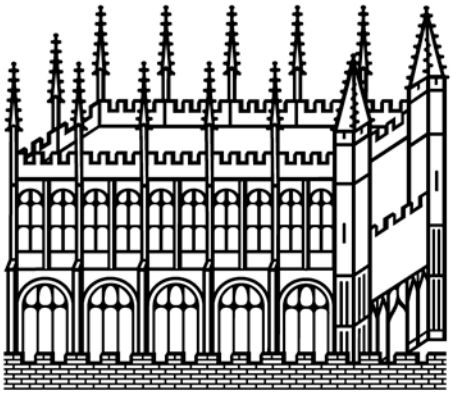

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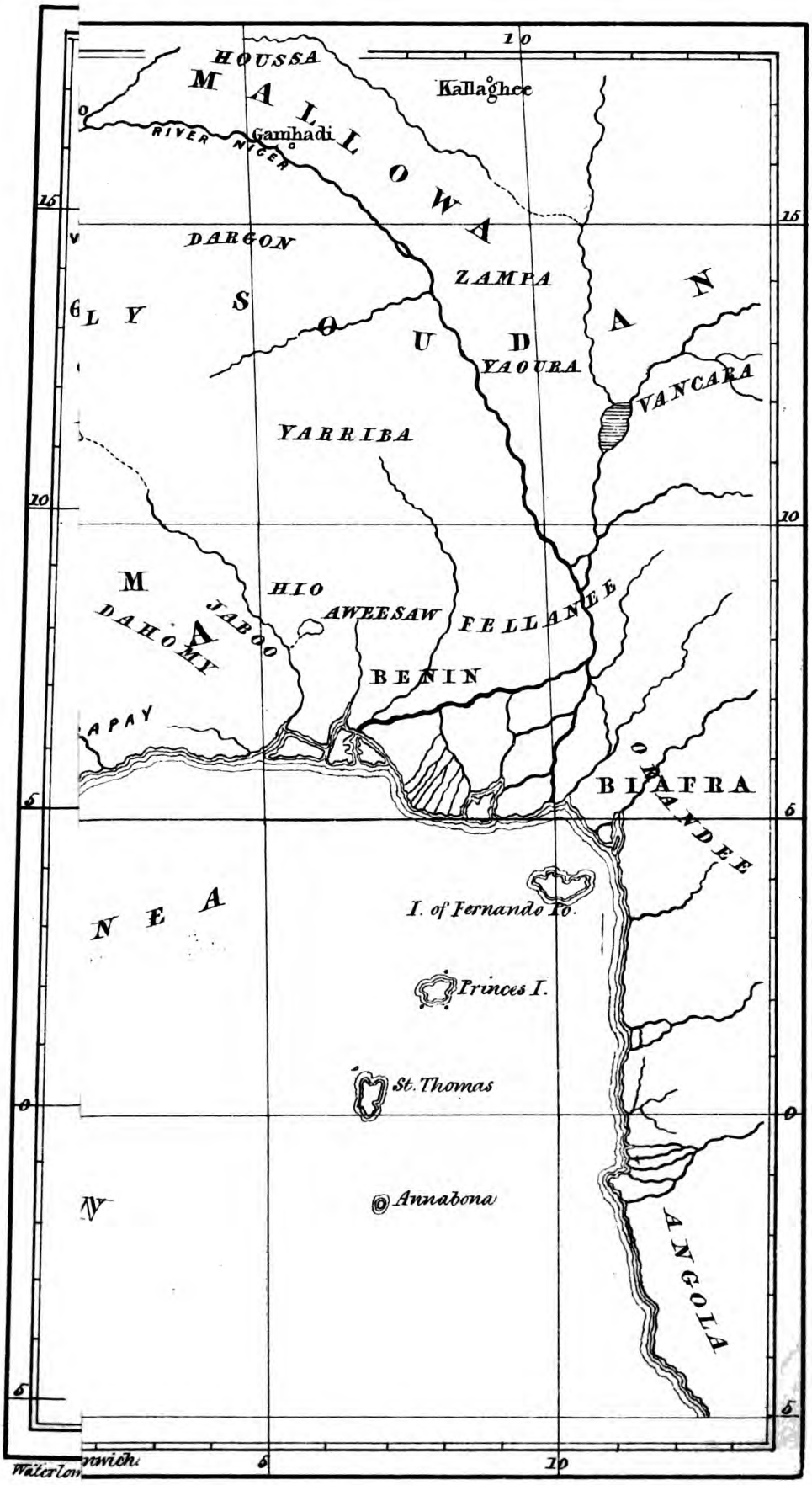
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THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL WORGE,

COLONEL OF THE 86TH REGIMENT OF FOOT,

AND

GOVERNOR OF SENEGAL, IN AFRICA;

WITH AN

ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF SENEGAL AND GOREE.

BY GEORGE DUKE, ESQ.
BARRISTER AT LAW.

"*Gratum est quod patriæ civem populoque dedisti.*"
JUVENALIS SAT. xiv. 70.

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PREFACE.

In committing to print the contents of the following pages, I would not for a moment be thought to arrogate on behalf of the gentleman whose life is the subject of them, to single him out from among the gallant men serving in the same degrees of rank as himself, on the score that he had exceeded many of his brother officers in bravery and conduct in the battle field; or that there were not many among them equally, nay, more worthy of the pen of a biographer. The compilation has been to me a source of amusement and occupation in leisure hours. In the course of it, I found that one part of General Worge's war-spent life, the part attended with the least actual fighting as it turned out—his service in Africa—was both peculiar and interesting. The importance of our African conquests in 1758-9 there can be no doubt of; they were fully appreciated at the time; but the splendour and value of our victories and territo-

rial acquisitions on so much larger a scale in America, where the immortal Wolfe lost his life, occurring at the same time, threw the former suddenly and fatally into the shade of neglect and more than comparative indifference. This is apparent from the way in which the settlements were ultimately again abandoned to France; the loose way in which the Treaties surrendering them, and providing for the welfare of the British trade in those quarters, were conducted and carried out; and what has naturally followed, the French aggression upon the British merchants trading to the coast of Portendic lately committed, and the difference between Great Britain and France relative to compensation for the same still pending.

This has been among the considerations that have prompted me, but with a very feeble pen, to this memoir of a relation whose memory I honour and respect; being moreover emboldened to it by the kind permission of the General's more immediate relatives, and also by the hope that the public may feel an interest in some of the details.

The great efforts of England for the suppression of the Slave Trade; her peculiar situation with France relative to it, and to the Right of Search, and the blockade at Portendic, as well as our growing connexion in the way of commerce, with Senegambia, make any particulars relating to this part of Western Africa interesting;

and I cannot think an apology necessary for laying before Englishmen (except for the manner in which it is performed) information, however meagre, of men of whatever station, whose lives have been devoted to the service of their country amid dangers, trials, and sufferings; but that on the contrary too much of such biography cannot be adduced, nor of too many of our countrymen whose lives may afford the matter for it.

The occasional brief notice of the brother's career, enables me to give an unbroken account of the war in the Low Countries, and of every battle the English fought there.

To the authorities at the War Office I am indebted for obliging information as to dates; from the Library of the British Museum I have also derived assistance; and to those friends who have kindly assisted me with materials I have to tender my earnest thanks.

GEORGE DUKE.

St. Leonard's on Sea, 1844.

THE LIFE

ERRATA.

PAGE 1.—LINE 3 OF THE NOTE.—For *Ratton* read *Laughton.* In the Herald's visitation of Sussex of 1633, *Ratton* is, by an error in the transcript of the old deed seemingly, spelt *Raghton* for *Laghton.* The family were also of Clapham, otherwise Chambers' Court in Littlington, and later of Hall Place, in Rodmill; but Gerardus de la Chambre, the son of Hugo, was of Laghton, in the reign of Edward II., and Chambers' Court, in Laughton, was the possession of the family from that reign, until John de la Chambre in 1673, devised the same to his daughter, Frances, the mother of Mrs. Worge.

