to the corps of obſervation.

The fleet was all this time conſtantly employed in landing cannon, ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions of all kinds. A number of ſeamen were daily allotted to theſe eſſential ſervices, which

which were wholly conducted by the ſea-officers, and what was landed, was carried on, under their direction, to the very camp. There was no longer any appearance of the Spaniſh ſhips endeavouring to get out, a boom having been laid acroſs the harbour, ſeveral large ſhips having been, beſides, ſunk in the mouth of it, and the whole fleet unrigging. 1762.

On the hills called the Cayannos, the enemy had a poſt, from which the General determined to diſlodge them: On the 11th, therefore, Colonel Carleton was ordered on this ſervice, with the light infantry and grenadiers; and having properly inveſted it, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking it the next morning. The General, in order to facilitate this operation, deſired the Admiral would endeavour to draw off the attention of the enemy from this buſineſs, by an attack on the Chorera caſtle, to the weſt ſide of the town. Accordingly, Captain Knight in the Belleiſle, with two frigates, were ordered in for that purpoſe; but the water not being of a ſufficient depth to carry them as near the fort as could be wiſhed, it was ſome time before this ſervice was effectually executed; and during the firing, Lieutenant Biggs and ſeveral ſeamen, were ſeverely burnt by the blowing up of ſome cartridges. However, about one o'clock, the Colonel proceeded to attack a redoubt, which was carried by his light infantry with little oppoſition from the enemy in it; but in the midſt of a moſt terrible fire, both from the ſhipping in the harbour and the Moro, one ſingle ſhot of whoſe guns killed eleven men of Lieutenant Colonel Maſſey's grenadiers. The acquiſition of this poſt was juſtly conſidered as an advantage of the greateſt conſequence, ſince, in the hands of the enemy, it entirely covered the men of war in the harbour, and would have taken in flank, any approaches

1762. proaches that could have been carried on against the Moro. In case, therefore, of another attack on the Havanna, this is the post we should first endeavour to secure; and we should do it at all events, as it will entirely command the motions of the shipping in the harbour. The English now established a post here, which they called the Spanish redoubt.

As the Spaniards seemed to direct their chief attention to the security of the Moro castle, as of the utmost consequence towards the preservation of the city, the General, for the same reason, determined to carry on his approaches against that fort; and committed the direction of them to the Honourable Major General Keppel. With this view it was again reconnoitred, with as much accuracy as the nature of the thick woods surrounding it would permit. It was with difficulty discovered, that the parapet of the fort was thin, and all of masonry; and this discovery shewed the necessity of erecting a battery against it, as near as the cover of the woods would permit. Preparations were therefore immediately made for this work, and parties were ordered to cut fascines and collect earth. The latter proved a work of great labour, the country hereabouts being little better than a bare rock, and the soil, where any was to be found, exceedingly thin. On the 13th, however, two batteries were begun; one but one hundred and ninety-two yards from the Moro, and called the grand battery; the other a hawitz battery beyond the Spanish redoubt. The design of this last battery was to drive the shipping higher up the harbour, as they very much annoyed the English by a heavy fire of random-shot into the woods. It would have been absolutely impossible to carry on these batteries without the assistance of the negroes, whom, as we have said before, Lord Albemarle had fortunately

fortunately ordered to be purchaſed for the ſervice of his Majeſty during this ſiege. Theſe poor fellows had arrived the day before, and proved extremely uſeful in carrying ammunition to the ſeveral batteries, which we ſhall preſently ſee opened on the 1ſt of July. 1762.

In order to make a diverſion in favour of this grand operation, Colonel Howe, who, together with Colonel Carleton, were now appointed brigadiers, was detached, on the 15th, to the weſt-ſide of the town near the Chorera caſtle, with three hundred light infantry, and the grenadiers of the army, with ſix field-pieces. At the ſame time, the Admiral having found it neceſſary to order eight hundred marines to be formed into two battalions commanded by the Majors Campbell and Collins, Lord Albemarle ſignified his requeſt, that they might be landed and encamp with Colonel Howe, whoſe detachment was thereby effectually enabled to do ſeveral very conſiderable ſervices. Beſides cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and keeping the enemy's attention perpetually divided, the Colonel ſecured a poſt at St. Lazare, and another at the ſnuff-mills on the River Chorera, to check the enemy, and to protect the parties employed in taking in water at the mouth of that river for the uſe of the army on the eaſt-ſide of the town.

The hardſhips which the Engliſh troops ſuſtained in forwarding their approaches againſt the Moro, are altogether inexpreſſible. There being no river or even ſpring near them, it was neceſſary to bring them water from a great diſtance; and ſo ſcanty and precarious was this ſupply, that they were obliged to have recourſe to water from the ſhips. Roads of communication were to be cut through thick woods, and the artillery

1762. was to be dragged for a vaſt way over a rough rocky ſhore. Several of the men, on theſe ſervices, dropped down dead with heat, thirſt, and fatigue. But ſuch was the ſpirit of the Engliſh, and ſuch the happy and perfect unanimity that ſubſiſted between the land and the ſea departments, that no difficulty or diſtreſs could ſlacken for a ſingle moment the operations againſt this important, but equally ſtrong and well defended place. Batteries were, in ſpite of all obſtacles, raiſed againſt the Moro, and againſt the ſhips in the harbour, to drive them deeper into it, and thereby prevent their obſtructing the approaches againſt that principal object.

The fire on both ſides ſoon became pretty equal, and continued ſo, with great vivacity, for a long time. The Spaniards in the fort had a free communication with the town, from which they were conſtantly ſupplied and relieved every twenty-four hours. They did not, however, rely ſolely on their works; for, on the 29th of June, at day-break, they made a ſally with two detachments, each conſiſting of five hundred grenadiers and other choſen men, with a body of mulattoes and armed negroes. One of theſe detachments landed upon the right of the Engliſh, under the Moro; the other upon their left, by the lime-kiln; and, favoured by the thickneſs of the woods, and the darkneſs of the night, reached as far as the *Depôt*, with an intention to nail up the cannon there; but both were repulſed and diſperſed by the pickets and advanced poſts, with the loſs of about two hundred killed and made priſoners. The wounded took advantage of the woods to make their eſcape. The alertneſs of the Engliſh troops on this occaſion manifeſted itſelf in a very particular manner. The encampment commanded by Major Ogilvie, being the neareſt to the ſcene of action, he

he did not wait for orders to haſten to the aid of his fellow ſoldiers; he came up with the Spaniards juſt as they had penetrated to the cannon that were drawn up to mount on the batteries; and not only prevented their ſpiking them up, but otherwiſe contributed greatly to the repulſing and diſperſing of them. 1762.

The 1ſt of July was ſignalized by the opening of

The grand battery of eight 24 pounders,		and two 13 inch mortars,
One	- of four ditto,	two ditto,
Left parallel,	- - -	two 10 inch ditto,
		12 royals,
Battery on the beach,	- -	two 13 inch ditto,
		one 10 inch ditto,
		14 royals;

forming, in the whole, a fire of twelve twenty-four pounders, nine mortars, and twenty-ſix royals. The fire of the Spaniards exceeded that of the Engliſh on the front attacked, where they had about ſixteen or ſeventeen cannon, from ſix to twelve pounders, but only one mortar, and that too they ſeldom uſed; but upon the whole, the fire of the Engliſh was, by this, become much ſuperior to that of the Spaniards: Yet, to render it ſtill more formidable, the Admiral ſent the Dragon, Marlborough, Cambridge, and Stirling-caſtle, under the command of Captain Hervey, to cannonade the Moro, with a view to ſlacken the fire of the Spaniards from the front of that fort attacked on the land-ſide by the Engliſh army. The Stirling-caſtle, Captain Campbell, was ordered to lead, until the firſt ſhip could be properly placed; but Captain Campbell ſhrunk from his duty, for which he was diſmiſſed the ſervice with infamy. The three other ſhips, notwithſtanding, caſt their anchors to the north-eaſt, laid their broadſides againſt the Moro,

and kept up a very brisk fire for near six hours; but it was returned with great constancy. Upon this, Lord Albemarle, who was on board the Valiant, observing to Commodore Keppel, the little impression their fire made upon the Moro, on account of the extraordinary elevation they were under the necessity of giving their guns, and the Commodore agreeing with him in this observation, sent an officer to Captain Hervey with orders to bring off the ships; which Captain Hervey did, covering with his own the retreat of the Cambridge, because she was much disabled. The other ships were also greatly damaged in their hulls, masts, yards, sails, and rigging; and besides, the Dragon had sixteen men killed and thirty-seven wounded, during the cannonade; the Cambridge twenty-four killed and ninety-five wounded; and the Marlborough two killed and eight wounded.

Captain Goosetree of the Cambridge, a brave and experienced officer, was among the killed. Captains Hervey and Burnet, with better fortune, gained equal honour, by their firm and intrepid behaviour throughout the whole affair. Nor was the gallantry of Captain Lindsay less entitled to notice; he gave the most signal proof of it by his activity in getting on board the Cambridge, and fighting her after the death of Captain Goosetree.

This desperate attempt, though it had no effect whatever upon the works on that side of the fort which the ships attacked, was nevertheless of considerable service. The attention of the Spaniards being diverted to that side, the English, from their batteries, poured in a dreadful fire, which did considerable damage to the defences of the fort. But the moment the Spaniards were released from their attention to the English men of war,

war, they revived their fire againſt the batteries with their former vigilance. On the other hand, though this cannonade againſt the Moro had not its deſired effect, the diſappointment did not abate the Admiral's zeal to ſecond the operations of the General: And accordingly, he immediately ordered five hundred ſeamen on ſhore to aſſiſt in drawing the cannon up to the batteries, and in every other buſineſs, in which thoſe intrepid fellows could be of any uſe. This enterprize was ſucceeded by a conſtant diſcharge of artillery, which was kept up on both ſides, with a fierce emulation. It now became evident, that the reduction of this fortreſs was to be a work of time. Never, from the beginning of the war, had the valour of the Engliſh been ſo well matched. They had now an adverſary worthy of their arms; and their whole military ſkill and ſpirit was put to the ſevereſt trial. The utmoſt good that could be expected from the cannon, where now planted, was the deſtruction of the merlons of the fort; it was impoſſible for the batteries hitherto erected, to injure the rampart below the cordon, this part of it being too well covered by the creſt of the glacis, to receive any injury from them. All the cannon of the whole fleet would not, in this ſituation, have effected a practicable breach. As to the ditch, the chief engineer was yet totally in the dark with regard to the ſtate of it. A continued ſuperiority of fire on the part of the Engliſh kept their ſpirits elevated: But on the 2d of July, an accident happened of too much conſequence not to make a viſible alteration in them; their grand battery took fire. No rain having fallen for the laſt fourteen days, the intenſe heat and unremitting cannonade had dried the faſcines to ſuch a degree, that the utmoſt efforts could not prevent the flames from ſpreading: The conflagration continued with ſuch vio-

1762. lence, as to insinuate itself where neither water could follow to extinguish, or earth to stifle it. The battery was almost wholly consumed. The labour of six hundred men for seventeen days, was almost destroyed in a few hours: But two embrazures, and these too with the utmost difficulty, were preserved. The business, indeed, done by this battery before its destruction, was some comfort for the loss of it. The Spaniards had two guns only left on the polygon of the attack; all the rest were demolished. To compensate the want of them, they now placed some men upon their ramparts, and kept a hot fire upon the English, who, by cutting down the coppice wood, to unmask their batteries, found themselves without any cover for the purpose of repairing that which had been burned. But what was still more mortifying, they had no materials for that work.

This stroke was felt the more severely, as the other hardships of the siege were become, by this time, almost insupportable: Sickness and severe labour had reduced the army to almost half its number. Five thousand soldiers, and three thousand seamen were laid up with various distempers. A want of fresh provisions exasperated the evil, and retarded their recovery. The deficiency of water was, of all their grievances, the most intolerable, and extremely aggravated all the rest of their sufferings. The great distance they were obliged to go to procure a scanty supply of water, was alone sufficient to exhaust all their strength; but joined to the anguish of a dreadful thirst, put an end to their wretched existence.

In the midst, however, of these cruel distresses, the steadiness of the commanders infused life and activity into the troops, and roused them to incredible exertions. New batteries rose in the

the place of that which had been almoſt deſtroyed. The fire of the Engliſh grew apace to be equal, if not ſuperior, to that of the Spaniards, till, on the 11th, in the afternoon, the merlons, with ſome additions which had been made to the grand battery, again took fire, and the whole was irreparably conſumed. Sir James Douglas arriving, juſt at this time, with the fleet from Jamaica, Lord Albemarle, merely to ſatisfy the ſoldiers, ordered a quantity of cotton on board it to be purchaſed, in order to ſtuff the gabions deſigned to be uſed in advancing the approaches. A much more uſeful fleet was expected from North-America, with a reinforcement of men and ſtores; and accordingly, a thouſand impatient and languiſhing looks were caſt out for it; but all in vain; not one ſhip of it yet appeared. Notwithſtanding, ſuch was the ſpirit of the men, and the ardour of the officers, that twenty guns were mounted by the 16th: But in order to account for the rapid erection of theſe works, we muſt inform the reader, that all the artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, being ready on ſhore, were now carried by a reinforcement of fifteen hundred negroes, which had arrived from Jamaica, whoſe legiſlature behaved, on this occaſion, in a manner that does them infinite honour. Though the ordinary price of labour there was fifteen pence ſterling a-day, theſe negroes were furniſhed, for the uſe of government, at the moderate rate of five pence ſterling. The order for raiſing a certain number of armed negroes was not fully complied with, owing to a miſunderſtanding between ſome leading people in the iſland and the Governor; it took place with regard to one company only.

1762.

The guns newly erected by the beſiegers were ſo well ſerved, that thoſe of the beſieged were reduced to five or ſix; and the merlons

1762. merlons of the front attacked, appeared entirely destroyed, though the latter exerted their utmost efforts to repair, in the night, the injuries of the day, by constructing new merlons made with logs of cedar, which they covered with nets of thick ropes, in order to secure themselves from the splinters.

The strength of the English army diminished daily, though it was supported as much as possible by the Admiral and the Commodore, who now landed five hundred more seamen to erect a battery, on which they were to serve their own guns. The greatest part of those who remained on board the men of war were employed in making junks, blinds, and mantelets; and the 42d regiment, in preparing the gabions that would be wanted to carry on a sap. On the 19th, all the merlons of the Moro being entirely ruined, Lord Albemarle ordered a *Boyau* to be immediately constructed all along the sea-shore, protected by gabions filled with cotton, for want of other materials; and a lodgment was made on the glacis. This favourable event gave double life to the operations of the English; but it was somewhat damped by a full discovery of what their fears had hitherto made them barely suspect, a new and almost insurmountable difficulty. This was the extraordinary breadth and depth of the ditch, the dimensions of which deserve, on that account, to be particularly mentioned. They were as follows:

		Feet.
Facing the sea-bastion, it was,	Depth, -	63½
	Breadth at bottom,	43
	Breadth at top, -	56

Facing

Facing the center of the courtine,	Depth,	-	56½
	Breadth at bottom,		43
	Breadth at top,	-	105
Facing the land-baſtion,	Depth,	-	45
	Breadth at bottom,		35
	Breadth at top,	-	43½

1762.

To fill up ſuch a gulph in any expeditious way, appeared utterly impoſſible, though many romantic propoſals were offered for that purpoſe. Difficult as the work of mining is in a ſolid rock, it was the only expedient that could be employed on the occaſion; and it might have proved impoſſible even to ſet about it, if fortunately for the beſiegers, a thin ridge of rock had not been left to prevent the ſea from beating into the ditch. Favoured by this ridge, the Engliſh miners got over, with ſome difficulty, on the 20th, to the foot of the wall of the Moro; a thing impracticable in every other place, and made their way into the body of the baſtion. In the afternoon, a ſhaft was begun to be ſunk without the covered way, for another mine to throw the counterſcarp into the ditch, in order to fill it up, if poſſible, ſhould there be a neceſſity for ſo doing. The ſap was likewiſe continued along the glacis, and a gun planted in the ſaliant angle of the covered way.

It now became viſible to the Governor of the Havanna, that, unleſs ſomething was immediately done for the relief of the Moro, it muſt ſpeedily be reduced. He therefore made every preparation for a ſtrong ſortie, and every encouragement was offered to the country militia, mulattoes, and negroes, that could operate on bigotted minds; ſuch as prayers, bulls, pardons, and abſolutions. The circumſtances of the Spaniards were now become deſperate; and in this one exertion of their

1762. whole ſtrength, all their hopes were centered. To raiſe the ſiege by one deciſive blow was now their ſole aim, as it was their only reſource.

The Engliſh, uninformed of the impending danger, continued their ſubterraneous labours, which were much impeded by the obſtruction of very large ſtones. However, by two in the morning of the 22d of July, their miners had penetrated about eighteen feet under the face of the baſtion of the Moro that was oppoſite to their right. Their ſap too was, in ſome degree formed before this face, and part of the courtine near the paliſades, where the engineers, fearing it ſhould be taken in flank from the town, had directed it ſhould turn off from the glacis, and be carried along the height, from whence the ground, or rather the bare rock, ſlopes to the ſea on one ſide, and to the harbour on the other. Colonel Carleton, Brigadier General of the day, diſapproved this deviation from the glacis, on which alone there was ſufficient earth to carry the work on: But even with this advantage, the work could not but prove both difficult and tedious, lying, as it would, in open view of the batteries in the town, and thoſe of the ſhips in the harbour; for it would certainly draw the fire of the Spaniards from theſe places, as it extended from their batteries to the glacis, and which was their only communication: Brigadier Carleton, therefore, ſent for Captain Dixon, the engineer of the night, and taking him along the paliſades to the left, pointed out that ſpot to him as alone proper for that purpoſe, ſince there the ſap might be carried on with eaſe and ſafety; and when made, would command the entrance of the ditch and front attacked. This new plan being approved by Captain Dixon, the workmen were ordered to conform to it.

The appearance of the atmoſphere foretelling the approach of day, a ſerjeant and twelve men were detached to look into the ſpur which inclined from the Moro towards the ſea, but ſomething lower than the level of the rampart from whence it ran out. Their orders were to make no noiſe, and to obſerve well that work, the nature of its communication with the body of the fort, and, if poſſible, the ſtate of the garriſon. Accordingly, after getting over the narrow ſlip of the rock which led to the entrance of the mine, they deſcended a ladder placed in a confined notch of the rock, to the edge and level of the ſea; from thence they mounted a longer ladder, and endeavoured to get to the top of the parapet. Theſe ladders had been placed the night before by two engineers, who reported, that they had been diſcovered, and that large ſtones had been thrown down upon them. But to return to our adventurers; the third man had ſcarcely reached the top of the ladder, when about twelve Spaniards, who were lying cloſe on their faces, ſtarted up and gave the alarm. On this the ſerjeant returned immediately; but he was ſent back again to obey his orders more fully. In this ſecond attempt he was ſoon fired at from the Moro, but received no injury. The firing now extended all round the ramparts of the Moro, and even to the ſide of the harbour; which proved, that the numbers within were much greater than thoſe without generally believed. The alarm bell rang in the Moro; the reveillé was beat by all the drummers in the town, though the day was but faintly broke on the horizon. The diſtant poſts of the Engliſh caught the alarm; yet even thoſe on the glacis could ſee no cauſe for all this trepidation, though ſomething very ſerious, it might be thence inferred, was on the point of execution. Soon after, they heard two or three ſhots towards their left; and quickly after, a cloſe

1762.

1762. and heavy report of musketry, which appeared big with danger from the first instant of its becoming sensible. This report proceeded from the firing made by a body of twenty-five hundred Spaniards, who had crossed the harbour without being perceived on account of the darkness of the night, and the profound silence which they observed. But though the darkness of the night and their profound silence might have concealed their landing, it would have been impossible for them to have advanced undiscovered, if, agreeable to the orders given by Brigadier Carleton at Stuart's post; a detachment had been made, every half hour, during the whole night, to patrole between that post and the water's edge. The neglect of this necessary precaution afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of taking post, and concealing themselves amongst the shrubs at the foot of the hill till the dawn of day, when the tolling of the morning bells was to have been their signal of attack. But it was, fortunately for the besiegers, precipitated by the alarm given from the Moro.