PAGE 2.—At the end of the same note, add "*Will. atte Worthe* of Sussex, and *Ric. atte Wergho*, Sancti Johannis sub castro de Lewes, are mentioned in the Nonarum Inquisitiones temp. Edw. III."

PAGE 15, LINE 23.—For *Lense* read *Leuse.*

of ways. *Robertus de Wyrche* is one of the witnesses to a Deed dated 6. Edward II, whereby Hugo de la Chambre, of Ratton, settles upon his married son and issue, lands in Clapham, Littlington, East Dean, and Eastbourne. In the Muster Roll for the Rape of Hastings, 13. Edward

married Frances De la Chambre, daughter of John, and grand-child to Sir Laurence De la Chambre, of Radmill, in the same county, Knight, whose ancestors had been seated in Sussex from the time of the Norman Conquest.

Richard Worge (for he never called himself Alchorne) is understood to have early shewn an inclination for the

III., contained in the Book of Battell Abbey, the Abbot of Robertsbridge finds two men of arms for Lands in *Werthe*, &c.; and *Symonde de Werthe* finds one man of arms (or bowman) for Land in *Werthe*. This Land lies in the Parishes of Brightling and Burwash, and is at the present day called Great and Little *Worge* Farms. The late William Hayley guesses it to be the first cultivated Land in the neighbourhood, and, therefore, called Werth, that is, the Farm. The same gentleman says it is a Manor, and that Dugdale calls it the Lordship of *Werthe*. The Lands are again mentioned in a very old Deed of Feoffment by Robert Basoke de Sedelescombe to the Abbot and Convent of Battel, of certain Rents out of Lands held by Joselin, son of Thomas de Haremere, and are here called *Wercke*. In an Indenture of Settlement of the Poyninges Land to the use of Alianore Lady Poyninges, 3. Edward IV., is recited Deeds of Feoffment of Lands in Sussex, &c., to *John Werk*, Clerk and others. Among the witnesses to an old Deed in the Cartulary of St. Nicholas, Exeter, part of the possessions of Battel Abbey, is the name of *Roger de la Wurthe;* on the Escheat Rolls, *Sir John Wourth*, Knight, 4. Edward IV.; and *William Worth* was Mayor of Winchelsea in 1428. The name has again been varied in Sussex to *Woghere*, *Wowere*, *and Woghe*, (Burgesses in Parliament for East Grinstead), *Worger*, *Werger*, *Werge*, and *Worgg;* in London *Werge*, *Wearg*, and *Worge;* and in Wales and the West of England *Vorge*, *Verghe*, *Verche*, *Verge*, *Werge*, and *Wirge*. Of the derivation of this name, says Mr. Lower, in his clever little Essays on Family Nomenclature, "No less than six origins have been sought for this word (Worth), and it has been made to stand for a possession, a farm, a court, a place, a fort, and an island." As to the variation in spelling, the same writer accounts for it, not merely by the fact that the spelling of words formerly was governed by the sound, whether truly pronounced or not, but further ventures the opinion, "that what we now consider irregularities in the orthography of our ancestors were by them thought to be ornamental; a species of taste somewhat akin to the fastidiousness in modern composition, which as studiously rejects the repetition of words and phrases."

army; for which he was moreover qualified by the possession of a hardy frame and a mind unacquainted with fear; while, from his father's connexions, it was not unreasonable to expect his chances of advancement in that profession were very fair. Among these connexions were the Earl of Wilmington, whose seat was at Eastbourne, and Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, who had a seat at Bishopstone; two noblemen whose influence with the government put it in their power to serve their friends; while, on the other hand, Mr. Worge had very materially assisted them in their political and party struggles in Sussex—the Earl in his contest for the county, when the Honourable Spencer Compton, and the Duke's brother and party in the subsequent contest of 1734, in which the Duke took the deepest interest.*

* This appears from a letter the Duke wrote to Horace Walpole at the time, wherein he says, "We returned very victorious from Sussex, and you may imagine are not a little pleased with it, considering the violent and strong opposition we met with, and the bad success of our friends in other places. Our parliament is, I think, a good one, but by no means such a one as the Queen and your brother imagine."—*Coxe's Life of Walpole.* The Pelham party were much aided by the Worges on this occasion. A family anecdote, while it proves this, serves to shew also that a certain kind of election warfare is not of such modern invention as some may suppose. In the course of this contest, and at a very critical period of it, when a number of the opposite party were proceeding to the poll, *viâ* Eastbourne, some of Mr. Worge's establishment contrived that the axletree of a large waggon, in which they were, should be sawed half through; the consequence of which was the quiet deposit of the whole party upon the ground when about midway over the Bourne hills.

In these circumstances it was, then, that Richard Worge, when about eighteen years of age, first entered the army; a step followed, however, by anything but the progress which his friends had fondly anticipated, as appears by a letter his father wrote to a friend in London, in December, 1729, wherein he states that "my Lord Duke and the Secretary at War* assured me my son was coming home, and as a peace was for the good of the nation, every Englishman ought to have so public a spirit as to be pleased with it;" a sentiment to the justice of which he readily assents, while he bitterly complains of the heavy expense incurred in his son's outfit, apparently to no purpose.

At length, in June, 1732, we find him Lieutenant in the 25th (or Colonel Lord Rothe's) Regiment of Foot; but still with little prospect of improvement. Two years after, being then stationed in Sussex, he performed a very gallant feat, which attracted the attention of the government, and is alluded to in the following letter from the Earl of Wilmington to his father.

"St. James's Square,

"Sir, "Dec. 24th, 1734.

"I was exceedingly glad to hear of the handsome action of your son in rescuing the dragoons and

* The Right Honourable Henry Pelham.

seizing the smugglers, who have been since sent to Horsham Gaol; both the Duke of Dorset and myself thought this gave a good handle of recommending your other son to the King for the Colonies, and that it ought not to be neglected; and accordingly the Duke of Dorset mentioned it to his Majesty on Saturday last, and he was pleased to appoint him an Ensign in Colonel Murray's regiment on the Irish establishment, the same regiment in which Lord John Sackville is a Captain; I wish you joy of both the successes; with a merry Christmas and many happy new years.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most Faithful,

"Humble Servant,

"WILMINGTON."

"To Thomas Worge, Esq."

This led, as the letter shews, to the immediate appointment of his younger brother, John, as Ensign in the 37th Regiment of Foot, but still to nothing in favour of Richard; so that, in the autumn of the year following, his father is again endeavouring to assist him at head-quarters, and writing to the Duke of Newcastle to remind him of his promise "when in Sussex to speak to Lord Wilmington, to join his interest with that of his Grace, to get a Company for his son as soon as he

reached Town," and stating that he had written to Lord Wilmington and the Lord Chief Baron* upon the same subject, fearing his Grace might think him negligent; and to the two latter he writes to the effect that when he was with the Duke† at Bishopstone, his Grace, walking before dinner, enquired where his son Richard was, and how long he had been a Lieutenant? and being answered that he was in Hampshire, and had been a Lieutenant three years, replied that "it was a long time;" and he promised to speak to the Earl to favour his promotion,

* Mr. Worge was an occasional guest at the same table with the Earl and Chief Baron, and upon one of such occasions the following amusing incident occurred:—"At a Quarter Sessions for the Liberty of Pevensey, a man was brought to the bar, charged with stealing a pair of buckskin breeches, which charge being fully proved, he was found guilty by the jury; but when the court was informed the offence was a capital one, and that they must proceed to pass sentence, they were so much alarmed, that they wished to reverse the verdict, and give a fresh one in such words as to make the punishment less than death: they, therefore, adjourned the court, and despatched a messenger to Thomas Willard, Esq., of Eastbourne, the then Town Clerk, (whose deputy was on that day attending) to beg his opinion whether it was possible to reverse the present verdict, and receive a fresh one, together with his instructions how to proceed. It happened that Lord Wilmington, to whom this place at that time belonged, with the then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, were at dinner with Mr. Willard, when this curious application arrived, to whom Mr. Willard reported the contents; the Chief Baron jocosely said, 'Instruct them to reverse the present verdict, and bring it in manslaughter;' to which Lord Wilmington assenting, Mr. Willard advised accordingly, and a new verdict to that effect was absolutely the consequence." I give the version of the story as it is told in *Royer's Eastbourne*, 1787.