The firing from this detachment of the Spaniards continuing with great vehemence, the English, who were at work in repairing their batteries, threw down their tools and ran to their arms. Dixon's battery, and another two hundred yards behind it, called Williams's, were first exposed, as being nearest to the harbour. These batteries were each covered by a party of about thirty men, advanced still nearer the harbour into the wood, with about two hundred yards of cleared ground close to the glacis and the side of the harbour between them. Lieutenant Henry, of the thirty-fourth, commanded the party near Dixon's, which was posted in a stone-quarry, as in a kind of covered way. Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, of the ninetieth, com-

manded the other; and his men were placed behind some fascines, which had been thrown there for other purposes, and an abbattis of a sort of prickly West-India shrub, called by botanists the Prickly Pear, or Ficoides, ran before them just out of the wood. A small party of twenty-five men was now ordered into the wood, to occupy the intermediate space between these two posts. The guards in the nearest batteries were also small; but one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Major Farmer, of the thirty-fourth, were posted in the battery that had been burned about one hundred yards from Dixon's; his men, however, were under arms before the alarm, and he marched one hundred of them off without delay to support the two first mentioned posts, conformable to the orders he had received a few hours before from Brigadier Carleton, and the Brigadier passing by immediately after, took the remaining fifty; and in a short time was joined by the royal, which had been encamped near the batteries, under a rock, with a view of supporting the advanced guards in case of a sortie, and now came up full speed for that purpose. Upon this, Brigadier Carleton sent back the fifty men of Major Farmer's he had taken with him, as the fire of the Spaniards encreased from one moment to another, and extended towards the sap, which the burned battery in some measure protected. The royal were led directly to Stuart's post, where, meeting with Major Farmer, Brigadier Carleton ordered him to follow that corps; and then conducted the whole close to the left of that post; from whence, after clearing the woods, and turning short to the right, in order to gain the flank of the Spaniards, he marched in file directly to a rock, which, sloping gently to the land, covered the English from the floating batteries of the Spaniards, as well as those of the town, but to the harbour terminated

1762. terminated in a precipice: Such is the ground back to the Spaniſh redoubt; but advancing to the Moro, it ſlopes down to the harbour, ſo as to afford an eaſy aſcent, and is expoſed to the full fire of the Spaniards. It was here the Spaniards landed, aſcended the heights, and began their attack on the Engliſh, with a view of diſlodging them from ſome of their batteries; in which caſe, they were to have been ſupported by the remainder of the Spaniſh troops, who were under arms ready to croſs the harbour. The Engliſh received them with their uſual ſteadineſs, and had two or three men wounded by the firſt fire they received at Stuart's poſt; but Henry's being taken at once in front and flank, they had ſeven men killed. The Spaniards then made an attempt on the ſap of the Engliſh; but timid, as well as ignorant of the ſituation of their enemy, they ſhrunk aſide from a galling fire given them by the royal, which laſted about ten or fifteen minutes, if, in ſuch circumſtances, the length of time may be gueſſed at. The Spaniards, not knowing the real force and ſituation of the Engliſh, did not, at firſt, diſpoſe of their numbers to the greateſt advantage; and, being taken in flank by the parties of the royal and Farmer's, they were ſoon driven down the hill in confuſion. The foremoſt of the runaways, ſeizing on their boats, immediately put off; thoſe left behind ſhifted from place to place, calling to their friends on the other ſide, like people in deſpair. The faintneſs of the light being no ſmall advantage to troops whoſe ſtrength did not conſiſt in numbers; the whole force of the Engliſh was now ordered to advance. The royal, Major Farmer's corps, and the parties which had been poſted in the intermediate ſpace between Stuart's and Henry's poſts, puſhed forward, forming a curved line of one ſingle rank upon the top of the heights, from which their ſhot, centering on the fugitives,

fugitives, galled them exceedingly, whilſt the fire in return, from the confuſed ſituation of thoſe who made it, proved very deſultory and unequal. But notwithſtanding this advantage, Brigadier Carleton judged it prudent to draw off his troops, as they had inſenſibly deſcended the hill more than half way; and therefore, as the light became ſtronger, muſt, if they continued in their preſent ſituation, be expoſed to the floating batteries, with thoſe of the Punta fort and north baſtion; all which were the more formidable, as his men were within the reach of grape ſhot from them. The Brigadier afterwards paſſing by Stuart's poſt, ordered that officer to repeat his orders, and haſten the retreat of the troops that had deſcended the hill, where a briſk fire was ſtill kept up. Then, having informed himſelf that all was well at Dixon's, he returned to theſe troops, and by urging the men to be expeditious in their retreat, he fortunately got them off the heights before a ſingle cannon was diſcharged againſt them. They had ſcarce, however, gained the top of the hill, when they perceived, almoſt within muſket-ſhot, a party of Spaniards which had, by ſome negligence, been permitted to paſs the Spaniſh redoubt to the aſſiſtance of their friends below, though too late to give them any aſſiſtance. Brigadier Carleton being now wounded by a muſket-ſhot that broke his arm, Major Farmer took the command, attacked and ſoon drove the Spaniards to the place from whence they came. Then, poſting his men near the edge of the precipice, he gave them an opportunity of firing down, with entire ſafety to themſelves, into the boats. The whole Engliſh camp being by this time ſufficiently acquainted with the nature of their danger, Major General Keppel ordered the brigades on the left, to the Spaniſh redoubt, and thoſe on the right, to the batteries, and marched himſelf, with the royal Americans,

1762.

1762. Americans, to the right of the Engliſh batteries, in order to purſue the fugitives; but moſt of them had already gained the oppoſite ſhore.

Thus ended this ſortie of the Spaniards, with the loſs of very few men to the Engliſh, if compared with that of the enemy; or if it be conſidered, that their all was at ſtake: But then, the worth of thoſe who fell rendered that loſs irreparable for the preſent.

A flag of truce was now hung out by the Spaniards, and a meſſenger ſoon after arrived from them, deſiring permiſſion to bury their dead, which amounted to four hundred and eighty-five; whereas thoſe of the Engliſh did not exceed eighty-five. The limited time for this office being expired, the firing was renewed on both ſides with the utmoſt vigour.

This was the laſt effort made by the city for the relief of the Moro, which yet held out with a ſullen reſolution, and made no ſort of propoſal to capitulate. However, the advantages gained by the Engliſh in this ſally, gave them new hopes; and theſe hopes became more lively by the arrival, on the 27th of July, of part of the long expected reinforcement from North-America, under Brigadier Burton, which had ſailed from New-York on the 11th of June. The Cheſterfield, and four tranſports of the fleet which brought it, had the miſfortune, on the 24th of July, to run on the *Cayo Comſito*, at the entrance of the Bahama Straits, on the Cuba ſide, about an hour before day-light, and were ſtranded; but neither ſeamen nor ſoldiers were loſt. This ſhews the neceſſity there was for the precautions taken by the Admiral, when he ventured into this dangerous channel.

But

But notwithſtanding this reinforcement, the Earl of Albemarle was now obliged to contract the different out-poſts, on account of the great ſickneſs amongſt the troops. He withdrew Lieutenant General Elliot, with the corps of obſervation under his command, from Guanamacoa, and poſted him at the entrance of the wood above the River Coximer. He likewiſe drew in the poſts under Colonel Howe at Chorera and St. Lazare; nothing of any moment having happened at either of the three places during the whole ſiege, except a few ſkirmiſhes, occaſioned by the excurſions of the light troops, and which always terminated to their advantage. 1762.

On the 29th of July, the excavation for the mines was ready to be loaded, and would have been loaded accordingly, and ſprung, had not the Spaniards brought two floating batteries out of the harbour, and poſted them in ſuch a manner as rendered it impracticable, and made the beſiegers defer ſpringing them from the morning of the 30th, till near two o'clock in the afternoon, when the following diſpoſitions for mounting the breach expected from the exploſion were made: Three detachments of twelve men each, commanded by an officer, were to lead the attack; four companies of the Royal and Morgan's, with the ſappers, making, in the whole, four hundred and thirty-one men, were to follow, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, of the ninetieth regiment; next Major General Keppel, with the firſt brigade; and the other brigades were in readineſs to ſupport him. The mines were now ſprung. That in the counterſcarp had no effect; but that in the baſtion, having brought down a part of both faces, made a breach, but ſcarcely practicable for one man in front. The troops in the covered way, who had been ordered to withdraw for fear of injury from the flying rubbiſh,

 returned

1762. returned, immediately on its ſubſiding, to their poſts, and made a continual firing upon the top of the breach, and the polygon of the attack; and though there was no getting even to the foot of this narrow breach, but by filing the men one by one, over the ridge of rock already mentioned, ſo fatal to the beſieged, and to which, much as the beſiegers were already obliged for its giving ſecurity to their miners, they were now to be infinitely more ſo for rendering the labours of theſe miners ſerviceable. Major General Keppel, relying on the experience and bravery of his troops, loſt not a ſingle moment in making the aſſault. He inſtantly gave them orders to mount; and Lieutenant Charles Forbes, with the utmoſt alacrity and reſolution, led them on. They formed very expeditiouſly on the top of the breach, and with ſuch a happy combination of ſpirit and coolneſs, that the Spaniards, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the aſſault an affair of great bloodſhed, aſtoniſhed at their countenance, fled on every ſide, making but one ſtand behind a ſmall traverſe thrown up in one of the baſtions; and this was only whilſt they diſcharged their ready loaded arms. They then took to flight again, leaving the Engliſh in full poſſeſſion of the Moro.

In this aſſault, the Engliſh loſt two lieutenants, with twelve rank and file killed; and one lieutenant, with four ſerjeants, and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The loſs of the Spaniards was, one hundred and thirty killed, thirty-ſeven wounded, three hundred and ten priſoners, and ſixteen officers, all on ſhore; beſides two hundred and thirteen drowned or killed in the boats; making, in the whole, ſeven hundred and ſix men.

Don Louis de Velaſco, the Governor, whoſe ſpirited conduct had occaſioned ſo many toilſome hours to the Engliſh, and the loſs

loſs of ſo many lives, was mortally wounded; yet their noble generoſity dropped a tear of pity over his unfortunate valour. In conſequence of a flag of truce, he was removed from the Moro to the Havanna, where he died the next day, regretted by his friends, and lamented even by his enemies. The ſecond in command, the Marquis de Gonzales, fell whilſt he was making brave but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people. 1762.

When the Moro was ſtormed, the ſtate of its garriſon was as follows:

Commander-in-chief, Don Louis de Velaſco.
Second in command, Marquis de Gonzales.
Fort-major, Don Manuel de Cordova.
Second Major, Don Lorenzo de Milla.
Fort-adjutant, Don Pedro Menditta.
Second Adjutant, Don Franciſco de la Palma.
Engineer, Don Antonio Freboſo.
Regular troops, ſix captains, five lieutenants, ſix ſecond ditto, two hundred and eighty ſerjeants, corporals, drums, and private men.
Officers of the marine and ſeamen: two captains, two lieutenants, three hundred mariners, two officers of the works, two negroe officers, and ninety-four negroes.

The ſtruggle for this fortreſs continued forty-four days, from the commencement of the firſt operations againſt it; and now no time was loſt by the conquerors to improve this their ſo great advantage. The command of the Moro was given to Lieutenant Colonel Dalling, and the ſtrength of it turned againſt its late maſters.

1762. Though the ſickneſs in the Engliſh army ſtill raged like a peſtilence, yet many new and great works were to be undertaken before any reaſonable hope could be formed of a final period to their labours, by gaining the city; therefore, Lord Albemarle, on the 31ſt of July, repaired to the weſt-ſide of the town, to reconnoitre the ground, and thereupon regulate his operations, ſhould it be found neceſſary to form an attack on that ſide. On the 2d of Auguſt, the ſecond diviſion of the troops, expected from North-America, arrived, except three hundred and fifty-five men, in five tranſports, which were picked out of the convoy by a ſquadron of French men of war, on the 21ſt of July, near the paſſage between Niaya-Guanoa and the North-Caicos. In the mean time, the Spaniards fired with great fury againſt the Moro, pointing their guns chiefly at that part of the work which contained the ciſterns, in hopes of letting out the water. On the eaſt-ſide, General Keppel proceeded to erect ſome batteries on the Cavannos, which were ordered by Lord Albemarle; theſe were to be raiſed by the joint labour of the firſt and third brigades and the ſeamen, and to conſiſt of forty-five pieces of cannon. His orders were ſo well obeyed, that theſe batteries were ready by the 10th, when Lord Albemarle, being prepared to break ground on the weſt-ſide of the town, about ten in the morning of that day, ſent, by an aid de camp, with a flag of truce, a ſummons to the Governor to ſurrender on capitulation, and the following letter:

Head-quarters on the Iſland of Cuba, Auguſt 9th, 1762.

SIR,

"My diſpoſitions for the reduction of the Havanna are made. Motives of humanity induce me to acquaint your Excellency therewith, that you may have an opportunity of making your

propoſals to ſurrender the Havanna to his Britannic Majeſty, and thereby prevent the fatal calamities which always attend the ſtorming of a town. 1762.

"No one can be more averſe to the ſhedding of blood than I am: to prevent it as much as in my power, I deſire your Excellency to conſider, that, however my diſpoſition may incline to humanity, it may not be poſſible to extend its influence to the preſervation of your troops in a manner they ſo recently experienced at the reduction of the Moro, where the ſame generous principle in the Britiſh troops reſtrained them from acts of cruelty, when the cuſtom of war would have authoriſed and juſtified their putting to the ſword the garriſon of a fortreſs taken by ſtorm.

"I am maſter of the Cavannos and the Moro, which your Excellency, in a letter to Don Louis de Velaſco, acknowledges to be the key to the Havanna. Add to this advantage, that of poſſeſſing the port of Mariel, where the Admiral can anchor with all his fleet, ſhould the weather induce him to quit his preſent ſtation; and I have a conſiderable army on this ſide of the town, which grows ſtronger by daily reinforcements.

"The officer entruſted with this letter is one of my aids de camp. His orders are to wait for your Excellency's anſwer.

"Should your Excellency want paſſports or eſcorts for the ladies who are at preſent in the town, I ſhall moſt readily ſend them to you, being very deſirous to ſhew you, upon all occaſions, how truly I am, Your Excellency's, &c. &c. &c.

ALBEMARLE."

To

1762. To this letter, the Governor, after keeping the bearer till between three and four in the afternoon, returned the following anſwer, with the expreſs verbal declaration, that he would defend the town to the laſt extremity.

MY LORD, Havanna, Auguſt 10th, 1762.

" I cannot agree to the propoſal your Excellency makes in your letter of this day, becauſe the town, from its conſtruction and its preſent condition, is ſuch, as will admit of a long defence, and even affords me hopes of preventing your ſucceſs. In this my conſtant care and endeavours, as well as my moſt earneſt wiſhes, center; nor do they admit of any diminution by the letter to Don Louis de Velaſco, on which your Excellency lays ſuch ſtreſs; the only aim of that letter being, to make him ſenſible of the importance of the poſt he commanded, as it, no doubt, contributed to the defence and ſecurity of the body of the place.

" I am very thankful for your Excellency's offer of paſſports for the ladies in the town.

" I remain perfectly well diſpoſed to oblige your Excellency, and pray to God to preſerve you in health many years.

" My Lord, I kiſs your Excellency's hand, and remain your moſt attentive and aſſured ſervant,

JUAN DE PRADO."

On the receipt of this letter, it was determined, that the next morning ſhould convince the Governor that the menaces employed againſt him were not an empty boaſt. The batteries, which conſiſted of forty-five pieces of cannon and eight mortars,

tars, were opened at day-break, by the ſignal of a rocket. Their advantageous poſition alone rendered their fire truly formidable; but it was, beſides, poured in on all ſides with ſuch continued and irreſiſtible fury, that the Punta was ſilenced between nine and ten o'clock; and the north baſtion, in a great meaſure, about an hour after, its firing being reduced to now and then a ſhot or two. At length, about three o'clock, flags of truce were hung out all round the town, and on board the Admiral's ſhip; and one, ſoon after, arrived at the Engliſh head-quarters, with the town-major and an interpreter. Upon this, Sir George Pococke was immediately ſent to, and a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was agreed upon till the 12th at noon. During this time, there aroſe ſome diſputes between the different commanding officers with regard to the capitulation; but they were at laſt ſettled; and on the 12th, the articles were ſigned and ſealed. On the 14th, about noon, General Keppel's corps, the General being at that time very ill himſelf, took poſſeſſion of the Punta-gate and baſtion, and Brigadier Howe of the land-gate; the Engliſh colours were hoiſted on both, and Captain Duncan likewiſe took poſſeſſion of the men of war in the harbour, the Spaniards having evacuated them in conſequence of the capitulation, which was as follows:

Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between Sir George Pococke, Knight of the Bath, and the Earl of Albemarle; and the Marquis del Real Tranſporte, Commander-in-chief of the ſquadron of his Catholic Majeſty, and Don Juan de Prado, Governor of the Havanna; for the ſurrender of the city and all its dependencies, with all the Spaniſh ſhips in the harbour.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLE. Fort-la-Punta, and the land-gate, ſhall be delivered to his Britannic Majeſty's troops to-morrow morning,

1762. morning, the 13th August, at twelve o'clock; at which time it is expected the following articles of capitulation shall be signed and ratified.

I. The garrison, consisting of the infantry, artillery-men, and dragoons, the different militia of the towns in this island, shall march out of the land-gate the 20th instant, provided in that time no relief arrives, so as to raise the siege, with all the military honours, arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, six field-pieces, with twelve rounds each, and as many rounds to each soldier. The regiments shall take out with them their military chests; and the Governor shall have six covered waggons, which are not to be examined upon any pretence whatever.

Answer. The garrison, consisting of the regular troops, the dragoons dismounted, (leaving their horses for his Britannic Majesty's service) in consideration of the gallant defence of the Moro fort and the Havanna, shall march out of the Punta-gate, with two pieces of cannon, and six rounds for each gun, and the same number for each soldier, drums beating, colours flying, and all the honours of war. The military chest refused. The Governor will be allowed as many boats as are necessary to transport his baggage and effects on board the ship destined for him. The militia without the town, as well as those within, to deliver up their arms to the British commissary appointed to receive them.

II. That the garrison shall be allowed to take out of this city all their effects, and transport themselves with them to another part of the island; for which purpose there shall be allowed and permitted to come freely into the said city, all the beasts of burthen and carts: And this article is to extend to,

to, and include, all other officers belonging to his Majesty employed in the administration of justice, the intendant of marine, the commissary of war, and the treasurer-general, who are to have the choice of going out of the city. 1762.

Answer. The officers of the above garrison will be allowed to carry with them all their private effects and money, on board the ships which will be provided at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, to transport the garrison to the nearest part of Old Spain. The intendant of marine, commissary of war, and those employed in the management of his Catholic Majesty's revenues, as soon as they have delivered over their accounts, shall have liberty to leave the island, if they desire it.

III. That the marines, and the ships crews in this harbour, who have served on shore, shall obtain, on their going out, the same honours as the garrison of the city, and shall proceed with those honours on board the said ships, that they may, together with their Commander-in-Chief, Don Guitieres de Heveia, Marquis del Real Transporte, sail in their said ships, as soon as the port is open, with all their effects and money, in order to proceed to some other port belonging to the dominions of Spain; in doing which, they will oblige themselves, that, during their navigation to their designed port, they will not attack any squadron or single ship belonging to his Britannic Majesty or his allies, nor any merchant vessels belonging to his subjects: On the other hand, they are not to be attacked by any squadron or single ship belonging to his Britannic Majesty, or any of his allies. Likewise, liberty shall be given to go on board the said ships, to the aforementioned troops and ships crews, with their officers,

 and

1762. and others belonging to them, together with the effects and monies that are in the city, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, with the equipages and effects in specie of gold or silver, belonging to the said Marquis, and others employed in the different marine offices; granting them likewise every thing that shall be necessary to protect them and their ships, as well as in the fitting them out from his Catholic Majesty's stores, and whatever more may be wanted, at the current prices of the country.

Answer. The Marquis del Real Transporte, with his officers, sailors, and marines, as making part of the garrison, shall be treated in every respect as the Governor and regular troops. All ships in the harbour of the Havanna, and all money and effects whatever, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, shall be delivered up to such persons as shall be appointed by Sir George Pococke and the Earl of Albemarle.

IV. That all the artillery, stores, ammunition, and provisions, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, except such as are well known to belong to the squadron, an exact inventory shall be made thereof, by the assistance of four persons, subjects of the King of Spain, which the Governor shall appoint, and by four others, subjects to his Britannic Majesty, who are to be chosen by his Excellency the Earl of Albemarle, who shall keep possession till both sovereigns come to another determination.

Answer. All the artillery, and all kinds of arms, ammunition, and naval stores, without reserve, shall be delivered to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them by Sir George Pococke and the Earl of Albemarle.

V.

V. That as by mere accident, his Excellency the Count de Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Catholic Majesty's forces, and late Viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, Major General of his Majesty's forces, and late Governor of Carthagena, are both here in their return to Spain; these gentlemen and their families shall be comprehended in this capitulation, allowing them to possess their equipages, and other effects belonging to them, and to grant them vessels to transport them to Spain. 1762.

Answer. The Count Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Catholic Majesty's forces, and late Viceroy of the kingdom of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, knight of the order of St. James, Major General, and late Governor of Carthagena, shall be conveyed to Old Spain in the most commodious ships that can be provided, suitable to the rank, dignity, and character of those noble persons, with all their effects, money, and attendants, at such time as may be most convenient to themselves.

VI. That the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion shall be maintained and preserved, in the same manner and form as it has hitherto been in all the dominions belonging to his Catholic Majesty, without putting the least restraint to any of their public worships; and the different orders, universities, and colleges, shall remain in the full enjoyment of all their rights, in the same manner as they have hitherto enjoyed.

GRANTED.

VII. That the bishop of Cuba is to enjoy all the privileges and prerogatives that as such belong to him, with the nomination of curates, and other ecclesiastical ministers, with the annexed jurisdiction over them, as he has had hitherto, with

1762. the freedom to receive all the rents and revenues within his bishoprick; which privileges shall extend, likewise, to all other ecclesiastics in those shares belonging to them.

GRANTED; with a reserve, that in the appointment of priests, and other ecclesiastical officers, it shall be with the approbation of the British Governor.

VIII. That within the monasteries of religious men and women, shall be observed and kept the same interior government as hitherto, without any novelty or variation.

GRANTED.

IX. That in the same manner as the effects and monies in this city, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, are to be shipped on board of the squadron in this harbour, to transport the same to Spain, so shall all the tobacco, which likewise belongs to his Catholic Majesty; and it shall be permitted, even in time of war, to his Catholic Majesty, to purchase tobacco on the said island, in the district subject to the King of Great Britain, at the established prices, and the free exportation of the same to Spain in Spanish or foreign vessels, and for which purpose, and receiving, and keeping, and curing the same, shall be kept and possessed the ware-houses, with all other buildings which are destined for that purpose; and likewise shall be allowed and maintained here, all such officers as shall be necessary to manage the same.

REFUSED.

X. That in consideration that this port is situated by nature for the relief of those who navigate in those parts of Spanish and British America, that this port shall be reputed and allowed

lowed to be neutral to the ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty, who are to be admitted in and out freely, to take in ſuch refreſhments as they may be in need of, as well as repairing their veſſels, paying the current prices for every thing, and that they are not to be inſulted or interrupted in their navigation, by any veſſels belonging to his Britannic Majeſty, or his ſubjects or allies, from the *Capes Catoche*, on the coaſt of Campeche, and that of *St. Antonio* to the weſtward of this iſland; nor from the Tortuga-bank to this port, and from here till they get into the latitude of thirty-three degrees north, till both their Majeſties agree to the contrary. 1762.

REFUSED.

XI. That all the inhabitants, Europeans, and Creoles in this city, ſhall be left in the free poſſeſſion and management of all their offices and employments, which they have by purchaſe, as well as of their eſtates, and all other effects whatever, without being obliged to account on any other terms than thoſe on which they did to his Catholic Majeſty.

GRANTED; and they ſhall be allowed to continue in their offices of property as long as they conduct themſelves properly.

XII. That the ſaid offices ſhall preſerve and keep the rights and privileges which they have hitherto enjoyed, and they ſhall be governed in his Britannic Majeſty's name, under the ſame laws and adminiſtration of juſtice, and under ſuch conditions as they have done hitherto in the dominion of Spain, in every particular, appointing their judges and officers of juſtice, agreeable to their uſual cuſtom.

GRANTED.

XIII.

1762. XIII. That to any of the aforesaid inhabitants of this city, who should not chuse to stay, it shall be permitted them to take out their property and riches in such specie as should be most convenient to them, and to dispose of their estates, or to leave them under the administration of others, and to transport themselves with them, to such of his Catholic Majesty's dominions as they shall chuse, granting them four years to execute the same, and vessels to transport them, either upon purchase or on freight, with the necessary passports, and authority to bear arms against the Moors and Turks, upon this express condition, that they shall not use them against his Britannic Majesty's subjects or his allies; and that this and the two foregoing articles are to comprehend and admit to be included all his Catholic Majesty's ministers and officers, as well civil as marine and military, who are married and established with families and estates in this city, in order that they may obtain the same privileges as the other inhabitants.

Answer. The inhabitants will be allowed to dispose of, and remove their effects to any part of the king of Spain's dominions in vessels at their own expence, for which they will have proper passports. It is understood, that such officers as have property in this island, shall be allowed the same indulgence as to the rest of the inhabitants.

XIV. That to these people no ill consequence shall arise on account of having taken up arms, owing to their fidelity, and their being inlisted in the militia, on account of the necessity of war; neither shall the English troops be permitted to plunder; but, on the contrary, they shall completely

enjoy their rights and prerogatives as other ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, allowing them to return without the leaſt hindrance or impediment from the country into the city, with all their families, equipages and effects, as they went out of the city on account of this invaſion, and who are to be comprehended in the preſent articles; and that neither of them ſhall be incommoded with having troops quartered in their houſes, but that they ſhall be lodged in particular quarters, as it has been practiſed during the Spaniſh government.

GRANTED; except that in caſes of neceſſity, quartering the troops muſt be left to the direction of the governor. All the King's ſlaves are to be delivered up to the perſons appointed to receive them.

XV. That the effects detained in this city, belonging to the merchants at Cadiz, which have arrived here in the different regiſter ſhips, and in which are intereſted all the European nations, a ſufficient paſſport ſhall be granted to the ſupercargoes thereof, that they may freely remit the ſame with the regiſter ſhips, without running the riſk of being inſulted in their paſſage.

REFUSED.

XVI. That thoſe civil, or other officers, who have had charge of the management of the adminiſtration and diſtribution of the royal treaſure, or any other affair of a peculiar nature from his Catholic Majeſty, are to be left with the free uſe of all thoſe papers which concern the diſcharge of their duty, with free liberty to carry them to Spain for that purpoſe; and the ſame ſhall be underſtood with the managers of the royal company eſtabliſhed in this city.

Anſwer.

1762. *Anſwer.* All public papers to be delivered to the ſecretaries of the Admiral and General for inſpection, which will be returned to his Catholic Majeſty's officers, if not found neceſſary for the government of the iſland.

XVII. That the public records are to remain in cuſtody of thoſe officers who poſſeſs them, without permitting any of the papers to be taken away, for fear of their being miſlaid.

ANSWERED in the foregoing article.

XVIII. That the officers and ſoldiers who are ſick in the hoſpital, ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the garriſon; and after their recovery, they ſhall be granted horſes or veſſels to tranſport themſelves where the reſt of the garriſon goes, with every thing neceſſary for their ſecurity and ſubſiſtence during their voyage; and before which they ſhall be provided with ſuch proviſions and medicines as ſhall be demanded by the hoſpital keepers, and ſurgeons thereof, and all others under them, who are included in this capitulation, are to ſtay or go as they ſhall prefer.

GRANTED; the Governor leaving proper commiſſaries to furniſh them with proviſions, ſurgeons, medicines, and neceſſaries, at the expence of his Catholic Majeſty, while they remain in the hoſpital.

XIX. That all the priſoners made on both ſides, ſince the 6th of June, when the Engliſh ſquadron appeared before this harbour, ſhall be returned reciprocally, and without any ranſom, within the term of two months, for thoſe who were ſent away from the city to other towns in this iſland, which was

was done for want of proper places of ſecurity here, or before, if they can arrive. 1762.

Anſwer. This article cannot be concluded upon till the Britiſh priſoners are delivered up.

XX. That as ſoon as the articles of this capitulation are agreed upon, and hoſtages given on each ſide for the performance thereof, the land-gate ſhall be delivered into the poſſeſſion of his Britannic Majeſty's troops, that they may poſt a guard there; and the garriſon ſhall have one themſelves, until the place is evacuated, when the Earl of Albemarle will be pleaſed to ſend ſome ſoldiers as a ſafeguard to the churches, convents, and treaſuries, and all other places of conſequence.

Anſwer. The number of ſafeguards required for the ſecurity of the churches, convents, and other places ſhall be granted; the reſt of the article is anſwered in the preliminary article.

XXI. That it ſhall be allowed to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this ſquadron, to diſpatch a packet-boat with advice to his Catholic Majeſty, as well as to other people who have a right to the ſame advice, to which veſſel there ſhall be granted a ſafe and ſecure paſſport for the voyage.

Anſwer. As the troops are to be ſent to Old Spain, a packet is unneceſſary.

1762. XXII. That the troops of the Punta-castle shall have the same honours as the garrison of the town, and that they shall march out by one of the most practicable breaches.

GRANTED.

XXIII. That the capitulation is to be understood literally, and without any interpretation on any pretext whatever, of making reprisals, on account of not having complied with the foregoing.

GRANTED.

Head-quarters near the Havanna,
August 12th, 1762.

G. POCOCKE.

ALBEMARLE.

EL MARQUIS DEL REAL TRANSPORTE.

JUAN DE PRADO.

The garrison of the Havanna, which was to be conveyed to Old Spain in his Britannic Majesty's vessels, consisted of the following field and staff officers: Three colonels, two lieutenant colonels, two serjeant majors, four aids de camp, four chaplains, three surgeons. The other officers and private men, exclusive of the prisoners on board the English men of war, and the sick and wounded left in the town, were, seventeen captains, fifty-six subalterns, thirty-eight serjeants, twenty-nine

nine drummers, ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight rank and file; in all, nine hundred and thirty-ſix. 1762.

The ſhips of war, ſurrendered by the capitulation, were,

El Tigre, -	of 70 guns,	commanded by the Marquis del Real Tranſporte, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.
L'America, -	60	Don Juan Antonio.
El Infanta, -	70	Don Franciſco de Medina.
El Soverano, -	70	Don Juan de Poſtego.
La Reyna, -	70	Don Louis de Velaſco.
El Aquilon, -	70	El Marquis de Gonzales.
El Conqueſtador,	60	Don Pedro Caſtajon.
El Santo Antonio,	60	Both newly launched and fitted out.
El Santo Geniare,	60	
La Thetis, -	18	Taken by the Alarm.
La Vanganza, -	22	
El Marte, -	18	Taken at Mariel by the Defiance.
El Neptuno, -	70	Sunk in the entrance of the harbour.
El Aſia, -	60	
La Europa, -	60	
One of -	80	On the ſtocks.
One of -	60	

beſides, one royal company's ſhip taken, one ſunk, and a third burnt and blown up.

1762. THUS did this conquest prove the heaviest blow, in itself, and in its consequences the most decisive, of any that had been given since the commencement of the present hostilities between so many great powers. In the acquisition of the Havanna were combined all the advantages that could be procured in war. It was a military victory of the first magnitude; it was equal to the greatest naval victory by its effects on the marine of the Spaniards, who lost on that occasion a whole fleet. The vast quantity of tobacco and sugar, collected at the Havanna on the Spanish monarch's account, sold on the spot, exclusive of the ships and merchandize sent to, and sold in England, for seven hundred thousand pounds, which was divided amongst the conquerors in the proportion settled for the division of the plunder on the expedition of Lord Cathcart and Admiral Vernon, if they had succeeded, when they went against Carthagena.

From their first landing to the 13th of August, this important conquest cost the English, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including those who died, two thousand seven hundred and sixty-four men. History, perhaps, does not record a siege with such a variety of difficulties to retard the approaches, as what attended the assailants of the Moro-castle. Not only there was scarce a spit of earth near any of the intended batteries, as we have already taken notice; but the cutting down, binding up, and carrying the vast quantities of fascines, which it was necessary to substitute, proved a work of infinite labour; nay, the earth necessary to give stability and resistance to the fascines, was not to be obtained but by scratching it from between the crevices of rocks,

rocks, at a great diſtance from the ſpot where it was to be uſed. 1762.

Though a great part of the proviſions brought from England had been ſpoiled by the heat of the climate, the moſt diſtreſſing circumſtance of the campaign was the ſcarcity of water. Of the vaſt catalogue of human ills, thirſt is the moſt intolerable. On this occaſion, it ſoon cauſed the tongue to ſwell, extend itſelf without the lips, and become black as in a ſtate of mortification; then the whole frame became a prey to the moſt excruciating agonies, till death at length intervened, and gave the unhappy ſufferer relief. In this way, hundreds reſigned themſelves to eternity. A greater number fell victims to a putrid fever. From the appearance of perfect health, three or four ſhort hours robbed them of exiſtence. Many there were, who endured a loathſome diſeaſe for days, nay weeks together, living in a ſtate of putrefaction, their bodies full of vermin, and almoſt eaten away before the ſpark of life was extinguiſhed. The carrion crows of the country kept conſtantly hovering over the graves, which rather hid than buried the dead, and frequently ſcratched away the ſcanty earth, leaving in every mangled corpſe a ſpectacle of unſpeakable loathſomeneſs and terror to thoſe, who, by being engaged in the ſame enterpriſe, were expoſed to the ſame fate. Hundreds of carcaſes were ſeen floating on the ocean: Yet all theſe accumulated horrors damped not the ardour of the ſurvivors. Uſed to conqueſt, and to brave every kind of danger, every one exerted himſelf with ſuch a particular aim to victory, as if the whole enterpriſe depended on his ſingle arm.

6

Having

1762. Having ſaid thus much in praiſe of the bravery and patience of the Engliſh, candour requires we ſhould add, that the Spaniards were far from being deficient in point of valour; and had their conduct been equal, it is more than probable, that the Engliſh had never obtained the nobleſt wreath of victory, that ever graced the brow of a conqueror in this quarter of the world. But, perhaps, the reader will be curious to know how the principal officers among them were received and treated by their ſovereign on their arrival in Old Spain.

Don Juan de Prado, Governor of the Havanna; Don Gutiriez de Heveia, Marquis del Real Tranſporte, the Admiral; Viſcount Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's forces, and late Viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego Tavarez, late Governor of Carthagena, being all tried by a council of war at Madrid for their behaviour on this occaſion, were puniſhed with ſequeſtration of their eſtates, and baniſhment forty leagues from the court, during his Majeſty's pleaſure.

The ſentence againſt Don Juan de Prado is in force. Don Gutiriez de Heveia was pardoned in conſequence of the merit of his father-in-law, the Marquis de la Vitoria, Commander-in-Chief of the Spaniſh navy. Don Diego Tavarez was not only pardoned, but ſince promoted to the command of the Spaniſh lines at St. Rocque, the barrier againſt Gibraltar, which he ſtill holds. Viſcount Superunda was offered a pardon; but refuſed it, declaring he could not accuſe himſelf of any crime. He is ſince dead.

As

As to Don Louis de Velaſco, his family was ennobled; his eldeſt ſon created Viſcount Moro, and a ſtanding order made, that ever after, there ſhould be a ſhip in the Spaniſh navy called the Velaſco. 1762.

But to return to the Havanna; the firſt care of the Earl of Albemarle, on being put in poſſeſſion of the place, was to ſee the articles of the capitulation punctually performed on both ſides; reſtore order amongſt the inhabitants; iſſue ſuch orders for their conduct, and that of their conquerors, as might effectually prevent all diſputes between them; particularly the lower claſſes, and the ſoldiers and ſailors; to receive the town-records; the accounts of the ſtores civil and military; the treaſures; the merchandiſe; every thing, in ſhort, which his high ſtation and late ſucceſs gave him a right to take cognizance of.

The Spaniſh troops were then embarked, agreeable to the capitulation, for Old Spain. Admiral Sir George Pococke ordered the Sutherland and the Dover to be fitted up as flags of truce, to accommodate the Governor of the Havanna, the Spaniſh Admiral, the Viceroy of Peru, and the Governor of Carthagena; the garriſon were put on board tranſports.

The Earl of Albemarle being expreſsly ordered, when the Havanna ſervice ſhould be over, to return the ſame number of troops to North-America that he might receive from thence, he embarked the fifth brigade for that continent; but moſt of them died in the paſſage, or in the hoſpitals, immediately on their arrival; and the artillery ſent with them was entirely loſt.

1762. at ſea. The troops which remained were not much more fortunate; being, by this time, ſo reduced by ſickneſs, that even ſeven hundred could not be muſtered in a condition to do duty. In this ſituation, the utmoſt vigilance was neceſſary to prevent quarrels between the conquerors and the conquered, and keep the latter in awe; eſpecially, as ſome of the diſtricts, which Don Juan de Prado thought to have included in the capitulation, refuſed to accede to it, as not being within the juriſdiction of the Governor of the Havanna.

If we have not given as minute a detail of the operations of this important ſiege, as that which was tranſmitted to the Britiſh miniſters, ſigned by the chief Engineer; but which, we have the greateſt reaſon to believe the General never ſaw, till he arrived in England, it is to avoid the confuſion which every where occurs in that account: But though we have aimed at clearneſs in the relation of this glorious atchievement, we hope we ſhall not be found to have omitted any circumſtance which might in the leaſt have contributed to the brilliant ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms. After all, it will ſcarce be credited by future ages, that an army of Europeans perſiſted, for two months and eight days together, in the ſiege of a fortreſs ſituated in the hotteſt climate of the torrid zone, and during the hotteſt ſeaſon of that climate. Be poſterity therefore farther informed, that during the whole of this ſiege, there ſubſiſted ſuch a perfect harmony between the land and ſea-ſervices, with ſuch an extraordinary degree of good-will in the inferior officers and common men, to execute the orders of their Admiral and General, that both owed their ſucceſs to ſuch patriotic endeavours.

Every

Every neceſſary diſpoſition having been made by the Admiral and the General in their reſpective departments, Lord Albemarle conferred on the Honourable Major-General Keppel, the government of the town; and Sir George Pococke detached the Honourable Commodore Keppel, with a ſquadron on a cruize: Soon after the Admiral ſailed for England, leaving Captain Knight of the Belle-iſle, with three ſhips of the line, to command at the Havanna. About ſix weeks after, Lord Albemarle alſo ſailed for England, where both the Admiral and the General arrived the beginning of the year 1763. 1762.

By the vigilance of Commodore Keppel, he took a whole fleet of merchantmen off St. François: The entire command of the ſhips in theſe ſeas, by the abſence of Sir George Pococke, devolving on the Commodore, by virtue of the ſpecial commiſſion we have already mentioned, and advice being received that a peace was concluded between England and Spain, he repaired to the Havanna, in order to ſuperintend the embarkation of the troops ordered to Europe, after which he proceeded on the Jamaica ſtation. The troops being at ſea, were met by an expreſs, ordering General Keppel to ſend ſome regiments to reinforce the army under Sir Jeffrey Amherſt in North-America, on account of ſome commotions having ariſen amongſt the Indians on that continent.

With the troops that arrived from Old-Spain to garriſon the Havanna, the orders came for the evacuation of that place in favour of the Spaniards: In conſequence of theſe orders, without any directly from the Britiſh miniſter, the Spaniards retook poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable harbour in the Weſt-Indies.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK XI.

The French fit out a ſquadron to attack Newfoundland:——Proceed on the enterpriſe.——Land in the Bay of Bulls.——The garriſon of St. John's ſurrender to them.——Sir Jefferey Amherſt prepares to retake it.——Sends Colonel Amherſt with a detachment for that purpoſe.——Lands at Kitty-vitty.——Attacks the French.——Is victorious.——The French garriſon capitulates.——Articles of capitulation.

1762. HAVING been ſo long employed in recording the glorious atchievements of the Britiſh troops, it is with great reluctance we now find ourſelves obliged to recite an event that muſt, for a moment, caſt a gloom over the retroſpect of ſo many brilliant conqueſts. But even in this inſtance, fortune ſeems to have been fickle, only to increaſe the credit of the Britiſh arms, and to afford another example, that the ardour of youth, tempered with judgment, will oftener command ſucceſs in enterpriſe, than timid caution and inactive diſcretion, the general companions of old age.

France, by this time, had been humbled in every quarter of the world; ſhe had received ſo many checks, that, almoſt driven to

to despair, shame urged her to the last exertion of her dying power. This was, to attack the defenceless Island of Newfoundland; and she accordingly fitted out a squadron for that purpose, consisting of 1762.

Le Robuste, 74 guns, La Garonne, 44 guns,
L'Eveillé, - 64 La Licorne, 30 and a bombketch.

This squadron was commanded by M. de Terney, who had fifteen hundred land-forces on board, under the orders of the Count de Haussonville.

On the 24th of June, the French troops landed in the Bay of Bulls without opposition; and, on the 27th, obliged the garrison of St. John's, consisting of about sixty men, to surrender prisoners during the war, on a promise of security for their possessions and effects. The Grammont being taken in the harbour, her crew was included in the above agreement. After the French had taken possession of the fort, they began to repair the fortifications; but destroyed every thing that belonged to the fishery, and burnt a great number of vessels in the north and south harbours; by which, indeed, private property alone was injured, but to so great a degree, that many individuals were ruined by it.

As soon as General Amherst received the news of this misfortune, he, without waiting for orders from the ministry, by which a season might be lost, and the place rendered more tenable by its present possessors, planned an attack to recover it. Actuated by that spirit of enterprise which had so eminently distinguished him during the campaigns of 1758, 1759, and 1760, he formed a few of the surviving troops, which had just arrived from the West-Indies, with some provincials, into a

1762. corps for this purpose, and entrusted the command of them to his brother, Lieutenant Colonel William Amherst. Accordingly, this gentleman embarked at New-York, on the 15th of August, on board the James transport, with five others, and one victualling ship; and next day sailed out of the hook, without any convoy, for Halifax, there to join Lord Colville, and to take in some more troops, and from thence proceed to Louisbourg with his Lordship, for a farther reinforcement. On the 26th, Colonel Amherst arrived at Halifax; but Lord Colville had already left the place. The Colonel, however, thought it would be proper to embark the troops that were to accompany him from thence, and from Louisbourg, and follow his Lordship, who was gone with one ship of the line and a frigate, to reconnoitre the coast of Newfoundland. In consequence of this resolution, the fleet was ready to sail from Halifax by the 29th; but contrary winds prevented its getting out of the harbour till the 1st of September. On the 5th, it arrived at Louisbourg; and the next day, the troops that were to be taken from the garrison embarked, when the land-forces and artillery of the armament were as follows:

Troops.

Royal, - - - -	237
Five companies of the 45th regiment, -	395
77th, - -	158
Two companies draughted from different corps,	191
Provincials, - - -	520
Royal artillery, - - -	58
Total,	1,559

formed into two battalions; the first commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Tuliken, the second by Major Sutherland.