† Was this celebrated Minister given to "keep the word of promise to the ear but break it to the hope?" In his letter to the Earl, Mr. Worge has the following singular passage in reference to him: "as it was before dinner, it was consequently before drinking; and as his Grace led himself to the thing, my hopes flatter me he designed it."

and that his Grace would take any part his Lordship should think proper to that end.

Promotion, however, at this time, was out of the question: the prospect of a general peace in Europe improved, and the British forces were reduced; so that it was not until March, 1738, that he obtained his Captaincy in the same regiment (the 25th Foot). His brother John continued still an Ensign for some time, until, in January, 1739, an augmentation of the forces having in the meantime taken place, while a war with Spain had become imminent, and indeed had been actually declared on the part of Great Britain, in the previous October, he was made Lieutenant in his Majesty's 16th (or Colonel Roger Handasyd's) Regiment of Foot; in which regiment he ever after continued.

In April, 1742 he was further promoted captain, and embarked at the same time with his regiment for the Netherlands; Captain Richard remaining yet awhile in England.*

The period was now approaching when Great Britain, instead of umpire, became a principal in the continental quarrels, and lavished away her blood and treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a miserable German

* See *Boyse's Historical Review*, vol. i., 1748, where the British troops that proceeded to Flanders upon this occasion, amounting in all to 16,334 effective men, and consisting, among others, of Handasyd's Foot, are enumerated.

Electorate, which it had been well for England had her monarchs never retained. The war that ensued served to make veteran soldiers of our troops after a long time of peace, and elicited from them prodigies of valour while engaging forces far exceeding them in number, more inured to warfare, and under superior generalship; but it yielded to Great Britain beyond this nothing but expence and discredit.

As there was a talk of his Majesty's going to Flanders, it was thought Dunkirk would have been besieged; but this design, if intended, never took place; and though on the Earl of Stair's arrival at Ghent, where the British forces were quartered, on the 27th of November, the Austrian troops began to defile towards Luxemburgh, and the route of the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian forces was determined, yet the expedition vanished, and the army went into winter quarters; the Austrians in Luxemburgh, the English and Hessians in Flanders, and the Hanoverians in Liege.

In the February following the allied troops were again in motion. About the end of the month the English and Austrian infantry began their march in divisions for the Rhine, and on their route were joined by the Hanoverians in British pay; and in May all the forces encamped near Hoechst, on the river Maine; the British and Hanoverian troops under the command of the Earl

of Stair, and the Austrians under the Duke d'Aremberg. The Marshal de Noailles, with an army superior by 20,000 men, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river above Frankfort, having followed Lord Stair so closely, and so completely out-manœuvred him, that he cut him off from his magazines at Hanau, and left him almost without bread and forage. Stair and d'Aremberg disagreed as to what was to be done; and the French, after depriving them of the resources collected at Hanau, succeeded also in intercepting their communications with Frankfort, whence they might have derived supplies.

Affairs were in this critical state—the united army being cooped up in a narrow valley that runs along the river Maine from the town of Aschaffenberg to the large village of Dettingen—when King George, with the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Carteret, arrived at head-quarters from Hanover. The force of the allies was reduced to 37,000 men, and these were put upon half-rations, while the horses of the cavalry were starving for want of sufficient forage. Still the men were eager for battle, and the King was no coward. Receiving intelligence that a reinforcement of 12,000 Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau, he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect a junction, and to procure provision for his forces. But his Majesty was

watched by a far superior force, and by a general who was exceedingly quick-sighted. Noailles, as soon as he saw the allies in movement, altered his position so as to point on their flank and rear, and he detached his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, with 23,000 men to secure the defile of Dettingen. It was on the 27th of June when the allies marched towards Dettingen in two columns. George commanded in person in the rear, which he considered the post of danger, being as yet ignorant of Noailles' change of position, and of the movement of the Duke de Grammont; nor did he find out his mistake till he saw the heads of his columns suddenly halt, and his advanced posts running back from the defile of Dettingen. This unwelcome sight was soon followed by another—the French shewed themselves in great force in the Dettingen pass. George instantly halted his columns, and riding from the rear to the front, the real post of danger, he made his arrangments for a battle, placing his infantry before, and the cavalry behind. He was by this time completely shut up in the valley, for a French division of 12,000 men had pushed into Aschaffenberg, which he had left behind him, and his flank was now exposed to the batteries on the bank of the Maine. Nothing was left but to surrender, or cut his way through the defile, which was fully occupied by Grammont, and covered by a morass and a small rivulet in front. But

the rashness of Grammont relieved the King from this jeopardy: while his uncle, Noailles, who had given him strict orders not to move, was bringing up other divisions from the opposite side of the Maine to make the pass of Dettingen still more terrible, he rushed from the village in the ravine, crossed the rivulet, and engaged the allies in front. At the first onset, Grammont and his impetuous cavalry threw the allies into some confusion, but the steady foot soon rallied; and, at this critical moment, the batteries across the Maine suspended their fire, which they could not continue without striking their countrymen as well as their enemies, for they were mixed. George, in person, formed his infantry into one dense column, and charged with them until they broke de Grammont's squadrons, and pushed both horse and foot before them. Noailles, from the opposite side of the river, beheld the fatal mistake of his nephew, and tried to redress it; but, before he could get to Dettingen, the affair was decided, and de Grammont's men were in headlong retreat, and so panic-struck that he could not rally them. The French made for the bridges across the Maine; the English pursued them with the sabre and bayonet; multitudes were killed before they could reach the bridges; others, in their mad speed, rushed into the river or fell over the choked-up bridges, and were drowned; others, throwing down their arms, tried to escape by running up the hills,

on the opposite side of the valley, and were for the most part taken prisoners without a blow. Altogether the loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at 6,000. The English and their allies lost in killed and wounded about 2,000 men, including many officers of rank.

So ended the day in which the bravery of our troops eminently distinguished itself—our Foot gaining ground from the beginning, till they remained masters of the field. Our horse sustained for eight hours the severest cannonading ever perhaps known, and then attacked the French household troops, who, to do them justice, supported the ancient reputation of their corps with great firmness. The Hanoverian artillery was, in particular, greatly serviceable.

This much-famed battle of Dettingen lasted till four o'clock in the afternoon, and the King remained on the ground till dark at night. The Duke of Cumberland, though wounded in the leg, had refused to quit the field. Both father and son displayed the greatest personal bravery; but, as for generalship, there was none in the allied army. The great merit rested with the unflinching infantry of England, most of whom had never seen service, and also the steady Hanoverian foot. When the battle was over, the allies were still without victuals, drink, and tents to lie in; but they were masters of the

MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

From an Original in the British Museum

field, and the road to the well-furnished magazines of Hanau was now opened, and thither they marched after a short rest, leaving their wounded to the mercy of the French Marshal, who, to his honour, treated these unfortunate men in a most humane manner.