Artillery.

1762.

Artillery.

Four -	24 pounders.	Two 10 inch mortars,
Six -	12 ditto,	One 8 inch ditto,
Two light	12 ditto,	Six royals,
Four -	6 ditto,	Six cohorns,
		Four howitzers.

On the 7th in the morning, Colonel Amherſt put to ſea again, and on the 11th joined Lord Colville, a few leagues to the ſouth of St. John's. The Colonel had deſigned to land his troops at Kitty-Vitty; but by the intelligence he received from Lord Colville, found it impracticable, in conſequence of its being a very narrow entrance, and the French having entirely ſtopped it up, by ſinking ſhallops in the channel; he therefore fixed on Torbay, about three leagues off, for that purpoſe; and indeed, it was now the only place near St. John's that troops could land at. Accordingly, the tranſports were ſent into that harbour, under the protection of the Syren; but it was late at night on the 12th, before they all came to an anchor.

Colonel Amherſt, with Captain Douglas of the navy, took a view of the coaſt, and diſcovered a very proper beach to land upon. But it blew ſo hard that night, that one of the tranſports, with the provincial light infantry on board, was driven out to ſea. The remainder of the troops landed the next day, with very little oppoſition, at the bottom of a bay, from whence there was a path to St. John's. The light infantry of the regulars, who got firſt on ſhore, giving the French a fire, the latter immediately retired towards St. John's; upon which the whole of this little army marched on, for about four miles, through a very thick wood, and over very bad ground, when Captain Macdonald's light infantry, which was in front, came

1762. up with ſome of the party which had been driven from the landing-place, but lay now concealed in the wood, and fired on the Captain as ſoon as he got within their reach; but part of his corps ruſhed in upon them too ſuddenly to give them time for another diſcharge, took three priſoners, and put the reſt to flight.

The country now opening, the army marched to the left of Kitty-Vitty, to take poſſeſſion of that paſs; it being neceſſary to force a communication for the landing of the artillery and ſtores, as it was impracticable to get them up the roads, by which the army had advanced. When the right was cloſe to Kitty-Vitty, the French fired on them from a hill on the oppoſite ſide. Colonel Amherſt, therefore, ſent a party up a rock, which commanded the paſſage over; and, under cover of the fire made by the light infantry companies of the Royal and Montgomery's, ſupported by the grenadiers of the former, paſſed over; drove the enemy, who had come down the hill, up again; and purſued them, on that ſide, towards St. John's. But another body of the French being now perceived in their way to ſupport the former, Major Sutherland, with the remainder of the firſt battalion, was immediately ordered over to attack them. This determined the enemy to retreat; by which Colonel Amherſt had time to take poſt before it was dark. The troops, however, lay on their arms all night. Captain Mackenzie, who commanded Montgomery's light infantry, was mortally wounded in this affair; and ten of the enemy were taken priſoners. On the 14th, the channel, in which the enemy had ſunk the ſhallops, was cleared; but they ſtill occupied a breaſt-work which commanded the entrance and a battery, though not quite finiſhed. Lieutenant Colonel Tuliken, who had been hurt by a fall, and left on board, joined the

army this day; and Captain Ferguſon, who commanded the artillery, brought round ſome light pieces and ſtores, in ſhallops, from Torbay. 1762.

The French were ſtill in poſſeſſion of two very high and ſteep hills; one in the front of the advanced poſt, from whence they fired on the guards, and the other nearer to St. John's. Theſe two hills, in all appearance, commanded the whole ground from Kitty-Vitty to St. John's. As, therefore, it was neceſſary to proceed on this ſide, in order to ſecure the landing at Kitty-Vitty, on the 17th, juſt before break of day, Colonel Amherſt ordered Captain Macdonald's corps of light infantry, and the provincial light infantry, which were now arrived, ſupported by the advanced poſts, to endeavour to ſurpriſe the enemy on the hills. Captain Macdonald had the good fortune to paſs their centries and advanced guards unobſerved, and was firſt diſcovered by their main body on the hills, as he was ſcaling the rocks. However, they did not fire on him till he had gained the ſummit, when they gave way on his returning it. Lieutenant Schuyler, and four rank and file were killed on this occaſion; Captain Macdonald, and eighteen rank and file were wounded. The French had three companies of grenadiers at this poſt, with two pickets, commanded by M. Belcombe, Lieutenant Colonel, and the ſecond in command. This gentleman and a Captain of grenadiers were wounded; his lieutenant and ſeveral ſoldiers were killed; and the wounded captain and thirteen private men were taken priſoners. The French had one mortar here, with which they threw ſome ſhells in the night; a ſix pounder not mounted, and two wall-pieces.

As theſe hills command the harbour, Colonel Amherſt, on the 16th, marched to the hill neareſt to St. John's, which the French

1762. French had abandoned, though not without leaving a guard at the poſt of Kitty-Vitty, on the other ſide. Some proviſions, artillery, and other ſtores were landed this day. In the preceding night, the French fleet, favoured by a fog, put to ſea. On the 17th, a mortar battery was completed, and a battery begun for four twenty-four pounders and two twelve pounders, about five hundred yards from the fort, and a road made for bringing up the artillery from the landing place. At night the mortar battery was opened with one eight inch mortar, ſix cohorns, and ſix royals; the enemy, all the while, keeping a briſk fire, and throwing many ſhells from the fort.

On the 16th, Colonel Amherſt ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender, by the following letter, which produced a correſpondence that ended in a capitulation.

SIR, Camp before St. John's, Sept. 17th, 1762.

" Humanity directs me to acquaint you of my firm intention. I know the miſerable ſtate your garriſon is left in, and am fully informed of your deſign of blowing up the fort, on quitting it; but have a care; for I have taken meaſures effectually to cut off your retreat: and ſo ſure as a match is put to the train, every man in the garriſon ſhall be put to the ſword. I muſt have immediate poſſeſſion of the fort, in the ſtate it is now in, or expect the conſequences. I give you half an hour to think of it. I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

To the Officer commanding St. John's.

Wm. AMHERST."

Anſwer.

1762.

Anſwer to the above ſummons.

Fort St. John's, Sept. 16th, 1762.

" With regard to the conduct I ſhall hold, you may, Sir, be miſinformed. I wait for your troops and your cannon; and nothing ſhall determine me to ſurrender the fort, unleſs you ſhall have totally deſtroyed it, and that I ſhall have no powder to fire. I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

THE COUNT D'HAUSSONVILLE."

Count d'Hauſſonville's ſecond letter to Lieutenant Colonel Amherſt.

Fort St. John's, Sept. 18th, 1762.

" Under the uncertainty of the ſuccours which I may receive, either from France or her allies, and the fort being entire, and in good condition for a long defence, I am reſolved to defend myſelf to the laſt extremity. The capitulation which you may think proper to grant, may determine me to ſurrender the place to you, in order to prevent ſhedding the blood of the men who defend it. Whatever reſolution you come to, there is one left to me, which would hurt the intereſts of the ſovereign you ſerve. I have the honour to be, &c.

THE COUNT D'HAUSSONVILLE."

Colonel Amherſt's reply.

Camp before St. John's, Sept. 18th, 1762.

" I have juſt had the honour of your letter. His Britannic Majeſty's fleet and army co-operating here, will not give any other terms to the garriſon of St. John's, than their ſurrendering priſoners of war.

1762. "I do not thirst for the blood of the garrison; but you must determine quickly, or expect the consequences; for this is my final determination. I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Wm. AMHERST."

The Count d'Haussonville's reply.

Sept. 18th, 1762.

"I have received, Sir, your letter, which you did me the honour to write me. I am equally averse with yourself to the effusion of blood. I consent to surrender the fort in good condition, as I have already acquainted you, if the terms I herewith inclose are granted to my troops. I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THE COUNT D'HAUSSONVILLE."

Terms of Capitulation required by the garrison of St. John's, and the troops in general in that place.

I. The French troops shall surrender prisoners of war.
GRANTED.

II. The commissioned and non-commissioned officers shall keep their arms, to be the better able to keep their men in order.
GRANTED.

III. Good ships shall be allowed the officers, grenadiers, soldiers, wounded as well as not wounded, within a month, to transport them to France, and land them on the coasts of Britanny.

GRANTED; Lord Colville will, of course, embark them as soon as he possibly can.

IV. The effects of the officers and soldiers shall not be touched. 1762.

Answer. His Britannic Majesty's troops never pillage.

Camp before St. John's, (Signed)
September 18th, 1762. Wm. Amherst.
Le Comte d'Haussonville.

This is to be signed by Lord Colville; but it will remain at present, as afterwards, in full force.

It appears by this capitulation, that Lord Colville was not present at the making or concluding of it. He was then at sea, and the wind would not permit his Lordship to stand in. Colonel Amherst, therefore, that no time should be lost in so advanced a season, took on himself to determine with regard to the terms that should be granted to the garrison of St. John's, and had the pleasure to find, on Lord Colville's return, that his Lordship approved them.

The spirit and perseverance of the troops employed on this occasion, exceeded the most sanguine hopes, even of their own officers, who knew them best. On their alacrity entirely depended the recovery of this valuable island, before the bad season set in; and Colonel Amherst's endeavours to keep alive that spirit were effectually seconded by Colonel Tuliken.

Captain Macdonald was to have proceeded to England with an account of this advantage; but his wound, a broken leg, not being thought sufficiently healed for that purpose, Captain Campbell, of the twenty-second regiment, was named to replace him, and carry the colours the French had hoisted on the fort of St. John's.

1762. The retaking of Newfoundland, a place of ſo much conſequence to the mercantile part of England, terminated the war between the Engliſh and the French in this quarter of the world. The armies brought into the field by the former, during the firſt campaigns, were diſgraced by knavery, ignorance, or timidity. But, happily for Britain, in 1758, a period was put to miſconduct; and, from that auſpicious æra, in which General Amherſt was honoured with the command of the Britiſh arms in North-America, a ſucceſſion of rapid conqueſts attended their efforts. Wherever the Britiſh colours were ſeen to fly, there victory generally followed; and, at length, the whole power of the French on the Continent of North-America yielded to the ſuperior courage of the Britiſh ſoldiers, and the great abilities of their commanders.

A ceſſation of arms, which now took place, was, in a ſhort time, followed by a definitive treaty. This treaty was ſigned at Verſailles, on the 10th day of February 1763, and reſtored peace to France, Spain, and England, in every quarter of the globe.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK XII.

Source of the new war between the English and Indians in North-America.—Plan and preparations of the Indians.—Their first exploits.—They take several forts.——Detroit closely blockaded.——Fort-Pitt besieged.——Relief sent to Detroit and Niagara.——Stratagem of the Indians, to surprise the garrison of Detroit, defeated.——Sally by Captain Dalyell.——Relief sent to Fort-Pitt, under Colonel Bouquet.——Siege of Fort-Pitt raised by the Indians.——Actions between the English and the Indians near Bushy-Run.——Colonel Bouquet arrives at Fort-Pitt.——Great bravery of the crew of a vessel.——Spirit of discontent amongst the English troops.——The cause of it removed by Sir Jeffrey Amherst.——The King's approbation of the late behaviour of the troops near Bushy-Run.——Plan of operation for the year 1764, by Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet.——Major General Gage succeeds Sir Jeffrey Amherst.——Colonel Bradstreet and Sir William Johnson arrive at Niagara, and find a great number of Indians there.——Transactions with them.——Colonel Bradstreet's orders concerning his conduct towards the Indians.——Sir William Johnson returns home, and the Indians disperse.——Colonel Bradstreet met by Indian nations suing for peace.——Preliminaries granted them.——Colonel Bradstreet gives an account of his proceedings to General Gage and Colonel Bouquet.

Bouquet.——Sends Captain Morris to take possession of the Illinois-country.——Colonel Bradstreet arrives at Detroit.——Indians flock to sue for peace.——Peace concluded with them.——Description of Detroit.——Colonel Bradstreet leaves that place.——His transactions with the Indians for a peace condemned by General Gage.——Zeal of the Six Nations in the cause of the English.——Great distress of Colonel Bradstreet.——He conquers all difficulties by his prudence, and arrives at length at Ontario.——Colonel Bouquet proceeds on his march.——Is met by deputies from the Senecas, Delawars, and Shawanese.——They deliver up a great number of their captives.——He exacts hostages for their sending deputies to Sir William Johnson.——The Colonel returns to Fort-Pitt, disposes of his regulars, and sends home the provincials and the rescued captives.

1763. THE general peace, which thus put an end to a most extensive and bloody war, was justly deemed, by the bulk of mankind, a happy event. But the British subjects in North-America thought they had particular reason to rejoice at it, as it left the French so little power in their neighbourhood, and determined by it the boundaries between the two nations, with the greatest accuracy and precision. In this, however, they soon found themselves greatly mistaken. They did not sufficiently consider the jealous temper of the Indians included within these bounds, nor the opportunity which the French, by retaining possession of New-Orleans, and the joint navigation of the Mississippi, still had of inflaming that jealousy. What alarmed them most was the chains of forts running through their country, in almost every direction; especially those built on their lakes, and on the several straits between them. Those military establishments, they looked upon as the embryos of so many new colonies, by which, sooner or later, they would be elbowed out of the land of their forefathers; and a very imprudent

imprudent omiſſion of the uſual preſents on our parts, contributed not a little to confirm theſe apprehenſions, which, if not originally excited, were, there is great reaſon to believe, greatly increaſed by the French. That nation, independent of any views it might have of recovering the country which it had lately ceded to the Engliſh, could not but regret the loſs of the gainful trade it had ſo long before that period, carried on with the natives; and the likelieſt method to get once more poſſeſſion of this trade, was to ſow and cultivate the ſeeds of diſſention between the Indians and their new allies. They therefore taught the former to conſider the latter in the light of maſters, and even tyrants, rather than friends; and it muſt be owned, that the general behaviour of the French to the Indians, was ſo very different from that of the Engliſh, as to give all the weight the French could wiſh to thoſe leſſons; the effects of which, accordingly, became every day more and more viſible. We mention theſe particulars, not only to recommend the manner in which the French treat the Indians as highly deſerving to be imitated by us; but to wear out of the minds of ſuch of our deluded countrymen as are not entirely deſtitute of good ſenſe and humanity, the prejudices conceived againſt an innocent, much abuſed, and once happy people, who, with all their ſimplicity, are no ſtrangers to the firſt principles of morality; and, accordingly, entertain as deep a ſenſe of the juſtice, benevolence, and condeſcenſion of their former friends, the French, as they do of the injuſtice, cruelty, and inſolence, with which they have been uſed by their preſent fellow-ſubjects, the Engliſh.

1763.

But it may be proper to give an inſtance or two of this difference. The French court encouraged marriages between its ſubjects

1763. ſubjects and Indian women; and this not only proved a great means of civilizing the nations to which the latter belonged; but effectually ſerved to procure the former admiſſion into their councils, and thereby a thorough knowledge of all their moſt ſecret deſigns, from the formation of them; and this procedure ſo entirely won their affections, that to this very hour, the ſavages ſay, the French and they are one people.

Another thing, which does ſtill greater honour to the policy and humanity of the French government, was their ſtrictly forbidding the ſale of ſpirituous liquors to the Indians, under pain of not being abſolved by any clergyman but the biſhop: this prevented many miſchiefs amongſt theſe unfortunate tribes, who have fallen to our lot by the laſt peace. To taſte ſpirits and get drunk, is the ſame thing with the Indians; and from drunkenneſs ariſes, among them, all diſorders. There is nothing, let it be ever ſo ſhocking and abominable, of which an intoxicated Indian is not capable; nay, which he will not madly endeavour to commit; and, unfortunately, there is no advantage which the Engliſh traders ſcruple to take of them in that deplorable condition. They impoſe on the men both in buying and ſelling, abuſe their wives and daughters, and other female relations; and go yet greater lengths, if poſſible, in every other ſpecies of wickedneſs. Where is the wonder then, if we ſo often find the Indians on our backs, without being able to particulariſe the motives of their inſurrection: We might very well wonder if it were otherwiſe. Thus, the bare behaviour of a few diſſolute pedlars has often, without any other aſſignable cauſe, coſt the lives of many of our moſt inoffenſive and induſtrious fellow-ſubjects, who are juſt emerging from the gloom of want and toil, into the fair proſpect of eaſe and affluence.

No people on the face of the earth are fuller of the idea of liberty, than the North-American Indians. The very thoughts of that ſlavery which they were made to expect under the Engliſh, was enough to determine them to enter into every propoſal the French could offer. It was with the utmoſt regret the ſavages had ſo lately parted with the garriſons of that nation, which had been ſtationed amongſt them; and with proportionable jealouſy and averſion they received the Engliſh. Yet we fooliſhly flattered ourſelves, that this regret would wear out with time, but we never took the proper ſteps to contribute to ſo deſirable an end; and this omiſſion was accompanied with a miſtake productive of a ſtill greater. We vainly imagined, that however hoſtile the diſpoſitions of the ſavages might be, they could not, for want of aſſiſtance from the French, do us any great miſchief; and therefore, did not ſufficiently provide againſt any attack from them. Our hopes proved as vain and ſhort-lived, as they had been ſanguine and premature; and the ſtorm aroſe from that quarter from which we leaſt expected it. 176

It ſoon appeared, that at the very time we were repreſenting the Indians to ourſelves as completely ſubdued, and perfectly obedient to our power, they were buſy in planning the deſtruction, not only of our moſt inſignificant and remote forts, but our moſt important and central ſettlements. They had collected abundance of ſmall arms and ammunition, and every other neceſſary ſuch a hoſtile and general deſign could ſuggeſt; and then proceeded to the execution of it, with a degree of activity and reſolution, ſuch as till this occaſion they had never before diſcovered. The Shawaneſe and Delawares, in particular, the original ſchemers of this war, were ſo eager to begin it, that it was with much difficulty they could be prevailed upon to

1763. refrain from hoſtilities till their confederates were ready to enter into action with them. Their plan was to make a general and ſudden attack upon the frontiers, in the height of the harveſt, deſtroying all the fruits of the earth with man and beaſt, as far as they could penetrate; and then fall on the advanced poſts, intercept the convoys coming to them, and cut off their communication with the provinces. By way of prelude to this horrid tragedy, they maſſacred the traders whom they had invited amongſt them, and ſeized on their effects. Thus fluſhed with blood, their ſcalping parties advanced to the frontiers of Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, marking their way with devaſtation and ſlaughter, and every where committing the moſt horrid cruelties. The main bodies then attacked all our out-poſts, though at a great diſtance from each other, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, and made themſelves maſters of Le Bœuf, Venango, Preſque-Iſle, and Sanduſky, on Lake-Erie; of La-Baye, on Lake-Michigan; of St. Joſeph, on the River St. Joſeph; of the Miamis, on the River-Miamis; of Ouachtanon, on the Ouabach, and of Michilimackinack.

The garriſons of all theſe forts were very weak, as, from the general peace ſo lately concluded, it was thought they had nothing to apprehend; and from the nature of their ſituation, they could not receive, in caſe of danger, any immediate aſſiſtance, either from the colonies, or from each other. The Indians, knowing their weak and helpleſs condition, employed, nevertheleſs, ſtratagem as well as force againſt them. They made it their buſineſs to perſuade the garriſon in every fort, that thoſe in the others had ſurrendered, before they themſelves well knew whether they really had or not; and thus, by making their ſituation appear deſperate, prevailed on many

many of them to ſurrender on terms, which they never intended to obſerve. But what contributed more than any thing elſe to the loſs of theſe places, was their being moſt unaccountably left to depend for their proviſions on the Indians in their neighbourhood; a circumſtance alone ſufficient to tempt the Indians to attack them. Preſque-Iſle, which was the moſt tenable in itſelf, and ſtood beſt for relief, was one of thoſe which ſurrendered by capitulation. The perfidy of the ſavages with regard to all former capitulations between them and the Engliſh, ſhould have made the commanding officer riſk every thing, as the ſole chance of ſaving thoſe under him from the ſcalping-knife, with which they were cruelly butchered, a very few excepted, amongſt whom the commanding officer had the good fortune to make one. 1763.

The news of the loſs of ſo many places, and of the ravages which the Indians ſtill continued to commit, ſpread conſternation through the provinces, and depopulated a conſiderable part of the frontier. In the ſpace of a few days, the Engliſh ſaw themſelves deprived of the fruits of ſeveral bloody and expenſive campaigns. They were driven from ſome of the poſts, the diſpute about which had been the principal cauſe of the war, as the poſſeſſion of them was one of the greateſt advantages obtained by the peace. Their affairs, however, were not yet quite deſperate. The hands into which theſe places fell were ſuch as could not keep them, like the French; and they were ſtill maſters of Fort-Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit.

Theſe forts, beſides being much larger as well as better conſtructed than the reſt, had ſufficient garriſons to ſuſtain a ſiege of ſome continuance. Niagara was not cloſely attacked; but ſome ſcattering parties infeſted the communication be-

63. tween it and Lake-Erie, on which ſeveral people were killed. Fort-Pitt and Detroit were indeed cloſely blockaded: but they were both defended with equal vigilance and bravery; the latter, in particular, by Major Gladwin, againſt the boldeſt leader among the ſavages, and the united efforts of all thoſe inhabiting the banks of the Upper-Lakes.

The Indians had entirely inveſted Fort-Pitt, and had ſo effectually cut off the communication between it and every other place, as made it impoſſible for the garriſon either to ſend or receive any intelligence; they even took poſt under the banks of both rivers, near the ramparts, and there remained, with the moſt incredible patience, many days together, keeping upon the place a continual fire of ſmall arms intermixed with heavy ſhowers of lighted arrows. Too eager to wait till famine ſhould compel the garriſon to ſurrender, they hoped to effect their purpoſe by wearing them down with conſtant fatigue, and deſtroying by fire every place that could afford them the leaſt ſhelter.

Captain Ecuyer, who commanded in this fort, wanted almoſt as many neceſſaries to ſuſtain a regular ſiege, as the Indians did to form one. Beſides, his works had been greatly damaged by the overflowing of the neighbouring rivers: but he, with great judgment, employed every method to conquer theſe inconveniencies; and, ſeconded by thoſe who had fled to him for protection, took every poſſible ſtep, not only to maintain his poſt, but repulſe the enemy.

Sir Jeffrey Amherſt now commanded in America; but he was a commander almoſt without any troops to obey him. The fineſt army, for its numbers, in the whole world; that army

which had conquered the French territories in this quarter of the globe, was now quite melted down by the Weſt-India ſervice, inſomuch that there ſcarce remained a ſufficiency of effective men for the common garriſon duty. Beſides, the ſhattered remains of the ſeventy-ſeventh and eightieth regiments were at this very time actually reduced or diſbanded, and ordered for England to be diſcharged there. But conſidering the critical ſituation of affairs, and the neceſſity there was of putting an immediate ſtop to the horrid cruelties which the ſavages were every where committing, he thought it his duty to detain them; and ſending invalids to the nearer garriſons to relieve ſuch troops as were more fit for active ſervice, he ordered the forty-ſecond and part of the ſeventy-ſeventh regiment to Fort-Pitt. The fifty-fifth was at Ontario, the forty-ſixth at Niagara, and the eightieth at Detroit. 1763.

The fewneſs of his troops put it out of the General's power to think ſo ſoon of re-eſtabliſhing the more diſtant poſts: He, therefore, for the preſent, confined his whole attention to Fort-Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit.

A ſmall body, therefore, was haſtily collected for the relief of Detroit, and another for the reinforcement of the garriſon of Niagara. Theſe troops were commanded by Captain Dalyell, who, having left thoſe deſtined for Niagara, proceeded to Detroit, where he arrived on the evening of the 30th of July 1763. Pondiac, a celebrated Indian chief, with the numerous tribes in the vicinity of that place, had for ſome time been cloſely blockading it by land; and by means of a conference allowed him within the fort, had ſurpriſed the garriſon, were it not for the vigilance of the very able officer who commanded there. Suſpicion is the beſt guard againſt ſuch inſidious foes; and Major Gladwin

1763. Gladwin had the good ſenſe to draw this concluſion from their former conduct in ſimilar circumſtances. Accordingly, before he admitted the Indians into the place, he put the garriſon under arms, and made ſuch other diſpoſitions, as totally defeated their treacherous deſign. Had they ſucceeded in their deep-laid ſcheme, of putting him firſt to death, every man of them muſt have fallen a victim to the reſentment of his troops. Pondiac had ſagacity enough to perceive this. He harangued, as uſual, on a belt, white on one ſide, and green on the other; and began his diſcourſe on the white ſide. The turning the belt was to be the ſignal, in caſe circumſtances proved favourable, for opening the tragedy by the murder of Major Gladwin; but Pondiac thought better of the matter, and never made uſe of it.

Many of the French had inliſted under the banners of Pondiac; and one of them became his ſecretary. It was a thing without precedent, for ſuch a multitude of Indians to keep the field ſo long. Their ſtrong propenſity to roving, and the difficulty of providing them with ſubſiſtence, had hitherto hindered their chiefs from undertaking any affair which required time and numbers to atchieve it. But on this occaſion, the influence of Pondiac kept them together, whilſt the addreſs of his ſecretary procured them proviſions. To accompliſh this, he iſſued formal orders to the neighbouring inhabitants, in the name of the French king, for what flour and cattle was wanted; and before Captain Dalyell's arrival, had gone ſo far as to ſummon Major Gladwin to ſurrender his fort to that monarch.

Had Captain Dalyell brought nothing but proviſions with him to Detroit, his coming there might have been reckoned a very

a very eſſential ſervice; for, by the time he reached it, the garriſon was reduced to the greateſt ſtraits. But this was not enough to ſatisfy his martial ardour. He unhappily conſidered the Indians as a very deſpicable foe, and deſpiſed them accordingly. As ſoon, therefore, as he became acquainted with their ſituation, he ſuppoſed that it could be no difficult matter, not only to make them abandon their preſent deſign, but ſo effectually chaſtiſe them, as to prevent their attempting any thing like it for the future. 1763

It was in vain that Major Gladwin, who knew better, endeavoured to perſuade the Captain from this dangerous undertaking. All his arguments were looked upon by him as no better than ſo many contrivances to prevent his reaping a large harveſt of military glory. The Major, therefore, conſidering, that, as Captain Dalyell was Sir Jeffrey's aid de camp, he might be reaſonably ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with his ſentiments; he therefore permitted him to make the attempt with two hundred and fifty men. To give him more was impoſſible, without riſking the loſs of the place, ſhould any accident happen to thoſe he gave.

With this force, Captain Dalyell ſallied out, about half an hour after two in the morning of the 31ſt of July; taking the great road by the river-ſide, whilſt two boats, in the nature of row-gallies, and a pateraro in each of them, rowed up the river, with orders to keep cloſe to the ſhore, and up with the line of march, in order to take off the killed and wounded, and cover a retreat in caſe of accident. About a mile and a half from the fort, the Captain ordered his men to form into platoons; and, if attacked in front, to defend themſelves by ſtreet-firing. About a mile farther, the advanced guard, commanded

1763. manded by Lieutenant Brown, was fired upon by the enemy from under the cover of their works, and had ſeveral men killed and wounded. Some of the balls reached to the main body, and threw the men into ſome confuſion; but they ſoon recovered. Captain Grey then returned the enemy's fire on the front of their works, as the quarter where moſt execution might be expected, it being ſtill too dark to diſtinguiſh objects. Captain Grant, being in the rear, was now likewiſe fired on from ſome houſes and fences, about twenty yards from his left; upon which he faced about his own and Captain Hopkins's company, and gave a full diſcharge on thoſe places from whence he had been fired upon. The enemy ſeeming to retire in conſequence of this ready and reſolute return of their ſalute, Captain Dalyell ordered Captain Grant to take poſſeſſion of thoſe houſes and fences from which it had been given; and Captain Grant, having immediately executed theſe orders, found, in one of the houſes, two men, who informed him, that the enemy were about three hundred ſtrong; and being, withal, perfectly well appriſed of the garriſon's deſign, intended to get between the ſallying party and the fort, to cut off their retreat.

As ſoon as Captain Dalyell was made acquainted with this ſuperiority of the enemy, and the uſe they intended to make of it, he concluded it was high time to think of a retreat; and to cover his march, ordered Captain Grant to take poſt in an orchard. By this time the Indians began an heavy firing on his rear, from the fences and corn-fields which lay behind it, and he himſelf was one of the firſt who fell on the occaſion. Captain Grant, being informed by Lieutenant Macdougal of Captain Dalyell's death, and likewiſe, that Captain Grey was too ſeverely wounded to act, aſſumed the command, which, by theſe

thefe events, devolved upon him; and continuing the retreat, took poffeffion of the houfes, barns, and fences, in the way to the fort. But Captain Rogers, having been hard preffed by the enemy, from behind a houfe in which he had taken poft, was obliged to wait for one of the row-gallies to cover his retreat. When the boat arrived, and had difperfed the favages by a few difcharges, Captain Rogers loft no time in embracing the opportunity to come off; and his and the feveral other fmall bodies, into which the falliers had feparated, having joined again without any confufion, they continued their march back to the fort in good order. It muft not be forgot, that Captain Grant, by the able manner in which he conducted this dangerous retreat, acquired to himfelf particular honour. Befides Captain Dalyell, we loft one ferjeant, and eighteen rank and file killed; Captain Grey, Lieutenants Duke and Brown, one drummer, and thirty-eight rank and file wounded. 1763.

Though the iffue of this fally did great honour to Major Gladwin's forefight, it proved extremely difadvantageous to the Englifh affairs; not fo much, indeed, by their lofs in men, as by the frefh fpirits with which it infpired the Indians.

All this time, Fort-Pitt continued in the moft critical fituation. No news was to be heard from the garrifon, or even about it; and it was a march of two hundred miles through the wood to relieve it. Colonel Bouquet, however, was ordered upon this difficult and dangerous fervice, with the poor remains of the forty-fecond and feventy-feventh regiments, and fome ammunition and provifions. Thefe corps had been enfeebled, or rather worn down, by the expedition to the Havanna; and the few furvivors not yet recovered from the con-

1763. ſuming and diſpiriting diſeaſes of the Weſt-India climate, ſaw themſelves, when they leaſt expected it, ſuddenly engaged in an expedition, which required the utmoſt activity, and the moſt vigorous conſtitution.

Orders had been given to prepare a convoy of proviſions on the frontiers of Penſylvania, againſt the Colonel's arrival there: But ſuch was the general terror and conſternation which had ſeized the inhabitants, that he had reached Carliſle before any ſtep had been taken to forward his march. It muſt be owned, however, that this was not altogether a groundleſs panic. A great number of the poor people's plantations had been pillaged and burned, and many of their mills deſtroyed by the ſavages. The harveſt, indeed, was in complete maturity; but then, there was no one to gather it. Beſides, the greateſt part of the county of Cumberland, through which the army was to paſs, was deſerted; and the roads leading to it covered with wretched families, who having ſuddenly abandoned their habitations to ſave their lives, were now ready to periſh for want of the moſt common neceſſaries to ſupport nature.

By this confuſion, the ſupplies for the expedition became more and more precarious. Inſtead of receiving ſuccours from a people in eaſy and affluent circumſtances, Colonel Bouquet was obliged to divide his own proviſions with them. Nevertheleſs, in eighteen days after his arrival at Carliſle, by an happy combination of activity in him, and good will in the interior parts of the province, the ſtores and neceſſary carriages were ready, and the army put into motion.

The ſpirits of the people, however, were not much mended by this march. They were too well acquainted with the

ſtrength and ferocity of the enemy, not to look upon them as more than an overmatch for Colonel Bouquet's army, conſidering the ſmall number and weak condition of the regulars which compoſed it. Such of them therefore, as had ſettlements on the Suſquehana, held themſelves in readineſs to abandon them on the firſt news of the fatal event they apprehended. In this ſtate of deſpondency, it is not ſurpriſing that they refuſed to follow the troops for their common defence. Their knowlege of the woods, as well as their being good hunters, and excellent markſmen, might have been of the greateſt ſervice; but their fears were, unfortunately, too ſtrong, to let them ſet a proper value upon theſe advantages. 1763.

The defeat of this little army would have expoſed the province of Penſylvania, in particular, to the greateſt danger, conſidering the enterpriſing genius and barbarous diſpoſition of the enemy it had to deal with. The county of Cumberland, which formed the frontier, could muſter no militia to oppoſe the Indians, even if its inhabitants had not deſerted it, moſt of them being traders and farmers, ignorant of the uſe of arms. Government, indeed, had ordered a levy of ſeven hundred men to cover theſe frontiers during the harveſt. But what could be expected from new raiſed, raw, and even undiſciplined troops? Accordingly, Colonel Bouquet was obliged to depend entirely upon himſelf, having no troops, or any farther ſupply of ſtores to expect from the province, nor any reinforcement from the General, who had already given him every man that was in a condition to quit the hoſpital; nay, many of theſe were too weak to make uſe of their legs; and therefore were obliged to be carried in waggons, merely for the purpoſe of adding ſome ſtrength, ſuch as it was, in proportion as they recovered, to the

1763. ſmall poſts on the route, by which the communication was to be kept up.

In the mean time, Fort-Ligonier was in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the Colonel could reach it. Its defences were very bad, the garriſon weak, and the attack made upon it by the Indians vigorous enough to give apprehenſions to a ſtrong one. But they were repulſed by the conduct and bravery of Lieutenant Blane, who commanded there.

The preſervation of this poſt was of the utmoſt conſequence, from its ſituation, and ſtill more, from a great magazine of proviſions it contained. Could the Indians have made themſelves maſters of it, they might have continued the ſiege of Fort-Pitt, with better hopes of ſucceſs, and greatly incommode the troops deſtined to relieve it. Conſidering theſe circumſtances, there was an almoſt abſolute neceſſity for ſuccouring it at any riſk. A body, therefore, of thirty men, accompanied with good guides, was detached for that purpoſe, and ordered to take their route by the woods, by which means they had the good fortune to ſucceed. Twenty volunteers, ſent by Captain Oury from Fort-Bedford, a place between Carliſle and Fort-Pitt, in which there was another magazine, had arrived there before them. Fort-Bedford had not yet been attacked by the ſavages; otherwiſe it would have been highly imprudent in Captain Oury to have made ſuch a detachment, as his place was not ſtronger, either in works or in men to defend them, than Lieutenant Blane's; but a great number of diſtreſſed families in its neighbourhood had fled to it for protection, leaving their effects a prey to the ſavages: this enabled Captain Oury thus to attend to the relief of his partners in danger, whilſt he took

every meaſure which prudence and military ſkill could ſuggeſt to enſure his own ſafety, by preventing ſurpriſe, repulſing open attacks, and rendering uſeleſs or defeating the effects of the burning arrows, which the Indians ſhowered into the place. With this view, he formed into companies all the fugitives that were capable of carrying arms: and they did duty with the garriſon, till the arrival of two companies of light infantry, detached by Colonel Bouquet. 1763

This able officer having thus provided for the ſafety of theſe two important magazines at the forts Ligonier and Bedford, advanced to the moſt diſtant ſettlements, without being able to procure the leaſt intelligence of the number or ſituation of the enemy. He could not get any even at Fort-Bedford, where he arrived on the 25th of July. For though the Indians dared not to make any attack upon that place, their parties were ſo well diſpoſed in the neighbourhood, that neither meſſenger nor any thing elſe could eſcape them; and accordingly, eighteen perſons had been made priſoners, or killed and ſcalped by them. This total want of intelligence is no uncommon caſe with officers conducting campaigns in North-America; whereas the Indians always have the beſt information, and they had it at this time in particular. As ſoon as they heard of Colonel Bouquet's march, they raiſed the ſiege of Fort-Pitt, in order to meet him, fully reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of attacking him to advantage.

In this uncertainty concerning the ſtrength and motions of the Indians, Colonel Bouquet left Fort-Bedford on the 28th of July. On his arrival at Fort-Ligonier, he prudently determined to leave there his waggons, with ſome proviſions, powder, and other

1763. other ſtores, and purſue his rout with the troops only, and about three hundred and forty horſes loaded with flour. He had to paſs a place called Turtle-Creek, a dangerous defile, many miles in length, and commanded, on every ſide, by ſteep hills. Having halted ſome time to refreſh his men and horſes at Buſhy-Run, he came to a reſolution of making a forced march through this defile in the night; but, at one in the afternoon of the 5th of Auguſt, after a march of ſeventeen miles, his advanced guard was ſuddenly attacked by a body of the ſavages, who had hid themſelves on the ſide of the road for that purpoſe; but being immediately ſupported by the two light infantry companies of the forty-ſecond regiment, they drove them from their ambuſcade, and even purſued them to ſome diſtance. The ſavages, however, returned to the attack, and their fire proving obſtinate on the front, and extending along the flanks, Colonel Bouquet found it neceſſary to make a general charge with his whole line, to diſlodge them from the heights, and ſucceeded in the attempt, though without gaining by his ſucceſs any deciſive advantage. The ſavages were no ſooner driven from one place than they appeared in another, and when no longer purſued, returned to the charge, till, by receiving continual reinforcements, they were at laſt enabled to ſurround the Engliſh on every ſide, and even attack the convoy left in their rear, which obliged Colonel Bouquet to march back to protect it. The action, upon this, became general. But though the ſavages attacked the Engliſh upon every ſide, and fought with uncommon reſolution, they were conſtantly repulſed with loſs. Ours, however, was by no means inconſiderable: Captain-Lieutenant Graham, and Captain Macintoſh, of the forty-ſecond regiment, were killed; and Captain Graham, Lieutenant Dow, of the Royal Americans, Lieutenant

tenant Donald Campbell, and Volunteer Peebles of the ſeventy-ſeventh, wounded. The battle ended only with the day. The great activity of Major Campbell, of the forty-ſecond regiment, was of infinite ſervice upon this very critical occaſion. Indeed, the conduct of the officers in general, was above praiſe; and the men kept themſelves, the whole time, ſo cool, and behaved ſo ſteadily, that they never attempted to fire without orders; and at length drove the ſavages from their poſts with fixed bayonets. 1763.

Poſſeſſion was now taken of a hill where the convoy had halted when the front was firſt attacked, as it afforded a commodious ſpot, both with regard to ſituation and extent, for the purpoſe of a temporary poſt. Accordingly, the whole of the army was here incircled, the wounded being covered with the flour-bags.

The morning of the next day, being the 6th of Auguſt, the ſavages ſurrounded the camp at the diſtance of about five hundred yards, and by a perpetual ſhouting and yelling quite round this extenſive circumference, were in hopes of terrifying the army with their numbers. They then, very early, began an attack; and keeping up an inceſſant fire, made ſeveral bold efforts to penetrate the camp; but all to no purpoſe. Still, however, their method of fighting rendered our ſituation extremely critical and perplexing. Briſk attacks can have but little effect upon an enemy who always give way when preſſed, and immediately appear again. Beſides, the Engliſh troops were exceedingly fatigued with the long march, and long action of the preceding day; and what was ſtill worſe, diſtreſſed to the laſt degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

Tied

1763. Tied to his wounded and his convoy, the Colonel could not lose sight of either, without exposing them to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed upon him on every side: Yet, to move with the whole was impracticable, as he had lost a great many horses, and the drivers, stupefied by fear, had either hid themselves in the bushes, or were become incapable of obeying or even hearing orders.

At length, the savages growing every moment more and more audacious, Colonel Bouquet, with that happy sagacity which sometimes draws from evils their own remedy, thought the best thing he could do, would be, if possible, to increase their confidence, and by that means entice them to close in upon him, or at least stand their ground when attacked. With this view, he ordered two companies of light infantry within the circle, and the troops on the right and left to open their files, and fill up the space these two companies had occupied, that it might look as if the latter intended to cover the retreat of the former. The third company of light infantry, with the grenadiers of the forty-second regiment, were ordered to support the two first companies. This manœuvre had the desired effect; for the few troops who had taken possession of the ground which the two companies of light infantry had left, being brought in nearer to the circle, the barbarians, mistaking all these motions for a confirmed retreat, hurried headlong on, with the most daring intrepidity. But just as, after excessively galling our troops with a most heavy fire, they thought themselves masters of the camp, Major Campbell, at the head of the two companies which had begun the deception, sallied upon them from a part of the hill they could not observe, and fell upon their right flank. The barbarians returned his fire with great resolution;

lution; but could not withſtand the irreſiſtible force of bayonets, with which the Major ruſhed in upon them, killing many, and putting the reſt to flight. In the mean time, orders having been ſent to the other two companies to improve the advantage, they were delivered ſo critically by Captain Baſſet, and executed with ſo much celerity and ſpirit, that the routed ſavages, who happened at that moment to be running before their front, received their full fire; and not being covered by any trees, their uſual defence, ſuffered a conſiderable loſs. The four companies uniting, did not give them time to load a ſecond time, nor even look behind them, but purſued them till they were totally diſperſed. This, indeed, was only the right of the ſavages; but their left was ſo effectually awed by the reſt of the Engliſh troops, poſted on the brow of the hill for that purpoſe, that they durſt not attempt to ſupport the right; and being at length witneſſes to its unexpected defeat, prudently followed the example, and ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight. 1763.

The woods being now cleared, and the purſuit over, the four companies took poſſeſſion of another hill in the front; and as ſoon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour deſtroyed, with every thing elſe, which, for want of horſes, could not be carried off, Colonel Bouquet marched on without any farther moleſtation, and encamped at Buſhy-Run, where there was plenty of water. Here, however, his camp was hardly formed, when, notwithſtanding the iſſue of the late actions, his little army was again fired upon by the ſavages. But they were again ſoon diſperſed by the light infantry. The loſs of the Indians in theſe actions could never be aſcer-

1763. tained. Ours amounted to about fifty killed; and ſixty wounded.

After this defeat, the ſavages, having loſt all hopes of deſtroying Colonel Bouquet's army on its march, inſtead of renewing the ſiege of Fort-Pitt, fled with the utmoſt precipitation to their moſt diſtant ſettlements. The Colonel reached that place, with his convoy, four days after his laſt action; but, as he did not find himſelf in a condition to follow the Indians beyond the Ohio, and thereby more completely reap the fruits of his late victory over them; and having no reaſon to hope for any reinforcements from the provinces in their preſent diſtreſſed condition, he put an end, though with great reluctance, to the operations of the campaign, by providing Fort-Pitt, and the poſts on the communication, with proviſions, ammunition, and other neceſſary ſtores, and diſtributing his troops into winter quarters.