All historians are agreed as to the undoubted valour of the British infantry upon this occasion:—"The French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder; but the infantry of the allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day," says Smollett. "Although the French charged with great impetuosity, and the household troops put the Austrian cavalry into disorder, the British and Hanoverian infantry, animated by the presence of their sovereign (who rode between the lines with his sword drawn) stood firm as a rock, and poured forth an incessant fire which nothing could resist. By a masterly manœuvre, on the approach of the French cavalry led by the nobility and princes of the blood, who rushed on in seeming desperation, those intrepid battalions opened their lines, and afterwards closing again, made great havoc in that gallant body. Terror now seized the whole French army;"—these are the words of another.*

* Russell's History of Modern Europe.

At Hanau the allies were joined by 6,000 Hessians and 6,000 Hanoverians; but in the month of October the whole army separated into winter quarters, having, since the battle of Dettingen, undertaken nothing of consequence, nor in any degree answered the high expectations conceived from so numerous and well-appointed an army.

In the following year, the King of France assembled in the Netherlands an immense force provided with a formidable train of artillery. The chief command was vested in the Marshal, Count de Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and proved to be one of the most fortunate generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, to the number of 70,000 effective men, were, in the month of May, assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels; from whence they marched towards Oudenarde, and posted themselves behind the Scheldt, being unable to retard the progress of the enemy. The latter were, however, very indifferently commanded. General Wade, at the head of the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian General, the Duke d'Aremberg, was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and sentiment.* They did nothing during the

* Smollett's History of England.

campaign worthy of notice, and when they separated into winter quarters, the conduct of the allied Generals was severely censured in England, and ridiculed in France.

Early in April, 1745, a prodigious French army assembled in the Netherlands under the auspices of Saxe; and the King with the Dauphin arriving in the camp, they on the 30th invested Tournay, one of the strongest, and most important towns in Flanders, before which they opened the trenches the next day. The Dutch garrison consisted of 8,000 men, commanded by the old Baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The Hanoverian and British troops were commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, a brave, but inexperienced General. The Austrians were conducted by old Count Konigsegg; and the Dutch by the Prince of Waldeck, as inexperienced as the Duke. Their army, although now joined by other regiments from England, including Colonel, the Earl of Rothe's, in which Richard Worge was Captain, was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, but as the French pressed the siege with uncommon vigour, the Duke of Cumberland, after a general council, determined to attempt the relief of the place. They accordingly advanced to Lense, and on April 28th took post at Maulbre, in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, from the village of Antoine, to a large

wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day the Duke of Cumberland dispatched six battalions, twelve squadrons, five hundred pioneers, and six pieces of cannon, under the command of Lieut.-General Sir James Campbell, to drive the enemy from all the little posts, and thereby facilitate the passage of the army through the defiles, which they did with success; while the French completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations for their reception; and were observed to set fire to a small village near Fontenoy.

The army being ordered to march at 2 o'clock next morning, April 30th, the Duke made the following dispositions for the attack:—Brigadier Ingoldsby, with four battalions and three cannon, was directed to attempt, sword in hand, the village of Vezon, in front of which the enemy had a fort mounted with cannon, near the wood, where five or six hundred men might be lodged; but by some fatality this service was omitted. The Prince of Waldeck undertook the village of Fontenoy. Lieut.-General Campbell was appointed, with fifteen squadrons, to cover the infantry of the right wing, which was commanded by Lieut.-General Ligonier whilst it was forming, by extending himself along the plain from the wood toward the village of Fontenoy. But Sir James Campbell being unhappily carried off by

a cannon shot,* this good disposition lost its effect; so that though two lines of foot were formed, they were left exposed to the brisk cannonade of the French, that did great execution till the Duke ordered up seven pieces of cannon at the head of the brigade of guards, which silenced the moving batteries of the enemy. As soon as the army was drawn up, the Duke put himself, about nine o'clock, at the head of the centre, and advanced toward the French. At the same time the Prince of Waldeck moved to attack the village of Fontenoy. These motions, made under a continued and terrible fire of the enemy's cannon, had very different success. The British infantry, under Sir John Ligonier, bore down all before them, and drove the French beyond their lines, of which we remained some time in possession: but the left wing, though favoured by the fire of our batteries, and supported by two English battalions, which his Royal Highness sent to favour the attack on Fontenoy, not having succeeded in that attack, and the fort, as has been said before, not having been attacked at all, we

* Which took off his leg, so that, being put on a litter, he soon after expired. Pieces of thick glass, brass and iron buttons were taken out of the wounds of this general, and sent in a coffer to the French King, with a letter from the Duke of Cumberland, importing that the most barbarous nations never made use of such kind of weapons in carrying on war;—on reading of which, it is said, his Majesty turned pale and left the room. All the Dutch soldiers that were carried to Mons died with their bodies so swoln that they were ready to burst.—*Boyse*, vol. 2.

found ourselves between two cross fires of small arms and cannon, and were likewise exposed to that of their front; so that we found it necessary to retire to the heights of Fontenoy, and the fort in the wood, from whence, also, there was a continued fire, which occasioned some confusion, but was soon stopped, and the troops again put in order. Still, however, Cumberland, with his brave British and Hanoverian troops, persevered in his attack on the left. Leaving the cavalry in the rear, and dragging some pieces of artillery with the force of their own nervous arms, the foot crossed a ravine, and advanced full in front of the wood, the batteries and the abbatis, and of the best part of the French army, which had had time and opportunity to gather strength from its right. When the combat became close it was terrific: our men were killed in heaps by the enemy's artillery; but still they went closer, sweeping away the French foot and the firm Swiss guards. When the British and Hanoverians carried the French position on the left, and looked with the eyes of conquerors to the right, they could see nothing of their allies the Dutch; and presently they were charged where they stood by masses of the French cavalry. But charge after charge was wasted upon them, and, instead of retreating, they pressed forward, in the view of taking Fontenoy in the rear and cutting the French off from their bridge across the

Scheldt. Saxe, who could not at first credit the fact, saw that Waldeck and the Dutch were determined to keep aloof; and then, calling away all the troops that had held Fontenoy and Antoine, laying bare the right of his position (which ought to have been occupied by our allies,) bringing up the household troops and the entire body of his reserve, he tried to crush the British and Hanoverians by a last desperate effort. It was melancholy then to see the brave Irish brigade in the pay of France, turn the first and most furious of all against their English brethren. From the necessity of the ground they now occupied between the wood and Fontenoy, which ground was hollow and narrow, British and Hanoverian foot were huddled together in compact masses. Saxe, by the advice of the Duke de Richelieu, brought four pieces of heavy artillery to play upon them in this condition; and while the cannon roared with murderous effect in their front, they were attacked in flank by fresh troops, both horse and foot. Meanwhile their own cavalry did little or nothing; and this inactivity is accounted for by the roughness of the ground; yet English horse could surely ride where French could, and it is more probable that, as at Dettingen, our cavalry was far inferior to our foot.* But the foot itself was at last

* It appears that one regiment of horse, the Oxford Blues, behaved well, and rubbed off the stain of Dettingen.—See *Culloden Papers*, and *Pictorial History of England*.

compelled to fall back, which they did slowly, and with their faces to their foes. Thus retreating, the English and Hanoverian infantry came to their horse, who then presented a front to the French, and checked their pursuit. They were joined by their precious allies, the Dutch, and then they all hastened together back to the strong walls of Ath. In this battle of Fontenoy, the British lost in killed and wounded more than 4000, and the Hanoverians nearly 2000. They left behind a few pieces of artillery, but no standards, and scarce any prisoners, except the wounded, who here, as in the victory of Dettingen, were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. The French, on their part, owned to the loss of 7000 men; but it is believed that on both sides the numbers were under-rated.

Such was the issue of this fatal day, in which the English and Hanoverian troops distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner, not only by twice attacking and forcing the enemy's entrenchments, in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, but by standing several hours the most horrible cannonading that had ever been known, and which could not but make a prodigious slaughter.*

* Of the regiments noticed as having most distinguished themselves, and suffered the most terribly, are *Handasyd's* and *Rothe's*, of which the following account appears in the *Life of the Duke of Cumberland*, and the *London*

In this battle Captain Richard Worge (whose name is prominently marked in the Gazette) was severely wounded, particularly in one hand, a portion of which he lost.

At the risk of repetition, I must again quote the brief but elegant description of this battle by another historian,* further to illustrate the indomitable courage of the British infantry on this occasion: "Never, perhaps, was a more desperate or gallant attack than that which was made by the British infantry, commanded by the Duke in person, assisted by Sir John Ligonier. Though the fire from the enemy's batteries was so heavy that it swept off whole ranks at a single discharge, they continued to advance as if they had been invulnerable, and drove the French infantry beyond their lines. The French cavalry in vain endeavoured to stop their progress. Forming themselves into columns, they bore down everything before them, and baffled every effort to put them into disorder. Antoine was evacuated: and Saxe, concluding that all was lost, sent advice to the

Gazettes of the time:—*Rothe's Regiment—Killed*, Ensign Bourvillette, 2 sergeants; 52 privates; *Wounded*—Lieut.-Col. Kennedy, Major Dalrymple, Captains WORGE and Lucas, Lieutenants Livingston and Hoy, Ensigns Cockburn and Jones, 4 sergeants, 72 privates; *Missing*—13 privates. *Handasyd's—Killed*—Lieut.-Col Montagu, Captains Baird and Pollock, Lieutenant Dalway, 4 sergeants, 125 privates; *Wounded*—Lieutenants Stafford and Porter, Ensigns Worsley, Bromley, and Freeman, 6 sergeants, 130 privates; *Missing*—12 privates.

* *Russell*; quoting *Voltaire*.

King to provide for his safety by repassing the bridge of Colonne. But Louis, who did not want personal courage, sensible that such a step would give a decided victory to the allies, refused to quit his post. His firmness saved his army from ruin and disgrace.*

" Ashamed to desert their sovereign, the French infantry returned to the charge, the cavalry renewed their efforts, and other circumstances contributed to give a turn to the battle. The Dutch having failed in an attack upon Fontenoy, which valour might have rendered successful, had shamefully left the field. An English and Hanoverian detachment, under Brigadier Ingoldsby, had also miscarried, through mistake, in a practicable attempt to take possession of the redoubt at the corner of the wood of Barri and immediately opposite Fontenoy; so that the British cavalry, by the cross-fire of the enemy's cannon, were prevented coming up to the support of the infantry, who now assailed on all sides, fatigued with incessant fighting, and galled by some field-pieces unexpectedly planted in front, were at length obliged to retire with the loss of 10,000 men, after having successfully routed almost every regiment in the French army.† The loss of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis 15. Chap. 15.

† " All the regiments," says Voltaire, who is very circumstantial in his account of this battle, " presented themselves one after another, and

also very great in proportion to their numbers; but that of the Dutch and Austrians proved inconsiderable."

The French on this occasion exercised unusual cruelty. The English who were left wounded on the field of battle, were many of them barbarously murdered by the enemy in cold blood; and, though their generals wrote to the allies to fetch them away, yet when the Duke sent waggons for that purpose, they caused them to be seized to the number of a hundred, with the men that attended them, and detained them contrary to the laws of nations and of arms. The English officers, made prisoners when wounded, were refused necessaries for their money; so that several of them died for want of proper assistance. In short, contrary to their usual practice, the French discovered in this war such a savage brutality towards his Britannic Majesty's subjects as sunk deep in the breast of every Englishman.*

After this battle the French carried town after town with little resistance, until they had subdued the greatest

the English column facing them on all sides, repulsed every regiment that advanced." . . . "From the moment the French and Swiss guards were routed, there was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Maréchal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English columns; but their efforts were attended with little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplined, and so intrepid." "If the Dutch," he continues, "had passed the redoubts that lay between Fontenoy and Antoine, and had given proper assistance to the English, no resource would have been left for the French; perhaps not even a retreat for the king and the dauphin."

* *Boyse*, Vol. 2.

part of the Austrian Netherlands; the allied army the while lying intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp. And the only satisfaction to Great Britain this year, was the better success of her arms at sea and in other quarters of the globe, and among other achievements, the conquest in June, of Louisbourg, on the Isle of Cape Breton, in North America; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at an immense expence.

With the Continent of Europe, and the Isles of America, thus exposed to the ravages of war and the vicissitudes of fortune, the Government of Great Britain had suddenly occasion for the return of her best troops from Flanders, to aid in suppressing intestine convulsion. This was owing to the descent upon Scotland of the son of the Chevalier de St. George, the Pretender to the British throne. The conjuncture seemed favourable; the disaster of Fontenoy had rendered it necessary to send over more troops to Flanders, which considerably weakened the strength of the Government at home; his Majesty was then employed in visiting his German dominions, and the forces in Scotland were so few, that the malcontents no doubt flattered themselves they would never be able to make head against the numbers they expected to appear for them on the Prince's arrival.

The madness of the adventure alone could have made the Lords of the Regency at first slight, and perhaps

doubt, the fact of the young Pretender's arrival and proceedings, or they might have suppressed the attempt in embryo. They were, however, speedily aroused to the necessity of vigorous measures. A courier was dispatched to Holland, to hasten the return of his Majesty, who arrived at St. James's on the 31st of August. On the 11th of the next month, the merchants of the City of London in a body, making a cavalcade of a hundred and sixty coaches, went up to Kensington with an assurance of their zeal and fidelity, and their readiness to hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of the Government. At the same time these gentlemen had a numerous meeting at Merchant Tailors' Hall, where it was proposed to raise two regiments at their own expence for his Majesty's service, which was unanimously agreed to, and a committee appointed to carry it into execution. These regiments, however, were not raised, the money being applied in a more useful way; for at this meeting a letter was circulated, which had been written by the author of the *Veteran Scheme*, (of whom presently), a scheme which gave rise to a subscription opened at Garraway's Coffee House, and produced £30,000.

His Majesty had called on the States General for the 6,000 Dutch auxiliaries stipulated by treaty, part of which arrived at Berwick the day after Sir John Cope's

defeat at Preston Pans. About the same time, three battalions of Guards and seven foot regiments, remanded from Flanders, came safe into the river Thames, part of whom, with four Dutch regiments, had immediate orders to march northwards, where an army was assembling under Marshal Wade, to proceed to Newcastle.

The Parliament met on the 16th of October, and two days after the Duke of Cumberland arrived from Flanders, followed by four troops of Ligonier's Horse, Bland's Dragoons, a detachment of Foot Guards from Ostend, and four battalions of Foot. Soon after arrived seven Foot regiments more from Flanders, among them Handasyd's and Lord Sempill's; and the flower of that brave army which had stood the murderous fire of Fontenoy began to rendezvous in the centre of England.

"Though the zeal and loyalty of the great metropolis," says an historian of the time,* "distinguished itself in so general and praiseworthy a manner, yet there were about this time two projects set on foot of so public-spirited and generous a nature, and attended with such happy consequences, that it cannot be displeasing to the reader te receive a distinct account of each, in just honour to those who promoted and encouraged schemes so beneficial to their country.

* Historical Review of the transactions of Europe; and Impartial History of the late Rebellion by Samuel Boyse, M. A., 2 vols., 1748.

"The first was this: several of the nobility and gentry of Westminster had, in the beginning of November, entered into an association, by which they proposed, at their own expense, arming and clothing themselves for the public service; but their conditions being laid before the ministry for their approbation were found impracticable, so that this affair was dropped. However, the gentlemen of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields were so fortunate as to hit on a method which, being entirely approved of by his Majesty, was carried into execution with all the success that could be desired. This was by a voluntary subscription to raise a fund, out of which a gratuity of five pounds was paid to every able-bodied man who could bring a responsible voucher for his character, and should enlist himself into his Majesty's service. By this means many of the corps which had returned weak and thin from Flanders, were soon completed, and that much sooner than could possibly have been effected in the ordinary way of recruiting.