During theſe operations, Detroit continued to be blockaded; and the garriſon ſuffered greatly from fatigue, and the want of proviſions. They muſt even have fallen victims to famine, had it not been for the extraordinary bravery of the crew of a ſchooner, which had been diſpatched from Niagara, with proviſions for their relief. This veſſel ſailed from Niagara, the latter end of Auguſt 1763, with twelve men, including the maſter, and ſix Mohawk Indians, who were intended for a particular ſervice. On the 3d of September ſhe entered the River-Detroit; and, in the morning of the next day, the Mohawks appearing extremely deſirous to be put on ſhore, the maſter very inconſiderately yielded to their wiſhes.

All that day the wind proved contrary. About nine in the evening, whilſt the veſſel lay at anchor, the boatſwain diſcovered a number of canoes coming down the river, with about three hundred and fifty Indians in them. They were immediately ſaluted with the bow gun. But, before the other guns could be brought to bear upon them, they had got under the veſſel's bow and ſtern, in ſpite of all her ſmall arms and ſwivels; and attempted to board her. Upon this, the men, abandoning their ſmall arms, took to their ſpears, a weapon with which they had been fortunately provided; and, with amazing bravery and reſolution, killed numbers of them; notwithſtanding which, the ſavages cut the cable, thinking thereby to divert the attention of the crew from the defence of the veſſel to the management of her ſails and rudder; but the ſtratagem turned upon themſelves. The ſchooner, ſwinging round, not only threw the Indians ſuddenly into the utmoſt confuſion, but gave the Engliſh an opportunity of making uſe of their great guns, which now did conſiderable execution, and diſperſed the Indians, who were utter ſtrangers to the nature of this marine manœuvre. The maſter of the ſchooner, and one of his men, were killed in this affair; and four men were wounded; but the remainder of the crew carried her to Detroit, whoſe fate depended on her ſafe arrival. To abandon the place, or at leaſt gain Niagara by land, was impracticable without a greater ſtock of proviſions than the garriſon could command, even were there no enemies on the road to oppoſe their march; and famine muſt have been the certain conſequence of remaining in it. The garriſon then had no other proſpect but certain death. The arrival of the ſchooner, therefore, relieved them from the moſt diſmal apprehenſions; and proportional were the careſſes and other marks of gratitude, 1763.

1763. with which they loaded the heroes to whom they owed their deliverance. The officers, in particular, as a mark of diſtinction, as well as a reward for their bravery, preſented each of them with a ſilver medal deſcriptive of the action; and it has been ever ſince conſtantly worn by them, at the button-hole, in the manner of a *Croix de Saint Louis*.

Excitements ſuch as this, were they to be univerſally uſed in the ſervice, would be attended with the moſt happy conſequences; ſince nothing can be ſo flattering to the human mind, eſpecially the mind of thoſe engaged in a profeſſion where glory is generally the chief object, as to be diſtinguiſhed from one's fellow ſoldiers by ſome conſpicuous ornament, to which ſuperior merit can alone entitle the wearer.

The garriſon of Detroit being now well ſupplied with proviſions, the efforts of the enemy proved of no great conſequence, though the ſetting in of winter prevented any thing more being attempted for its relief, till the return of a ſeaſon more favourable to military operations. Major Gladwin ſecured the garriſon againſt any ſudden attack; and the Indians in a great meaſure diſperſed, except ſome ſmall parties who lurked about the fort in ſuch a manner as to render it extremely dangerous to paſs the palliſade.

Niagara had not been attacked; but, then, the communication between it and Lake Erie, was continually infeſted by the Indians, which made it neceſſary to ſend large eſcorts with every thing, that was to paſs the carrying place for the garriſon of Detroit. To remove this obſtacle, a detachment of about ninety men was made from Niagara to attack the body of Indians which formed it. But the inconſiderate ardour of the commanding

commanding officer hurried him into an ambuſcade, in which himſelf, and the whole of his party, except three or four, unfortunately periſhed. 1763.

The nature of this campaign, of 1763, which was entirely defenſive on our part, and the many advantages the Indians had gained in the courſe of it, without receiving any conſiderable check, inſpired them with a boldneſs and reſolution ſuperior to any they had hitherto manifeſted. This increaſe of what generally turns the ſcale in every hoſtile conteſt, required the moſt active as well as moſt powerful meaſures in the Engliſh to counteract it to any purpoſe. Nothing leſs could anſwer, than a formidable army as early in the field as the ſeaſon would permit, and the moſt vigorous offenſive uſe that could be made of it; but the General was ſtill without a number of regular troops ſufficient for that purpoſe. Nay thoſe he had were in a ſtate of diſcontent and mutiny, on account of an order which compelled them to pay for their rations, inſtead of being allowed them gratis, as they had been during the whole courſe of the laſt war. But Sir Jeffrey Amherſt having taken upon him to repreſent their inability to comply with this new regulation, and ordered proviſions to be iſſued, as uſual, for the enſuing campaign, their minds became a little more quiet; and the following order, whilſt it proved extremely flattering to thoſe whom it more particularly concerned, ſerved to create a ſpirit of emulation amongſt all thoſe in general engaged in the ſervice.

Head-Quarters, New-York, 5th June, 1764.

"The King has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify to the Commander in chief his royal approbation of the conduct and bravery

1764. very of Colonel Bouquet, and the officers and troops under his command, in the two actions of the 5th and 6th of August last, in which, notwithstanding the difficulty, and the distressing circumstances which presented themselves, and likewise the boldness and extraordinary resolution of the Indians, he frustrated their designs, repulsed their repeated attacks, and happily conducted his convoy safe to Fort Pitt."

The scarcity of regular troops obliged the General to make a requisition from the provinces; their respective assemblies chearfully complied with his demands, and issued orders for levying the reinforcements they had severally agreed to give him.

The plan of operations was to send a corps, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, to attack the Delawars, the Shawanese, the Mingoes, the Mohicons, and other Indians settled between the Ohio and the lakes; whilst another, to be commanded by Colonel Bradstreet, attacked the Hurons, the Wiandots, the Ottawas, the Chippawas, and other nations on the banks of the lakes. The naval preparations on the lakes belonging to Captain Loring's department, he was ordered to Oswego to do every thing that was necessary to forward them. In the mean time, Sir William Johnson was to go to Niagara, to ratify the following preliminaries of peace which he had settled in the spring with the Senecas; and use his influence to prevail on as many as he could of the faithful Indians to accompany Colonel Bradstreet in his expedition.

PRELIMINARY

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES *of peace, friendſhip and alliance, entered into between the deputies ſent from the whole Seneca nation, and Sir William Johnſon, Baronet, his Majeſty's ſole Agent and Superintendant of Indian affairs, for the northern parts of North America, and Colonel of the Six United Nations, their allies and dependants, &c.* 1764.

ART. I. That the Seneca nation do immediately ſtop all hoſtilities, and ſolemnly engage never more to make war upon the Engliſh, or ſuffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the perſons or properties of any of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

Anſwer. The Sachems and Chiefs of the Senecas agree fully to this article.

II. That they forthwith collect all the Engliſh priſoners, deſerters, Frenchmen, and Negroes, amongſt them, and deliver them up to Sir William Johnſon (together with the two Indians of Kaneſtio, who killed the traders in November 1762) previous to the treaty of peace, which will take place within three months, if theſe articles are agreed to; and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any deſerters, Frenchmen, or Negroes, from this time; but, ſhould any ſuch take refuge amongſt them, they are to be brought to the commanding officer of the next garriſon, and delivered up; promiſing, likewiſe, never to obſtruct any ſearch made after ſuch perſons, or to hinder their being apprehended in any part of their country.

Anſwer. Agreed to; and they will aſſiſt in apprehending any ſuch in their towns.

III. That they cede to his Majeſty, and his ſucceſſors for ever, in full right, the lands from the fort of Niagara, extending, eaſterly, along Lake-Ontario, about four miles, comprehending

1764. ing the Petit-Marais, or landing-place, and running from thence, ſoutherly, about fourteen miles to the creek above Fort-Scholſſer or little Niagara, and down the ſame to the river or ſtrait; thence down the river or ſtrait, and acroſs the ſame, at the great cataract; thence, northerly, to the banks of Lake Ontario, at a creek or ſmall lake about two miles weſt of the fort; thence, eaſterly, along the banks of Lake-Ontario, and acroſs the river or ſtrait to Niagara; comprehending the whole carrying place, with the lands on both ſides the ſtrait; and containing a tract of about fourteen miles in length, and four in breadth. And the Senecas do engage never to obſtruct the paſſage of the carrying place, or the free uſe of any part of the ſaid track; and will likewiſe give free liberty of cutting timber for the uſe of his Majeſty, or that of the garriſons, in any other part of their country not comprehended therein.

Anſwer. Agreed to; provided the track be always appropriated to his Majeſty's ſole uſe; and that at the definitive treaty the lines be run in the preſence of Sir William Johnſon and ſome of the Senecas, to prevent diſputes hereafter.

IV. That they allow a free paſſage through their country from that of Cayugas to Niagara or elſewhere, for the uſe of his Majeſty's troops for ever; engaging never to obſtruct or moleſt any of his Majeſty's troops, or other his ſubjects, who may make uſe of the ſame, or who may have occaſion to paſs through any part of their country by land or by water, from henceforward.

Anſwer. Agreed to: And moreover (if required) the Senecas will grant eſcorts of their people; but it is expected they will not be ill-treated by any of the Engliſh, who may paſs through their country.

V. That they grant to his Majesty, and his successors, for ever, a free use of the harbours for vessels or boats within their country, on Lake-Ontario, or in any of the rivers; with liberty to land stores, &c. and erect sheds for their security. 1764.

AGREED TO.

VI. That they immediately stop all intercourse between any of their people and those of the Shawanese and Delawares, or other his Majesty's enemies, whom they are to treat as common enemies; and to assist his Majesty's arms, in bringing them to proper punishment, solemnly engaging never to be privy to, aid, or assist, any of his Majesty's enemies, or those who may hereafter attempt to disturb the public tranquillity.

AGREED TO.

VII. That should any Indian commit murder on, or rob any of his Majesty's subjects, he shall be immediately delivered up, to be tried and punished, according to the equitable laws of England: and, should any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he shall be immediately tried and punished, if guilty. And the Senecas are never, for the future, to procure themselves satisfaction, otherwise than as before mentioned; but to lay all matter of complaint before Sir William Johnson, or his Majesty's superintendant of Indian affairs, for the time being, and strictly to maintain and abide by the covenant chain of friendship.

AGREED TO.

VIII. For the due performance of these articles, the Senecas are to deliver up three of their chiefs as hostages, who are to be

1764. well treated, and restored to them as soon as the same are fully performed on their parts.

Answer. They agree to leave as hostages, Wannaughsila, Serrihodna, and Arajungas, three of their chiefs.

IX. In consequence of their perfect agreement to the foregoing articles, Sir William Johnson doth, by virtue of the powers and authorities reposed in him, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, promise and engage, that the said Indians shall have a full pardon for past transgressions: That they shall be left in the quiet and peaceable possession of all their rights not comprised in the foregoing articles; and that, on their only duly performing the same, and subscribing the definitive treaty of peace to be held in consequence hereof, they shall be once more admitted into the covenant chain of friendship with the English, and be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade, so long as they abide by their engagements.

Answer. This article the Senecas expect will be strictly regarded, and also that trade will be carried on in a fair and equitable manner.

The foregoing articles, after being duly and fully explained to the chiefs and warriors, deputies from the Senecas, they have signified their assent thereto, by affixing marks of their tribes, to these presents.

Given under my hand at Johnson-Hall, the 3d day of April, 1764.

(Signed) W. JOHNSON.

TAGAANEDIE.	SAGENQUERAGHTA.
KAANIJES.	WANUGHSISIAE.
CHONEDAGAU.	TAGNOONDIE.
AUGHNAWAWIS.	TAANJAQUA.

As the operations of Colonel Bradſtreet were to be carried on by water, he conſtructed the model of a boat on a new plan, forty-ſix feet in keel, to carry twenty-ſeven men, and three weeks proviſions. The General having approved of this model, the proper workmen were immediately ſet upon building as many boats after it as the expedition required; and ſtores of every kind were collected at Schenectady, whilſt Colonel Bradſtreet exerted all his vigilance and activity to forward theſe and all other meaſures neceſſary to inſure the advantages of an early campaign. But though the boats, proviſions, ammunition, and other ſtores, were actually ready by the appointed time, it was the beginning of June before any of the provincial troops arrived at the rendezvous at Albany. 1764.

General Sir Jeffrey Amherſt had obtained leave to return to England: activity and reſolution had diſtinguiſhed his command; and the diſpoſition of his ſucceſſor, General Gage, proved ſuch a contraſt to it, as could not but ſtrike the colonies. Accordingly, they ſoon diſcovered it; and the conſequence was, a ſudden abatement of the ardour with which they had begun to recruit. The number and quality of the troops they furniſhed for Colonel Bradſtreet's expedition, by no means proved anſwerable to the intentions of the preſent General's predeceſſor; and when a good number of thoſe who had been raiſed for the ſervice were firſt aſſembled, they looked more like candidates for an hoſpital, than men that were to be immediately employed on a duty, for which the moſt perfect health and vigorous conſtitution were ſo indiſpenſibly requiſite. After many delays, however, the provinces put their troops in motion; and as ſoon as they arrived, Colonel Bradſtreet ordered them to Oſwego. Sir William Johnſon had ordered the Indians who were to accompany Colonel Bradſtreet, to rendezvous at

1764. the ſame place; and Captain Loring had ready there the veſſels that were to be employed in carrying proviſions from thence to Niagara, for the uſe of the army.

At this critical conjuncture, Colonel Bradſtreet was ſeized with a violent illneſs; but nothing could abate his ardour for the ſervice. Though incapable of aſſiſting perſonally in the ſmalleſt degree, he could not be prevailed upon to remain at Albany, even a few days, but reſolutely perſiſted in being conveyed to Oſwego. The Engliſh troops were now there, as likewiſe the Indians under Sir William Johnſon. Redhead, the chief of the Onandaga tribe, happening to die at Oſwego, he was buried with all the honours of war, as well on our part as that of the Indians, the more to attach them to our intereſt. The death of this warrior proved a conſiderable loſs to Colonel Bradſtreet, who had, on many trying occaſions, experienced his fidelity and courage.

The army conſiſted of the

17th Regiment,	243
55th,	98
New-York battalion,	344
Connecticut battalion,	213
Jerſey battalion,	209
Boatmen,	73
Total,	1180

Theſe were ordered into the large boats, and the Indians in their boats and canoes, all under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, of the ſeventeenth regiment, to Niagara, where they arrived in the beginning of July, when Colonel Bradſtreet, being alſo arrived, took upon him the command of the

the whole. Lieutenant Montrefor, of the corps of engineers, had been ordered by Colonel Bradftreet to throw up a chain of redoubts on the carrying place, in order to prevent any infults from the enemy in tranfporting the provifions, ftores, and boats from one lake to another; and likewife, to erect a fort on the banks of Lake-Erie, for the fecurity of the veffels employed upon it; and thefe fervices were effectually performed before the arrival of the army. 1764.

During the preceding winter, or early in the fpring, Sir William Johnfon had fent belts of wampum to certain Indian nations to meet him at this time, in order to renew their friendfhip; and to others to accommodate differences, and fettle terms of peace. Major Gladwin had likewife recommended it, from Detroit, to feveral other Indian nations to attend this congrefs. Accordingly, Sir William being now arrived at Niagara, found there a vaft concourfe of the Indians, who had been thus fummoned or invited, reinforced by an equal number of others, whom want of trade, or a defire of purchafing neceffaries, fuch as rum, blankets, &c. and even mere curiofity or accident had brought to the fame place; fo that, upon the whole, this great meeting might be deemed as much almoft the effect of chance as defign. But, whatever motives thefe Indians might have had originally, for flocking together in this unufual manner, the pretext ufed by one part of them was to accommodate matters with the Englifh; and by the other, to offer their fervice for the expedition: but all, to the amount of at leaft feventeen hundred, expected prefents, and, whilft at Niagara, received their daily fubfiftence. The Jeneffees or Senecas, who had been moft inftrumental in beginning the war, but were now to attend and ratify the preliminaries for a peace figned at Johnfon-Hall, kept aloof. Upon this, Sir William

1764. William ſent them repeated meſſages, which they anſwered by repeated promiſes of attendance, whilſt, inſtead of preparing to fulfil them, they did nothing but deliberate amongſt themſelves, whether they ſhould renew the war, or confirm the peace. Colonel Bradſtreet, therefore, ſeeing no end of their arts to amuſe Sir William, deſired a peremptory meſſage might be ſent them, purporting, that if they did not repair to Niagara in five days, he would ſend ſome troops to deſtroy their ſettlements. This brought them to attend the congreſs; and on their delivering up ſome priſoners, Sir William concluded a peace with them, and made them preſents. The Wyandots of Sanduſky had ſued to Major Gladwin at Detroit for a peace; and Pondiac's band was on the Miamis river waiting the reſult of this conference.

Colonel Bradſtreet, having formed two corps of light infantry, under the command of Majors Daly and Le Hunt, and made ſome other neceſſary diſpoſitions that had been ſtill wanting, was become extremely anxious to proceed on the execution of his orders, which were, *to give peace to all ſuch nations of Indians as would ſue for it, and chaſtiſe thoſe that continued in arms.* But Sir William Johnſon beſeeched him not to put the army in motion, as he ſuſpected the ſincerity of the Indians, although he had concluded a peace ſo recently with them; and even entertained ſome doubts, whether they would not make an attempt upon the fort when the troops had left it. Colonel Bradſtreet yielded to theſe ſolicitations, and remained where he was, till Sir William had finiſhed his buſineſs, and diſpoſed of his preſents to the Indians, about three hundred of whom accompanied the Colonel. But he ever thought himſelf obliged to regard them as ſpies, rather than employ them as auxiliaries.

Sir

Sir William Johnſon now returned home, and the reſt of the Indians diſperſed. The Colonel, therefore, after leaving a ſufficient garriſon at Niagara, and having been joined by a battalion of Canadians and part of the forty-ſixth regiment, proceeded with his army, on the 6th of Auguſt, for Fort-Schloſſer, where he halted till the 8th, for the arrival of the Indians who were to accompany him in the expedition. He then proceeded to Fort-Erie, and from thence, on the 10th, continued his route along the ſouth-ſide of Lake-Erie, agreeable to the inſtructions he had received from General Gage. In the morning of the 12th, while detained at *l'Ance-Aux-Fueilles*, by contrary winds, he received a deputation from the Shawaneſe, the Delawares, the Hurons of Sanduſky, and the Five Nations of the Scioto plains, ſuing for a peace; and in the evening he gave them an audience in the preſence of the Sachems, and other chiefs of the Indians, who accompanied him. 1764.

The deputies, preſenting the Colonel with four belts of wampum, endeavoured to excuſe their reſpective nations, and to apologize for the murders they had committed, by ſaying, that theſe enormities were executed without the knowlege of any of their chief warriors, and merely by ſome young men, whom they would take care to chaſtiſe. They begged forgiveneſs for all paſt offences, and requeſted that the chain of friendſhip might be brightened, and that they might be permitted to enter into a peace with their brothers the Engliſh, to continue as long as the ſun and moon ſhould endure.

Colonel Bradſtreet, in conſequence of the inſtructions he had received from General Gage, and the great appearance of ſincerity with which the deputies demanded peace, granted them the following preliminaries, which were to be ratified

1764. at Sandusky, when their prisoners should be delivered up to him.

I. That all the prisoners, now in the hands of the nations who had deputed them, should be delivered up to Colonel Bradstreet at Sandusky, in twenty-five days from the 15th of this month.

II. That the Shawanese, &c. should renounce all claim to the forts and other posts that the English now have in their country; and that the English shall be at liberty to erect as many more as they may think necessary to secure their trade; and that the nations, represented by the present deputation, shall cede to the King of Great Britain, for ever, as much land round each fort, as a cannon-shot will fly over, for the purpose of raising provisions thereon.

III. That if any Indian shall hereafter kill an Englishman, he shall be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the English laws, half the jury being Indians; and if any one nation shall renew the war, the others who are represented by this deputation, shall join the English to bring them to reason.

IV. That six of the deputies shall remain with Colonel Bradstreet as hostages; and the other four, with an English officer, and an Indian shall immediately proceed to acquaint their nations with these preliminaries of peace, and forward the collecting of the prisoners, that they may be ready by the day appointed.

These preliminaries were signed by the respective parties the 12th of August, 1764.

The day following, Colonel Bradſtreet, who had been detained all this time by bad weather, at *l'Ance-Aux-Feuilles*, proceeded on his route; and, on the 14th, reached Preſque-Iſle, where the fort ſtood which the Indians deſtroyed the laſt year. From this place, he ſent expreſſes to General Gage and Colonel Bouquet, to inform them of his tranſactions with the Shawaneſe, Delawares, &c. and diſpatched the four Indian deputies, on the errand mentioned in the preliminaries, to their reſpective nations; continuing his route with the other ſix, to the weſtern point of Preſque-Iſle, where he halted till the next day, when he renewed his operations. From this to the 23d, the weather was variable, but nothing worth notice happened in the mean time. On that day, the Colonel arrived at Point le Petit-Iſle, where he received intelligence, that a number of Indians were collected on the Miamis river, and determined to oppoſe his progreſs to Detroit. He therefore immediately prepared to attack them. But whilſt on the Lake-Erie for that purpoſe, he was met by a deputation from them to ſue for peace, and deſire a conference at Detroit; for which place, they informed him, a number of their countrymen were already ſet out for that purpoſe. The Colonel thought proper to comply with their requeſt; and finding the Indian encampment on the Miamis actually broken up, he returned to Point le Petit-Iſle.