"The other design was of so benevolent a nature that it does singular honour to the author, (Mr. Samuel Smith,* merchant, of Cateaton-street, who, although a

* As Mr. Smith afterwards, by inter-marriage with Miss Mary Worge, the daughter of John and niece to Richard Worge, became so nearly allied to these gentlemen, it may be excusable to relate here at length, and in the words of Mr. Boyse, the part which he, as well as they, acted upon this occasion in defence of the Throne and Constitution.

very young gentleman, has remarkably distinguished himself in the service of his king and country), whose modesty cannot reasonably be offended with an attempt to do justice to his merit on this occasion. We had now two armies in the field, exposed to all the rigours of a severe winter campaign. In the health and preservation of these troops the national safety was deeply interested; and nothing seemed at once more compassionate and just than to make some provision for the comfortable subsistence of those who risqued their lives in defence of the public.

" A citizen of London conceived the generous design of appearing the advocate of these brave fellows, and animating the powerful and wealthy to exert their bounty on their behalf in so pressing a crisis. Having first laid this scheme before His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland (the best judge of its usefulness, and who was pleased to honour it with his approbation*), he then communicated it to the town in several letters inserted in the public papers. The first was as follows :—

" To the Merchants and Citizens of London concerned in the association and subscription to promote

* The Duke afterwards on some obstructions the project met with, says Mr. Boyse, ordered Sir Everard Faulkener, his secretary, to write Mr. Smith a letter expressing his approbation, which put an end to all opposition, as it shewed he had the countenance of the Court.

His Majesty's service, and defend their liberties, upon the present dangerous occasion.

" Gentlemen,—As I am persuaded you are very much in earnest in what you are about, and would willingly prove yourselves the first in loyalty as you are in wealth and influence, nor can be supposed to have lost all this time but for want of being put into a right method of applying your money to the public service, I take the liberty to make a proposal to you, and (after forty-five years' service as an officer, and part of that in campaigns of hardship, which makes me sure of what I say) to mention a thing you could, without further trouble or going out of your sphere, be very useful in, as much so as if you sent a reinforcement of 1,500 men to the King's army; and that is to allow twopence per day augmentation to each man of the army now employed under Marshal Wade against the rebels, for three months to come (which must determine the affair), and to commence at their march from Newcastle.

" The marches and encampments at this season of the year, particularly such a wet one, expose a soldier to such hardships as nothing but a full supply of necessaries can possibly support him under.

" They cannot resist the weather without a little more brandy and tobacco than usual, and their pay will not give them these extraordinary supplies.

"The use of spirits, so pernicious among your lazy vagabonds and sedentary mechanics, is proper, nay, even necessary, to the soldiers. Our army surgeons know it, and your own physicians will tell you so; it is the only thing (they have told me) to keep up perspiration and prevent the rheumatism, and the dreadful fluxes our men are so subject to, by lying on the wet ground in camps, and which, in this weather, is much to be apprehended. By doing so, you will give them health, preserve the lives of many poor creatures, and inspire them with an ardour, that will do infinite honour to yourselves, and good to your country.

"The French, when Prince Charles invaded Alsace, gave all their troops, that they marched thither from Flanders, double pay on the occasion; and sure the citizens of London will not let a British soldier want an encouragement on this occasion, that a French soldier had on that, which concerned them in the case of a province only, whereas this concerns your whole, your very being.

"But I am not good at arguing, so I will say no more; you are gentlemen of sense and character, and don't want any more to rouse you on this occasion.

"I will only add a short sketch of the expence: suppose the King's army 15,000, at twopence each man, is but £100 *per diem*, and for three months, but £11,225.

What is this money to you, gentlemen? For God's sake try it. You will serve his Majesty, relieve the poor soldier, and highly oblige

"A VETERAN."

"P.S. No time is to be lost."

"A few days after this publication, the writer finding some objections raised to the manner of his scheme, it occasioned him to give a further explanation of it in the same paper* of November 18th, which," says Mr. Boyse, "I also choose to insert *verbatim*."

"To the Merchants of the City of London, &c.

"Gentlemen,—I shall be thought troublesome perhaps, in pressing my advice upon you:—but old men are allowed some privileges this way; and as I have nothing in view, but to save you from the reflections you are liable to, for having done nothing yet conformable to those addresses, in which you have so liberally and properly devoted your lives and fortunes to his Majesty and the public, I shall make no apology for it.

"Let those talk in that strain whose specious pretences cover some selfish plot.

"I am told my proposal in this paper of the 7th has had some objections made to it: that some say an augmentation of pay would be a bad precedent; others, that

* The *General Evening Post*.

the money may not be faithfully applied, may be made a job of; or, that if the soldiers have it, who, it is pretended, are hospitably received wherever they go, they might use it to feed their vices, not supply their wants.

"As a general answer to all these objections, I would recommend it to you to execute the following scheme, to which no objection, I believe, can be made, because it apparently carries great relief with it to the troops, will not cost you much, and may be executed entirely under your own directions; and that is, to distribute to each man of the armies under Marshal Wade and Sir John Ligonier, a pair of shoes, a pair of hose, and a flannel waistcoat with sleeves.

"The list of these poor men's wants in a winter campaign, and the expence of your supplying them, is as follows:—a pair of shoes 4s., a pair of hose 1s. 2d., a flannel waistcoat with sleeves 1s. 4d.; in all, 6s. 6d. each man.

"And I can take upon me to say, a provision for 25,000 in this manner would be enough at present, and amounts but to £8125. Two blankets for each tent would be of infinite service to keep them from the damp ground, and may be computed thus:—160 tents per regiment, and thirty-five regiments now in the field, makes 5600 tents, and two blankets each, viz., 11,200 at 3s. 6d. is £1960. Thirty watch-coats per regiment,

for the centinels, is 1050, at 8s. each is £420. Here is a supply of all necessaries for a winter campaign, which these brave fellows are unprovided with as yet, and which would cost you but £10,505.

" I hope the intentions of some worthy gentlemen (at whose desire I have made these calculations) to open a subscription at Batson's Coffee-house, in Cornhill, will be attended with success; and that any sum, ever so small, will be taken; that not only the rich, but every man may indulge his good heart upon this occasion.

" How humane this relief will be, how worthy of the city of London, and animating to the troops, I leave to your own reflections,

" And am,

" Your sincere, though worn-out Servant,

" THE VETERAN."

" Nov. 18, 1745."

" It is necessary to observe that before the subscription, mentioned in this last letter, was opened, Mr. Smith thought proper to communicate the knowledge of it to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, his intention being to engage them to carry it into execution as a good example to the inferior corporations through England; but these gentlemen at that time declined appearing in it, from some motives which appeared afterwards ground-

less.* However, on opening the book, the project was so favourably encouraged, that in a few days upwards of £2,600 was subscribed, though no person appeared in the management but the author. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen themselves became soon after so convinced of the real benefit and advantage of the scheme, that they were pleased to take it under their own direction (though not in their corporate capacity) and for that end appointed a committee.† It is inconceivable with what cheerfulness contributions came in from all quarters on this memorable occasion. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Judges, the Chamber of London and public companies of the city, the Civilians of Doctors Commons, all sent in large sums; the Deputies of the respective Wards made handsome collections, as did also the Gentlemen Volunteers of the city.‡ Even the theatres acted their part in promoting so beneficent and laudable a charity. So that, in a very short time, the fund amounted to near £20,000.||

* From a notion that His Majesty had provided for all the necessaries mentioned in the scheme, which was soon found to be a mistake.

† This committee consisted of the Lord Mayor, Sir R. Hoare, the Judges, the Master of the Rolls, the Aldermen and Chamberlain of London, the Master or First Warden of every Company subscribing £100, and every private subscriber of the like sum, with seven other selected persons, of whom Mr. Smith was one.

‡ The sum subscribed by the last-named (of which the author was a member) was £600.

|| Exclusive of 20,000 flannel waistcoats, which (as a part of the scheme) the body of Quakers supplied, greatly to their honour; and 400 watch-coats, furnished by the vestry of St. James's, Westminster.

"Thus by the favour and encouragement of the public, excited by the zeal and industry of one private person, not only the hardships of our troops in the field were alleviated, their necessities amply provided for and relieved, and their courage animated in the service of their country;* but a damp was cast on the hopes the disaffected had formed of having an interest in the city, since it now evidently appeared the citizens were heartily united as one man for the defence of His Majesty's person, and the preservation of the national liberties.

"If the pleasure of doing good can receive any additional satisfaction, the author of the Veteran Scheme must always feel the noblest joy in reflecting on thousands by his means (first) made happy;† and in the knowledge that his well-judged and disinterested endea-

* December 23. The committee for the Veteran Scheme contracted for 12,000 shirts, 15,000 pair of breeches, 12,000 pair of knit gloves, 9,000 woollen spatterdashes, and 1,000 blankets for the army. They also appropriated £5,000 (part of this fund) for rewarding wounded and maimed soldiers, and an equal sum for encouraging non-commissioned officers and soldiers whose bravery should merit it. These sums to be distributed by direction of His Royal Highness. £300 were sent to Marshal Wade, at Newcastle, for the recovery of the sick, in augmentation of the allowance granted by the Crown. Shoes were not provided, because His Majesty had ordered each soldier two pair out of his own privy purse.

† Part of the supplies (the produce of this scheme) were delivered to the soldiers just before they left Aberdeen to march for Inverness, and came very seasonably. It is said that the soldiers, when told it was the gift of the citizens of London, declared they would show themselves worthy of it by their conduct; and they were as good as their word. A considerable distribution was afterwards made out of the same fund amongst the widows of the officers and soldiers who were killed fighting against the rebels.

vours for the public service,* were not only blessed with such extensive success, but have been crowned with the royal approbation;† for on November the 29th, Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War, came to a meeting of the subscribers to the Veteran Scheme, held at the Crown Tavern, behind the Exchange, 'with a message of thanks from his Majesty for their contributions to the necessities of the army.'"

Mr. Smith himself went into the north, and, aided by the judicious suggestions of the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade, was mainly instrumental in carrying into the fullest practical utility, the views and plans of the subscribers and their committee, and in seeing to the application of the products of the money subscribed. He also accompanied the army in its subsequent progress, and was present in the heat of the strife at the decisive battle of Culloden, upon which occasion, his Royal Highness presented him with his own pistols. Mr. Smith ever after enjoyed the favour and friendship of the Duke, and the esteem and regard of the officers of the army, and indeed, of the army at large. Upon his presentation subsequently at court he was most graciously received, and thanked for his loyal conduct and exertions

* Mr. Smith (says Mr. Boyse) wrote and published several other seasonable pieces during the continuance of the rebellion.

† His Royal Highness, the Duke, afterwards procured for him the care of transporting the rebel prisoners to America.

by his Majesty; whose favour he ever after enjoyed, as well as that of his successor, King George the Third.

Passing over the intermediate history of the rebellion, and the disasters of Preston Pans and Falkirk, in neither of which were either of the brothers, we now approach the crisis of the insurrection, and its termination in the important battle of Culloden.

In January, 1745-6, the Duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, the dragoons of Cobham and Lord Mark Kerr, and the Argyleshire Highlanders, under Colonel Campbell. On the 31st he began his march to Linlithgow, and reached Stirling on the 2nd of February: the enemy, who had renewed the siege of that castle, having previously abandoned that enterprise with precipitation, and entered Perth, which they likewise retired from on the 4th, after spiking the cannon. Charles next withdrew by Badenoch, towards Inverness, which the Earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. His next exploit was the siege of Fort Augustus, which he in a little time reduced.

On the 4th of Feb. the royal army left Stirling, and next day reached Perth, in which town and neighbourhood the body of the army was cantoned, while the Duke

went to Edinburgh to determine with Prince Frederick of Hesse how to dispose of the 6,000 Hessian troops which had come over from Flanders in the room of the Dutch auxiliaries, whose recall France had demanded. Leaving next two battalions of the latter troops in garrison at Stirling, and two of the same at Perth, the Duke set out, and by easy marches arrived with the army at Aberdeen, February the 28th.

The weather at length proving favourable, His Royal Highness decamped from Aberdeen, April the 8th, and marching by Old Meldrum and Turreff, the next day advanced to Banff, where the army halted on the 10th. Here he was joined by the Earl of Albemarle, who with the division under his command, had proceeded by Strathbogie, so that now his force consisted of fifteen regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and Kingston's horse, with a body of the Argyleshire Highlanders, and a detachment of Lord Loudon's regiment. Among the foot was the 25th regiment, of which Lord Sempill was now colonel, and in which Richard Worge, who had, since the battle of Fontenoy, namely, on the 25th of February, been promoted, was now major.

On the 12th of April, the Duke of Cumberland passed the deep and rapid river Spey without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side. He then proceeded to Nairn, where

he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. The design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden, and surprise the Duke's army at daybreak; for this purpose, the English camp had been reconnoitred; and on the night of the 15th, the Highland army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once, on all quarters; but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts; the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible to have reached the Duke's camp before sunrise.

Charles having failed in the attempt to surprise the enemy at Nairn, during the night marched back to Culloden-moor, where, seemingly in a fit of desperation, it was resolved by the rebel-chiefs, amidst the great fatigue of their men, to wait the approach of the King's forces in order of battle.

On the 16th, the Duke left Nairn early in the morning, and came in sight of the rebels about noon; when within

half a mile of the front of the enemy, the King's troops (which during the march were in five lines of three battalions each) formed in order of battle: the three battalions of the second line defiled to the left of the respective battalions of the van; Burrell's to the left of Munro's; the Scotch fusiliers to the left of Price's, and Cholmondeley's to the left of the Royals. These marching up, formed the front line of six battalions, with two pieces of cannon between each. In the centre, at the head of the line, the Earl of Albemarle commanded; the flanks being secured by three squadrons of Cobham's dragoons, under Major General Bland on the right, and three of Lord Mark Kerr's, under the Earl of Ancram on the left.

In the second line were five battalions, those of Wolfe, Ligonier, Sempill, Bligh, and Fleming, posted so as to cover the openings in the front line, with three pieces of artillery between the first and second battalions on the right and left of the same line, to support both lines, and commanded by Major General Huske. The *corps de reserve*, consisting of four battalions, Blakeney, Battereau, Pulteney, and Howard's, were placed in the third line; but when the battle began, one or two of these regiments were brought forward from the reserve.

Opposed to these, and for the last time, were the devoted adherents to the cause of James and Popery.

Into thirteen divisions, each a separate clan, was the rebel army formed; twelve pieces of artillery were advanced; four in front of the centre, and four on either flank. In command of the centre was Lord John Drummond; of the right wing, Lord George Murray; of the left the *soi-disant* Duke of Perth. To support this line, covered by some stone walls on the right, were stationed four companies of French auxiliaries, and Fitz-james's horse; on the left the Perthshire squadron, some huzzars, and the young Pretender's guards, together with four companies of Lord John Drummond's foot. Open to the centre of the front, was placed the young Pretender himself, with his body guards, and three columns of 800 men each in his rear; Lord Kilmarnock commanding one column, Roy Steuart another, and the centre headed by Lord Lewis Gordon and Glenbucket; and in the rear of them, as the first reserve, were stationed the regiments of Ogilvie and Perth.