Colonel Bradſtreet, thinking this a good opportunity to take poſſeſſion of the country of the Illinois, which had been ceded to his Britannic Majeſty by the peace of 1762, ordered Captain Morris, of the ſeventeenth regiment, with proper inſtructions, upon that ſervice, with an Indian of each of the different nations that accompanied him, and one Godfroi, a Frenchman, as an interpreter; and he alſo ſent

 preſents

1764. presents for the different nations through which they were to pass. The Colonel then continued his route for Detroit, where he arrived about the 26th day of August. Major Gladwin, as soon as he heard of the Colonel's approach, sent Captain Grant of the eightieth regiment, to conduct him on shore, and paid him all the military honours due to his rank; whilst the Huron Indians, from their village on the opposite banks of the river, saluted him with their fusils, and welcomed him into their country with such expressions of joy and respect, as are usual amongst the savages of this part of America; and all these compliments were returned by the cannon in the boats.

Immediately on the Colonel's landing, orders were given for the troops to debark, and they were encamped northward of the fort. The garrison having sustained a long and severe blockade, during which they had experienced the want of every necessary of life, required more than ordinary refreshments. It may, therefore, be easily conceived, how the transition to ease and plenty, effected by the Colonel's arrival, operated on their spirits. They had now before their eyes a flattering prospect of peace; and possessed the means of acting offensively, should the Indians prove obstinate in continuing the war, and of offering up some of these faithless wretches to the manes of their comrades, who had fallen a sacrifice to their perfidiousness and cruelty. To confide in these savages, is the same thing as to be betrayed by them. Of this a striking instance happened during the blockade: The Indians having, on some occasion or another, desired a conference, Captain Campbell, of the Royal Americans, who had received from them very particular marks of their esteem, voluntarily offered his service to the Commandant for that purpose; and his offer being

being accepted, he repaired to their camp, in company with Lieutenant Macdougal, of the ſame regiment; but in a ſhort time they were both made priſoners. Macdougal ſtole away, and, being young and active, had the good fortune to get back into the fort; but Campbell, being fat and unwieldy, and truſting beſides too much to his influence over ſome of his old friends, took no pains to eſcape. The conſequence was, that he was tomahawked and eaten. 1764.

Colonel Bradſtreet, having ſeen the camp and the garriſon ſecured by proper guards, his next care was to enquire into the conduct of the inhabitants, both of the place itſelf and its environs, during the blockade. To ſuch as had ſhewn a proper zeal to aſſiſt the garriſon, he gave all the encouragement in his power; puniſhing, at the ſame time, as far as in him lay, thoſe who had expreſſed any inclination to the common foe, or ſhewed themſelves lukewarm in the cauſe of their friends, which was indeed their own. The inhabitants without the fort, being in the claws, as it were, of a moſt cruel enemy, were obliged to comply with all their demands to the utmoſt of their abilities; and theſe demands (a thing, till this period, as we have already obſerved, unknown amongſt the Indians) were always made by written order, drawn up in the name of the King of France, by the Frenchman who acted as ſecretary to Pondiac; and moreover, regularly authenticated by the addition of Pondiac's own ſignature.

The inhabitants were next formed into three companies of militia; and in naming the officers, due regard was had to their paſt ſervices. The garriſon was then relieved by ſeven companies of the ſeventeenth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. The two other companies, with two

1764. companies of the new militia, and a detachment of artillery, were ordered to retake poſſeſſion of Michilimackinack, under the command of Captain Howard, of the ſame regiment. Moreover, for the better ſecurity of that place, and the important purpoſe of more effectually ſupplying it with every kind of ſtores, Colonel Bradſtreet ordered a veſſel to attempt the paſſage into Lake-Huron; and this paſſage was happily effected by the ſkill, induſtry, and perſeverance of Lieutenant St. Clair, of the fifteenth regiment of foot, who commanded on board the veſſel, the firſt that ever entered that lake, with which it was of ſo much conſequence to have a communication of this kind.

Indians of various nations now began to make their appearance, and demand audiences of Colonel Bradſtreet. He therefore appointed the 7th of September to meet them in a general congreſs; but, in the mean time, ſome preliminaries were agreed upon, as a foundation for a general peace. At length, the day appointed for the congreſs being arrived, the Indians, in great numbers, particularly the Ottawas and Chippewas, aſſembled at the Colonel's tent; and ſeating themſelves on the ground, agreeable to their uſual cuſtom, opened the congreſs, of which the following are the minutes.

Minutes of a Congreſs held with the Chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa Nations, with ſeveral others hereafter mentioned.

Waſſong, Chief of the Chippewas.

"What I am going to ſay is in the name of myſelf, Attawatty, and all the young warriors of the Ottawas and Chippewas: we do not mean to give offence, and this ſtring of wampum is to open your ears, and we expect to beheard patiently. We are extremely

extremely glad to find ourſelves ſo well received, and hope you will give us peace. In the name of the two nations of Ottawas and Chippewas, we thank you for having compaſſion on ourſelves, our wives, and families." They give a ſtring of wampum repeating their thanks. 1764

Waſſong ſpeaks again on a green belt.

" Brother, I beg you would hearken to Waſſong Attawatty, Shammindawa, Outawany, Apockeſs, and Abetto: Laſt year, God forſook us. God has now opened our eyes, and we deſire to be heard. 'Tis God's will our hearts are altered. 'Twas God's will you had ſuch fine weather to come to us. 'Tis God's will alſo, there ſhould be peace and tranquillity all over the face of the earth and of the waters. Every thing that was done laſt year bad, was done by the old warriors, without cauſe: We have, therefore, turned them on one ſide. The young warriors are determined to ſettle every thing themſelves, and prevent, for the future, any miſchief that might be intended. The young warriors, as well as the old Sachems, thank you, and are glad to ſee the good diſpoſition you are in. Now that the young people have the direction of affairs, they hope every thing may be ſettled peaceably; and that they may be permitted to ſhake hands with you and your officers, as brothers.

" This day the young chiefs break all their old chiefs; they ſhall never be allowed to act; but attention will be paid to what they ſay.

" You have forgiven us; but our offences are ſo great, we muſt again aſk it, in the name of our wives and children. We alſo pray, that all your troops will have compaſſion on them

1764. and us; and hope they will remove any ill opinion they may have of them and us; and we thank the Great King for allowing you to forgive us, and grant us peace. We ſay this, not in our name only, but in the name of all the inhabitants round this country."——They ſhake hands.

Waſſong ſpeaks again on a ſtring of purple and white wampum, painted green and blue.

"Brother, attend.——In the name of the Miamis I ſpeak. They thank God for opening their eyes. They will uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore tranquillity. 'Tis God's will there ſhall be peace all over the earth; and you ſhall hear nothing ill of them. They thank you, and are extremely glad to hear by the people you ſent, that you will grant them peace. On their return, the village will be overjoyed, as they are at the peace with the Shawaneſe, &c.

"They once more thank God for opening their eyes. As ſoon as they get home, every thing will be eſtabliſhed on the ancient footing of peace and friendſhip. Their ſentiments are the ſame with thoſe of the Ottawas and Chippewas; and they hope, that your army will lay aſide all reſentment againſt them; and that they may be allowed to ſhake hands as brothers. Again they aſk for peace in the names of their wives and children."——They give the ſtring.

Shammindawa ſpeaks.

"When Captain Morris arrived at the Miamis, Pondiac ſpoke to him on a belt of wampum, ſaying, he was heartily aſhamed of what had happened; and if he could be forgiven, he would be very thankful, and do all the ſervice in his power to

to the Engliſh; and that it gave him great pleaſure to find, he, Captain Morris, was going on a buſineſs that would give peace and quietneſs to the inhabitants of the earth; that he would pray for his ſucceſs, and remain quiet himſelf; and that, when Captain Morris returns, ſhould he ſucceed, he will thank God for it, and hopes to be forgiven." 1764.

Colonel Bradſtreet's Anſwer.

"The ingenuous confeſſion of your folly laſt year, without any provocation from the Engliſh, affords me pleaſure, as it gives me reaſon to believe your ſubmiſſions ſincere, and that your requeſts for mercy and forgiveneſs, come from your hearts. I ſhall take compaſſion on your diſtreſs, and grant you peace on the following terms."

I. Yourſelves, and the nations you repreſent, muſt acknowlege, that you are the ſubjects and children of his Majeſty George III. of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith; and that he has the ſole right of ſovereignty over all and every part of this country, in as full and ample a manner as in any part of his other dominions whatever.

II. If any nation, or tribe of Indians herein comprehended, dare violate this peace, the others ſhall look on themſelves as bound to make war upon the offenders, ſeparately or jointly, with the Engliſh and their allies, at all times when they ſhall be commanded by his Majeſty, his General, or Officer, appointed for that purpoſe, and reduce to reaſon the offenders, or extirpate them; and that you will, whenever commanded, take up arms and join his Majeſty's troops, or other his ſubjects, againſt any of his enemies whatever, and uſe your utmoſt endeavours to execute the orders that may be

1764. be given you for that purpose; and you may be assured of the protection of the King your Father, and what assistance you may stand in need of, at all times.

III. That you may shew farther proofs of your duty and obedience to the King your Father, should it happen that any Indians belonging to the herein mentioned nations plunder or kill any of his Majesty's subjects, in this or any other of his colonies, now settled, or that hereafter may be settled, you are voluntarily, and immediately, to deliver the offender up to the officer commanding this garrison, to be tried and punished, agreeable to the laws and customs of this colony at that time in force.

IV. You must deliver up all prisoners and deserters that you have, as soon as possible. Should any white people desert to you, you are to send them immediately, prisoners to the post or settlement, nearest to you. But, when any families come to settle, by permission of the King, you are to esteem them friends and brothers.

V. The French commanding officers have, at times, granted lands in some of your villages: To give you a testimony of my intentions to do you the greatest justice, I will oblige all persons settled on such lands, to remove immediately.

VI. At the request of Captain Morris, whom I have sent round to all the southern nations, respecting the general peace; and also, on account of Pondiac's submission, and promise of future good behaviour and friendship to the English, I do hereby pardon him, and he may meet me with the utmost safety at Sandusky.

The

The above conditions being reduced into writing, were ratified by the parties in the following form: 1764.

" By the power and authority to me given and granted by his Excellency the Honourable Major General Thomas Gage, Commander-in-Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North-America, the above are the terms on which I grant peace to the nations heretofore mentioned, that is to say, the Ottawas and Chippewas, and others hereunto subscribing.

Given under my hand and seal, at Detroit,
the 7th day of September, 1764.

(Signed) JOHN BRADSTREET."

" By the power to us given by the nations we represent, we do, in their names, together with ourselves, most gratefully accept the terms above granted; and we do most solemnly bind ourselves and them to the true performance of each article in every respect.

" In witness thereof, we have hereunto affixed the arms of the nations we represent, at Detroit, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the fourth year of the reign of our now Sovereign Lord King George, &c."

(The signatures are) A Stork, an Eel, and a Stag.

" We hereunto subscribing, and several principal men of our nation of Hurons, being present at the above submission, made by the Ottawas and Chippewas, and at the peace granted to them; and being unanimously of opinion, that nothing can tend so much to the real safety and happiness of all the Indians on this continent, as following their example, in begging

1764. the protection, and making themselves the subjects of his Majesty King George III. and at all times obeying his will and commands, and strictly keeping up to every article of the peace concluded with the Ottawas and Chippewas, most humbly request for ourselves, and the nation we represent, to be received, considered, and comprehended in every article of the submission made by the Chippewas and Ottawas, and the peace granted to them, as fully and as amply as the said Ottawas and Chippewas; promising most faithfully, never to violate, or depart from any article therein contained.

"In witness thereof, we have hereunto set the arms of the nation of Hurons, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the fourth year, &c."

(The Signature) A Deer with a Cross.

"I the subscriber, being a Chief of the Miamis, and being sent to be present at what should pass between the English, the Ottawas and the Chippewas; and also, being directed by the nation I represent, if a peace should be concluded, to implore that the Miamis might be comprehended therein, in every respect, as fully as the said Ottawas and Chippewas; which being granted to me, I do, in the name of the nation I represent, bind myself and them, in the most solemn manner, to the true performance of each article, in every respect, as the Ottawas and Chippewas have done.

"In witness thereof, I do affix the arms of the nation I represent, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the reign, &c. &c."

(The Signature) A Turtle.

1764.

" We the ſubſcribers, Chiefs of the Pottawattomie and Sakie nations, having come too late to be preſent at the ſubmiſſion, made by the Ottawas and Chippewas, and the peace granted them, which having been fully explained to us, and we approving every part thereof, having the ſame juſt ſenſe of this good work as the Hurons; and whereas peace is granted to us on the ſame conditions, we do moſt gratefully accept it, and hereby bind ourſelves, and the whole of each nation we repreſent, to the true performance of each article in every reſpect, by hereunto affixing the arms of our reſpective nations, at Detroit, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the fourth year, &c. &c."

(The Signature) A Fox, an Eel, and a Bear.

" This day, being the 9th of September, 1764, Wapacomagat, with ninety young warriors, came to Detroit, and deſired to have admittance to Colonel Bradſtreet, which was granted; and after the uſual compliments, he, Wapacomagat, deſired Colonel Bradſtreet would explain to him and his people, the ſubſtance of what had paſſed between him and the ſeveral nations of Indians, with whom he had made peace, which being alſo complied with, Wapacomagat got up, and declared, That it gave him infinite pleaſure to find, that the Indians had put themſelves into the arms of the great King of England, and that they were now his ſubjects and children; and begged that he, and all the nations of the Meſſaſſaguas, might be received and comprehended in that ſubmiſſion and peace, in as full and ample manner as thoſe who had ſubſcribed to it; which being granted, Wapacomagat, in the preſence of one hundred warriors, ſet the arms of their nation to theſe preſents, the 10th inſtant, declaring he did it at the unanimous deſire and requeſt of all his people preſent; and that he, they,

1764. and the reſt of the nation, were ſolemnly bound to fulfil, obey, and obſerve every part of the ſubmiſſion and articles of peace, made at Detroit, by the nations thereunto ſubſcribing, bearing date the 7th September, 1764."

(The Signature) An Eagle with a medal round its neck.

The buſineſs with the Indians being thus happily finiſhed, and peace thereby reſtored to the Engliſh ſettlements, Colonel Bradſtreet began to prepare for his return to Sanduſky, to meet the Shawaneſe and the Delawars, and put the finiſhing hand to the treaty which he had entered upon with the deputies of theſe nations on the Lake-Erie, and fixed the 24th of September for his departure: But he firſt gave ſuch orders for the ſecurity and tranquillity of the inhabitants, and the advancement of agriculture and trade, as could not fail, in time, to render this infant colony both happy in itſelf, and uſeful to the mother-country. To be convinced of this, we need only take a tranſient view of this delightful ſpot, a deſcription of which, we hope, may be agreeable, as, on account of its remoteneſs, the ideas moſt people entertain of this country, are very much circumſcribed. The country called Detroit, is that waſhed by the ſtrait which forms the communication between the Lakes St. Clair and Erie. The improvements on the eaſtern banks of this ſtrait, extend north and ſouth, about nine miles; and thoſe on the weſtern banks, about ſeven. In purity and wholeſomeneſs of air, and richneſs of ſoil, it may be ſaid to equal, if not excel any, even the beſt parts of America. Every European grain flouriſhes here in the utmoſt perfection; and hemp and flax, in particular, might be raiſed to the greateſt advantage. The woods are every where filled with vines of ſpontaneous growth; and their grape yields a juice equal

in flavour to the moſt excellent burgundy. The country around it appears like one great park ſtocked with buffaloes, deer, pheaſants, wild turkies, and partridges. Domeſtic animals and fowls are here in the utmoſt perfection. Aquatic birds of every ſpecies are in the greateſt plenty, and of the higheſt flavour; and the rivers afford an aſtoniſhing variety of the moſt delicious fiſh. The ſoil and climate are ſo favourable to vegetation, that every vegetable is to be procured with the ſmalleſt trouble. In ſhort, a man that can ſhoot and fiſh, and underſtands the art of making wine, may enjoy every luxury of the moſt ſumptuous table, at the ſole expence of his own labour. The inhabitants of Detroit are not numerous; and, notwithſtanding the allurements which plenty holds forth to people to ſettle here, the want of a ſufficient force to ſecure them againſt the caprice of the neighbouring Indians, and of authority to ſecure good order amongſt themſelves, has hitherto deterred ſuch as have any ſettlements elſewhere, from endeavouring to partake of the abundant produce of nature, at the expence of the property they already enjoy, and perhaps their lives. But ſhould Detroit be ever formed into a regular government, we will venture to prophecy, that it will greatly extend itſelf; and from the plenty, variety, and richneſs of its produce, prove a beneficial ſettlement to the mother-country. 1764.

Here it may not be amiſs to give the numbers of the ſavages, who inhabit the country within five or ſix days march of Detroit, as taken from their own accounts.

Of

1764.

Of Detroit.

Ottawas,	220
Chippewas,	300
Sakies,	50
Hurons,	80

Of Sagunam, including those of St. Joseph.

Chippewas,	150
Potawatomies,	450

Of Sandusky.

Hurons,	200
Miamis,	250
Weaugh,	230
Total,	1930

We shall now resume the detail of military operations, and conduct our readers to another spot, where Nature has not been less bountiful; but at present it is destitute of inhabitants.

On the 14th of September, Colonel Bradstreet left Detroit, garrisoned with seven companies of the seventeenth regiment, and a detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell; and on the 18th arrived at Sandusky Lake. He then detached a party to destroy the settlement of Mohican-Johns; but it was abandoned before they could reach it. The day following, an Indian arrived from the Delawares, one from the Shawanese, and one from the Five Nations on the Scioto plains, accompanied by a Tuscarora Indian, who had accompanied these deputies to Fort-Pitt, with a string and belt of wampum, to inform the commanding officer, that they were using the utmost diligence in collecting their prisoners; and that they should be delivered up at Sandusky, as soon as possible;

possible; but that as many of them were hunting, and others at a great distance, the chiefs requested an additional seven days from that time. This being thought no unreasonable demand, it was accordingly granted. Colonel Bradstreet then proceeded up Sandusky river, to the village of the Hurons and Wyandots, which had been destroyed by Captain Dalyell the preceding year. Here he received letters from General Gage, condemning his conduct, with regard to the late preliminaries of peace with the Shawanese and the Delawares; and insisting, that he had not given him any power to conclude peace, as these preliminaries implied; but had ordered him to refer the Indians to Sir William Johnson, on any business of that kind, and to act in concert with Colonel Bouquet. The 2d of September was the date of the letter now in question; and that part of General Gage's instructions, which relate to this business, has, in the third article, the following words: 1764.

" And the objects I recommend for your offensive operations are, to attack the Wyandots of Sandusky, who live some miles beyond the small village destroyed the last year by Captain Dalyell. Major Gladwin says, they are much animated against us; that they have a good supply of ammunition; and plant abundance of corn, with which they supply the other nations; and this you will, no doubt, destroy, and break up that nest of thieves. I must require likewise, that you make an attack on the Delawares and the Shawanese, who are retired on the Muskingham and Scioto rivers. The way to the first is up the Cayahaga-Creek, which runs into Lake-Erie, betwixt Presque-Isle and Sandusky. You may gain the Scioto from Sandusky-river, there being but a small carrying-place betwixt these two rivers. You will chuse either of these routes you shall find most preferable

1764. ferable for your attacks, from the intelligence you ſhall gain on the ſpot."

And in the eighth article:

"You will give the Indians, in general, to underſtand, that you go with a body of troops to chaſtiſe ſuch nations as ſhall continue in arms againſt us; to offer peace and his Majeſty's protection to thoſe who ſhall conclude a laſting peace, and live in amity and friendſhip with us."

And in the laſt article:

"You will be on the ſpot, and I muſt truſt for the execution of every thing to your diſcretion and judgment."

It will be impoſſible, we believe, for any one who will attend to the above inſtructions, to entertain the leaſt doubt of Colonel Bradſtreet's having been inveſted with authority to attack the Indians, and grant peace to ſuch of them as aſked it, *and wiſhed to live in amity and friendſhip with us.*

But theſe inſtructions are greatly corroborated by a letter from General Gage, dated the 16th of Auguſt, in which he ſays, in anſwer to one from Colonel Bradſtreet, acquainting him with the buſineſs at Niagara, and that he was going directly to Detroit;

"As you are gone directly to Detroit, I muſt conclude it is with a reſolution to bring matters to a final deciſion, by either *making a formal and regular peace* with the Wyandots and Ottawas of Sanduſky, Potawatamies, and Chippewas of Saguanam; *or to attack*

attack them, though the opportunity of diſtreſſing them effectually, by deſtroying their corn, is loſt. You'll pleaſe, without delay, either *to bring theſe nations to ſuch a peace, as ſhall, to appearance, be ſincere and laſting, or, in failure of that, to attack them, and do your beſt to extirpate them.*" 1764.

Theſe orders are certainly very clear, and if Colonel Bradſtreet was authoriſed to grant peace to the Wyandots of Sanduſky, &c. which the General himſelf allows he had, by ſuppoſing he was gone upon that errand, and yet not blaming him for it; he was equally authoriſed to grant it to the Shawaneſe and the Delawares; as the order reſpecting them, in the General's inſtructions to the Colonel, with that likewiſe reſpecting the Wyandots, &c. was the ſame. But as a farther proof, that General Gage had inveſted Colonel Bradſtreet with the power of making peace, it need only be obſerved, that the inſtructions given by Sir William Johnſon to that part of the Six Nations, and to the Indian Captains under him who joined the army, and were to act under the command of Colonel Bradſtreet, were, *to make war on ſuch nations of Indians as did not ſue for peace; and that peace was to be granted to all thoſe nations who did aſk it, without any exception.*

From theſe abſtracts it appears very evident, that General Gage inveſted Colonel Bradſtreet with powers, either to make war or to conclude a peace, according to the conduct of the ſavages. And as to his conſulting Sir William Johnſon, and ſending the Indians to him to conclude a peace, Sir William Johnſon's name was never mentioned, either in Colonel Bradſtreet's inſtructions or letters, but once; which was, to deſire that Colonel Bradſtreet would correſpond with Sir

1764. William. Nor was there any order, inſtruction, or letter, which ſo much as hinted any intention that the army under the command of Colonel Bradſtreet was to act in concert with that commanded by Colonel Bouquet; nor indeed was it poſſible it could at the diſtance of three hundred miles from each other.

We muſt then conclude, that when it appeared Colonel Bradſtreet had laid a foundation for ſettling the whole buſineſs with the Indians, without any aſſiſtance from Colonel Bouquet's army, ſuch proceedings greatly alarmed the ambition of the latter: For, if the preliminaries which the former had ſigned, as a foundation for a peace with the Shawaneſe and the Delawares had been ratified, and the priſoners delivered up agreeable thereto, there would have been an end to the ſervice expected from the army of Colonel Bouquet, whoſe orders were to attack theſe two nations, and to compel them to deliver up their priſoners to him. Colonel Bouquet, therefore, affected to doubt the ſincerity of the nations repreſented by the deputies, who had ſigned the preliminaries with Colonel Bradſtreet; and without halting to ſee, if their intentions were real or not, he proſecuted his operations according to his original plan.

The ſame motive urged him to exert his influence over General Gage; and he ſucceeded ſo well as to induce him to deny even his own orders to Colonel Bradſtreet.

Upon the whole, it appears, that Colonel Bouquet's ambition was too powerful for General Gage's eaſineſs of temper, which yielded to the deſire of giving an eclat to the Colonel's manœuvres, at the expence of Colonel Bradſtreet, and even of the ſervice of his country.

But to return to Colonel Bradſtreet, whom we left on his progreſs up the Sanduſky-river, to the village of the Hurons and Wyandots; this was the route preſcribed him in General Gage's inſtructions for gaining the Scioto, on a ſuppoſition, that there was a ſmall carrying-place only between that and the Sanduſky-river: But on making the trial, there was not water enough even for a canoe, above the rapids of Sanduſky-river, although in the winter there may be ſixteen or ſeventeen feet, as appeared by the bark of the trees growing near it. Diſappointed in this attempt, the Colonel then conſidered whether it was practicable for the men to carry a ſufficiency of proviſions to ſubſiſt upon, ſuppoſing they were to march; but from repeated trials, and the information of ſome of the moſt experienced hunters, both Canadian and others, it was repreſented as an impoſſibility, therefore not attempted. 1764.

To reach the Muſkingham river by the Cayahaga-Creek, which falls into Lake-Erie, between Sanduſky and Preſque-Iſle, was the alternative, which Colonel Bradſtreet was ordered to uſe, in order to get up with and attack the Shawaneſe and Delawares collected on the Muſkingham and Scioto rivers. But unluckily, the Cayahaga-Creek was now dry; and beſides, the carrying-place from the creek to the Muſkingham-river, which had been repreſented a very ſmall way, proved to be upwards of thirty miles. When a General is ignorant of the topography of a country in which troops under him are to act, it is impoſſible his orders ſhould avoid cenſure; for attempts to execute them may be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to a whole army, which, in this caſe, may be compared to a ſhip ſailing by falſe charts and faithleſs ſoundings,

1764. which, ſtriking on a ſhoal, does not diſcover the illuſion till it is too late to guard againſt it.

The Colonel, thus fruſtrated in two attempts to attack a people, with whom he had ſo recently ſigned the preliminaries of general peace, encamped at the carrying-place at Sanduſky, as the ſituation of that place would enable him to be a check on any of the weſtern nations, which might ſhew any diſpoſition to aſſiſt the Shawaneſe and Delawares againſt Colonel Bouquet's army. But theſe Indians diſcovered no intentions to give any farther trouble; their ſole aim, to all appearance at leaſt, being to conclude, at any rate, a laſting peace. The diſtreſs in which they were involved by ſo long a war, induced them to wiſh for a ſtate of tranquillity; and they were actually making the neceſſary preparations to repair to Sanduſky with their priſoners: But Colonel Bouquet's preſſing in upon them, robbed Colonel Bradſtreet and his army of the honour of concluding a work which they had commenced on Lake-Erie, and which would have been effected without Colonel Bouquet's aſſiſtance; for the Indians of the Six Nations had already ſent the Shawaneſe and Delawares a meſſage, importing, that they would immediately take up the hatchet againſt them, if they did not, in the ſtricteſt manner, fulfil every article of the preliminaries they had ſigned with Colonel Bradſtreet; and this taking up of the hatchet by the Six Nations, was a thing the Shawaneſe and Delawares dreaded much more than the preſence of the moſt formidable European army that could be ſent againſt them; for, when one Indian nation takes up the hatchet againſt another, it is never laid down till one or the other is entirely exterminated. As a proof of the ſincerity of the Shawaneſe and Delawares, three of the hoſtages firſt kept by Colonel Bradſtreet,

ſtill continued with him, and even conſented to a freſh demand of General Gage's, that ten of the chiefs of theſe nations ſhould be put to death; and that the nations ſhould wait, in a proper manner, on Sir William Johnſon, to ſue for a peace. Moreover, the Six Nations again declared their reſolution to take up the hatchet againſt them, if they attempted to deceive Colonel Bradſtreet. 1764.

Letters had been received from Captain Morris, giving an account of the progreſs he had made in his journey, and the reception he had met with from the Indians. It was with great difficulty he reached the fort on the Miamis-river, where he met a number of ſavages, from whom he narrowly eſcaped with his life, as the account of the peace had not yet reached them.

The Indians who accompanied Captain Morris returned; but though they were conſidered as thoſe who could be moſt relied upon for their fidelity to us; yet they brought with them a white flag, which they had received from one St. Vincent, a Frenchman, at the Miamis fort, as an inducement to perſevere in their attachment to the French nation; and they were, beſides, taught to believe, that the French would ſoon arrive by the Miſſiſſippi, and drive the Engliſh entirely out of the country. It was by accident this flag was diſcovered; and then it was publicly burnt. At the ſame time, the Sachems gave Colonel Bradſtreet the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their fidelity, and of their being fully bent upon exerting the utmoſt of their power, to bring to reaſon any nation of Indians who ſhould not accede to the treaty of peace that had been concluded with ſo many of their countrymen. As a proof of their intentions, a ſcouting party, conſiſting of twenty warriors, headed by

1764. by Cocknawaga-Peter, ſet out from the camp to make war upon the Shawaneſe and the Delawares, ſhould theſe nations give any juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their fidelity. Colonel Bradſtreet ſeized this opportunity to write to Colonel Bouquet, and charged Peter with his letters for him. In theſe letters he informed the Colonel, that he was encamped at the carrying-place at Sanduſky; that he intended to remain there ſo long as poſſible, to favour his operations; particularly by prevailing on the weſtern Indians to take up the hatchet againſt ſuch of their countrymen as might ſtill betray a deſire of continuing the war. When Cocknawaga-Peter returned, he brought with him an Indian ſcalp, as a proof of the attachment to the Engliſh with which he had ſet out.

Colonel Bradſtreet continued in the ſituation in which we juſt now left him, a conſiderable time, ſtill exerting his endeavours to favour the operations of Colonel Bouquet, though the badneſs of the weather, and a very near proſpect of ſcarcity, often reminded him of the neceſſity there was of his ſpeedily ſetting out on his return, unleſs he choſe to expoſe himſelf and his army to the greateſt danger of periſhing aſhore by famine, or on the lakes by tempeſt. But at length, his ardour for the good of the ſervice was obliged to yield to the duty he owed his troops; and, on the 18th of October, he broke up his camp at Sanduſky to proceed on his return to Albany. In the evening, as he was going to land the troops, a ſudden ſwell of the lake, without any viſible cauſe, deſtroyed ſeveral of his boats; but no lives were loſt. This ſurpriſing phænomenon was, however, looked upon as the forerunner of a ſtorm; and accordingly there ſoon aroſe one, which continued ſeveral days; therefore, it became neceſſary to detach part of the army by land to Niagara, with juſt proviſions enough for the

the march, and order from thence a ſufficiency to meet the remainder on the lake. The troops which proceeded by land ſuffered greatly during the march, but they got there ſafely at laſt, as did, on the 4th of November, thoſe which followed in boats. On their arrival, Colonel Bradſtreet ordered them plenty of freſh proviſions. The iſſuing of ſome neceſſary orders relating, as well to the troops which the Colonel propoſed taking along with him, as to thoſe which were to remain in garriſon at Niagara, detained him there till the 10th, when he proceeded, in the veſſels, with the regulars and provincials that were to go down the country; with great difficulty he reached Ontario, after loſing the Johnſon ſnow, juſt as ſhe was going into the harbour; but the men were ſaved. As there now remained no obſtacle or danger in the farther progreſs of theſe troops to Albany or New-York, we ſhall take our leave of them, to turn our eyes to another ſcene of this Indian war; that part of it, which was to be conducted by Colonel Bouquet.

1764

The operations intruſted to this officer were to be executed by part of the forty-ſecond and ſixtieth regiments, in conjunction with the Pennſylvania and Virginia militia. Proper eſcorts, with proviſions and other ſtores, having been firſt ſent off for Fort-Pitt, where they arrived without any moleſtation from the Indians, the remainder of the army followed, and reached that place on the 17th of September.

The whole of his troops, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, being aſſembled at Fort-Pitt, he left that place on the 3d of October. On the 6th, whilſt in the neighbourhood of Beaver-Creek, a man, who had eſcaped from the Indians, informed him, that, the preceding day, ſome Indians had been on the ſame

1764. ſame road with his army; but being alarmed at the ſtrength of it, had carefully concealed themſelves. On the 8th, the army paſſed Little Beaver-Creek. On the 14th, whilſt it lay encamped at Tuſcarowas, there arrived two men, who had been diſpatched from Fort-Pitt by Colonel Bouquet, with letters for Colonel Bradſtreet, in anſwer to ſome diſpatches received from him. They had been made priſoners in their journey, ſome miles from that place, by the Delawares, and conducted to one of their villages about ſixteen miles off; and kept there till the ſavages received advice of the arrival of the army at this place, when they were ſet at liberty, and charged to tell the Colonel, that the chiefs of the Shawaneſe and Delawares were on the road, and advancing as faſt as poſſible, to treat of a peace with him. Two days after, ſix Indians came in, and informed the Colonel, that all their chiefs were aſſembled about eight miles from his camp, and ready to treat with him on peace, which they ſincerely deſired to conclude. The Colonel, to loſe no time, appointed the very next day, being the 16th, for that purpoſe; when, accordingly, Kiyaſchuta, a chief of the Senecas, with fifteen warriors, Cuſtaloga and Caſtor, chiefs of the Delawares, with twenty warriors, and Keiſſenautchta, a chief of the Shawaneſe, with ſix warriors, in quality of deputies from their reſpective nations, produced their belts of wampum, and opened the congreſs.

Their ſpeeches conſiſted chiefly of excuſes: They endeavoured to palliate their perfidious conduct, by throwing all the blame on the weſtern nations, and the inſolent raſhneſs of their young warriors, and then, in the moſt abject manner, ſued for peace; each deputation promiſing to deliver up all the priſoners in the hands of their reſpective nations. When they had ſaid every thing they could think of to appeaſe the Colonel,

nel, he informed them, that he would give his anſwer the next day; but bad weather intervening, it was the 20th before they could meet again, when the Colonel addreſſed the ſavages, and began by ſaying;

"The pretext with which you pretend to cover your fault, by throwing the blame on the weſtern nations, and on the inſolence of your young men, is frivolous to the laſt degree: For, if you could not protect yourſelves againſt the weſtern nations, you might have depended on the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. As to your young men, it is your duty to keep them within proper bounds, and chaſtiſe them if they did amiſs."

He then gave many inſtances of their perfidy. He upbraided them with their pillaging, captivating, and even murdering the traders, whom they had invited and requeſted to come and trade with them. He took notice of their beſieging Fort-Pitt, though built by their own expreſs permiſſion; and of their enormous violation of a right always held ſacred, even by the moſt barbarous nations, in the perſons of four public meſſengers from the Engliſh, whom they had put to death; of their inſolence in preſuming to attack the King's troops the preceding year, and their inveteracy in continuing hoſtilities to the very moment of his now ſpeaking to them. He concluded by telling them, that if they would deliver into his hands, at Waukatamike, all the priſoners they had, without exception, French as well as Engliſh, women and children, not excepting thoſe adopted or married into their tribes; all, in ſhort, who were to be found among them; and furniſh them with clothing and horſes to bring them to Fort-Pitt, and proviſions during

1764. the journey, he would grant them the peace they ſolicited; but upon no other terms whatever.

The chiefs of the Delawares had produced, on the firſt day of this congreſs, eighteen white priſoners, with eighty-three ſmall ſticks, repreſenting the number of thoſe that yet remained among them, whom they promiſed to bring in as ſoon as poſſible; and the other chiefs made the ſame promiſe with regard to theirs. The Colonel, judging that the moſt effectual way to make them fulfil their engagements, would be to go and meet the poor captives, and take an Indian of each nation to accompany him in his route, made the proper requiſition for that purpoſe; and having obtained his demand, put his army in motion again, on the 22d. On the 25th, he encamped on a ſpot near the Muſkingham-river; it being more central than Waukatamike, both for the Indians to bring in their priſoners, and for himſelf to march againſt ſuch of them as ſhould not punctually comply with their promiſes.

On the 28th of October, Cocknawaga-Peter, the chief of the Indians of that name, who had been ſent, as we have already ſeen, on a ſcout by Colonel Bradſtreet, and was likewiſe charged by him with letters for Colonel Bouquet, arrived in the camp. On the 9th of November, the Indians brought in moſt of their priſoners, conſiſting of thirty-two Virginia men and fifty-eight women and children; forty-nine Pennſylvania men, and ſixty-ſeven women and children; with Major Smallman, who had been taken the year before by the Wyandots, near Detroit, and by them delivered up to the Shawaneſe. This gentleman informed the Colonel, that the reaſon why all the priſoners were not brought in was, that many of the

chiefs were gone to trade with the French; and added, that a report having ſpread among the Indians, at the approach of his army, that it was his intention to extirpate them, they took the reſolution of killing all their priſoners, and defending themſelves to the laſt man; that a French trader amongſt them, who had many barrels of powder and ball with him, made them a preſent of the whole, on their taking this reſolution; but that, happily for the captives, whilſt the Shawaneſe were preparing to act this bloody tragedy, they received the Colonel's meſſage, that he had nothing in view but to reſcue their Engliſh captives from ſlavery, and grant peace to them, on the ſame conditions he had already granted it to the Delawares. 1764.

On the 9th of November, Colonel Bouquet, accompanied by all the principal officers of the army, held a conference with the Senecas and Delawares. Kigaſhuta, with ten warriors, repreſented the former, and Cuſtaloga, at the head of twenty warriors, the latter. Kigaſhuta opened the conference with ſaying:

"With this belt of wampum, I wipe the tears from your eyes. We deliver to you theſe three priſoners, the laſt of your fleſh and blood that remained amongſt the Senecas, and amongſt the Delaware tribe of Cuſtaloga. With this belt we aſſemble and bury the bones of thoſe who have been killed in this unhappy war, which the evil ſpirit excited us to kindle. We bury theſe bones, never more to be thought upon. We cover the burying-place with leaves, that it may be no more ſeen; and as we have been a long time oppoſing each other, and the roads between us have been ſhut up; we offer this belt to

1764. clear, clean, and open them, that we may travel in peace to our brothers, as our anceſtors did. As long as you hold it firm at one end, and we at the other, we cannot fail diſcovering and preventing every thing that may interrupt our friendſhip."

Colonel Bouquet replied:

"I have heard with pleaſure what has been ſaid to me. I accept the three priſoners, as the laſt you have to give up; and I join with you in interring the bones of thoſe that war has deſtroyed, in ſuch a manner, that the place of their interment ſhall be hid from the eyes of the living. As to peace, I ſhall no longer oppoſe it. The King, my Maſter, and your Father, ſends me to make war only; he employs other ſervants on the affairs of peace. Sir William Johnſon is furniſhed with full powers to treat with you. You muſt addreſs yourſelves to him. But, before I permit you to depart, two things muſt be adjuſted between us: 1ſt, As the peace will not be finally concluded here, you muſt deliver two hoſtages for the Senecas, and two others for the tribe of Cuſtaloga, to remain in our hands at Fort-Pitt, as a ſecurity to us, that you commit no violence againſt any of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and, when peace ſhall be concluded, theſe hoſtages ſhall be faithfully returned. 2dly, The deputies you ſend to Sir William Johnſon, muſt be furniſhed with full powers to treat for your tribes. In the treaties to be made with you, whatever concerns the trade will be regulated in ſuch a manner as will endure for ever; and you muſt now name the deputies for my approbation."

Another

Another conference was held the day following, being the 10th, with the Delawares of the Turkey and the Turtle tribes, in the presence of the Senecas, and the Delawares of Custaloga's tribe. The result of this meeting was, that the same number of deputies should be sent to Sir William Johnson on their part, and the same number of hostages left, as had been agreed upon for Custaloga's tribe: accordingly, King Custor presented the Colonel, next day, with six hostages, to remain with him, and five deputies to treat with Sir William Johnson, who were all approved. 1764.

On the 12th, the Colonel held a conference with the Shawanese, who consented to deliver up their prisoners in the spring, at Fort-Pitt; as they were, at this time, at a great distance hunting with their masters, it was impossible to do it sooner. But then, they gave hostages for the performance of their engagements, and appointed deputies to wait on Sir William Johnson, to conclude a peace; both hostages and deputies being such as Colonel Bouquet approved.

All the purposes of the Colonel's expedition being thus accomplished, he decamped on the 18th of November, and began his route for Fort-Pitt, where he arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were then disposed of in the forts, and the provincials, with the prisoners that had been given up, ordered to their respective provinces.

The hostages, who were approved by Colonel Bouquet, did not think proper to observe their engagements: They broke their confinement and returned to their own country. However, we cannot conclude this work without observing, that although

1764. although the ſavages did not, in this reſpect, keep their faith with Colonel Bouquet, yet they regarded the preliminaries and the peace which they had ſigned with Colonel Bradſtreet in ſo ſacred a light, that to this hour, they have not violated, in the ſmalleſt degree, any one of the articles, and are ſtill deſirous of continuing the bleſſings they thereby enjoy, and the conveniencies they daily experience from a free and mutual intercourſe with the different provinces.

* * * * * * *

THUS have we brought down to the time propoſed, the hiſtory which we engaged to give the public. But we cannot take leave of the generous encouragers of this undertaking, without expreſſing our grateful acknowledgments for the journals and plans communicated to us by many general and other reſpectable officers, employed on the different ſervices which we have related. The only merit we pretend to in this compilation, is, our having ſtrictly adhered to that impartiality which ought to be the firſt conſideration of every hiſtorian.

The execution of the plans in general, and their utility in a work of this kind, muſt ſo effectually recommend them, as to make it needleſs for us to ſpeak in their behalf. We ſhall only add, that no expence or labour has been ſpared on our part, and every poſſible care has been taken to render this work as perfect as the nature of the ſubject would admit.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 29.	Line 23.	For *Albany*, read *Oswego*.
61.	8.	For *were*, read *was*.
99.	12.	For *Sutherland*, read *Sunderland*.
115.	6.	Omit *third battalion*, and add it to the next line.
	18.	Omit *second battalion*, and add it to the next line.
144.		To the list of troops add *Gage's light infantry*.
232.	27.	For *upon the Lake-Erie*, read *in the neighbourhood of Lake-Erie*.
289.	11.	Between *but* and *the*, add *seeing*.
402.	15.	Omit *Senegal and*.
472.	15.	For *17th*, read *16th*.
480.	29.	For *are*, read *were*.
485.	6.	Omit *or disbanded*.
493.	4.	After *arrows*, a full stop; omit the rest of the line.
529.	8.	For *bad*, read *was*.