When the English came within five or six hundred paces of the enemy, they got upon soft and boggy ground, and the artillery horses and heavy cannon sticking fast in the mire, the soldiers cheerfully slung their firelocks, and dragged the cannon across the bog with the strength of their own arms. While this was doing, the weather, after some heavy rain, grew fair, and the Highlanders from behind a strip of old wall, began to fire with their

cannon. But their pieces were so ill served, and so badly pointed, that they did little mischief. At about one o'clock, Cumberland commenced replying to this cannonade; and as his guns were exceedingly well served, they made a slaughter-house of the Highlanders' irregular and crazy battery, cutting at the same time lanes through some of the clan regiments. It was with extreme difficulty that Lord George Murray and his officers could keep their men in their positions to face this murderous fire; the Highlanders wanted to run, but forward, not backward; they wanted to take the cannon with the broadsword, as they had done at Preston Pans. "Not liking this way of fighting," says Ray,* who was in their English front, "they came running forward in their furious wild way on our right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself to receive them, imagining that the greatest push would be there: they came down three several times within a hundred yards of our men, firing their pistols, and brandishing their swords; but our soldiers appeared as if they took little notice of their bravadoes." The cannonade lasted nearly an hour, during which time Cumberland made several changes in the disposition of his army; the most important of which was, bringing up Wolfe's regiment from the second line, where the men were standing in water up to their ankles, to the front

* History of the Scotch Rebellion in 1745-6, by James Ray.

line, and there placing them, *en potence*, or forward at a right angle from the left flank, so as to make a new front, and to fire upon the flank of the Highlanders, if they should come forward in full force. The Duke then placed himself in front of Howard's regiment between the two lines; and Colonel Belford, who had the charge of the artillery, threw some ball and grape-shot with effect. The clan Mac Intosh, came right on to the English centre, but the fire of the field-pieces, and the small arms of the 21st regiment, made them incline to the right; other clans, however, advanced to their support; and then, in spite of grape-shot and musketry in front, and the flank fire from Wolfe's regiment, they fired their pieces, threw down their muskets, and attacked the English left, sword in hand, broke through Burrell's regiment in the first line, and pushed forward, through the gap they had made, on the second line; but there they were checked by Sempill's regiment, which, kneeling down, reserved their fire till they came close up, and then, with their bayonets fixed, gave a terrible discharge, and brought a great many of them to the ground. Most of those who did not fall turned back, after they had killed Lord Robert Kerr and some twenty men. A few of the most desperate still pressed on with their broadswords and targets to break into Sempill's regiment; but not a man of them could succeed; they all dropped at the point of the well directed

bayonet.* It was calculated, that from four to five hundred of them fell dead, or desperately wounded, between the two lines of the English army; for in the regiments which had charged Burrell's regiment, and thrown themselves upon the bayonets of Sempill's, there was scarcely an officer or first-rank man left alive. This was, in fact, almost all the fighting; and in the hottest of it was Major Richard Worge with the brave 25th, or Sempill's Foot, as we have seen; the rest of the operations at Culloden and beyond it were little more than pursuit, slaughter, and butchery.†

The victory at Culloden was complete and decisive. The rebels, after an ineffectual struggle of thirty minutes, were totally routed. The King's troops, particularly the dragoons, irritated by their former disgraces, and the fatigue of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. About 1200 of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, with a small loss on the part of the Royalists.

* According to a letter published shortly after in the *Scots Magazine*, a sensible alteration was made by Sempill's regiment on this occasion, in the mode of managing the bayonet against the Highlanders:—before this the bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting him: now the left-hand bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting his right-hand man. He was then covered by his adversary's target where he was open on his left, and the adversary's right was open to him. This manner made an essential difference; staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them in a manner rather to be conceived than told.

† See Douglas's History of the Rebellion—Boyse—Russell—Smollett—Pictorial History of England.

CULLODEN (OR DRUMMOSSIE) MOOR.

Captain John Worge was not in this engagement, his regiment not having reached Scotland until some days after; when, on the 20th of the month, some transports arrived in Leith road with Skelton's, Handasyd's, Mordaunt's, and Houghton's Regiments of Foot, on board, which had been embarked at London about the end of March; these, after remaining here some days, sailed for the Murray Frith, to join the army.

After the battle, by his Majesty's command, his thanks were publicly given to the general and subaltern officers and soldiers for their behaviour in the late action; and at the same time £6,000, arising from the Veteran Scheme, was (pursuant to the intention of the Lord Mayor and Committee at Guildhall) distributed amongst the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, as the just reward of their fidelity and valour.

His Royal Highness, early in May, in order to execute fully the plan concerted for reducing the Highlands, issued a proclamation for disarming such of the clans as refused to surrender themselves; and soon after set out from Inverness, with eleven battalions of foot and Kingston's horse, for Fort Augustus, leaving the battalions of Handasyd, Mordaunt, Blakeney, and Battereau at Inverness, under the command of Major-General Blakeney.

On the 19th of the same month, the battalions of the Royals, Pulteney, and Sempill, and six pieces of cannon,

arrived at Perth from Inverness, by the Hill road, under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, and met with no disturbance in their march.

On the 18th of July, the Duke set out from Fort Augustus for London, and thereupon Lieutenant-General the Earl of Albemarle was appointed commander in chief in Scotland. At the same time, under the disposition of the troops then made, Captain John Worge continued to serve in North Britain, Handasyd's regiment being stationed at Elgin; while his brother, Major Richard Worge, returned to Flanders, whither Lord Sempill's battalion, together with those of Wolfe and Pulteney, were then ordered. Accordingly, the battalions ordered for Flanders marched for Burnt Island towards the end of July, and were embarked on board the transports which had returned to Leith roads about the beginning of the month, after having carried over the Hessians. The occasion of this early return of British troops to the continent was stated in the speech from the Throne, in the preceding January, wherein his Majesty had declared that the States-General had made pressing instances for his assistance in the present conjuncture, when they were in such danger of being oppressed by the power of France in the Netherlands; that he had promised to co-operate with them towards opposing the farther progress of their enemies; and even concerted measures for that purpose.

Badly as it had ended for the Stuarts and those engaged with them, the Scotch war had been a most advantageous diversion for the French, who, while the English were intent upon putting it down, had been marching from conquest to conquest, and at the time the battle of Culloden was fought, were threatening Holland with annihilation.

Our military achievements abroad this year, were confined to a paltry expedition to the coast of Brittany. The troops, however, which were sent back to Holland, under the command of Sir John Ligonier, though they could not prevent the defeat of the Allies at the battle of Roucoux on the Jaar, saved Prince Charles of Lorraine's army from destruction.

The allied army while encamped at Maestricht, were joined by Sir John Ligonier with the British* and Bavarian battalions; and Prince Charles resolved to give battle to the main body of the enemy, while weakened by the employment of a considerable force in the siege of Namur. With this view, he passed the Maese and advanced towards the French camp; but found Saxe so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he deemed it expedient to retire. He was severely harassed in his retreat. The confederates, however, behaved with great spirit, and at last repulsed their pursuers.

* Those of Wolfe, Pulteney, and Sempill before mentioned, with Graham's, Howard's, Douglas's, and Johnson's.

The enterprising Saxe having soon after formed a junction with the troops that had reduced Namur, passed the Jaar to meet the allies, who, aware of his intention, took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, and made other preparations for giving him a warm reception. At break of day, October the 1st, the French advanced in three columns; and, about noon, a terrible cannonading began. By two o'clock the Prince of Waldeck, who commanded on the left of the confederates, and against whom the enemy chiefly directed their force, was compelled to give way. The three villages were attacked at the same time by fifty-five battalions in brigades. As soon as one brigade was repulsed, another advanced; so that the confederates, fatigued with continual fighting, and being by an unaccountable neglect destitute of artillery, while the French played upon them with above eighty pieces of cannon, were at last obliged to abandon the villages and retreat towards Maestricht. Five thousand of their number were killed, wounded, or captured, while 9,000 of the French lost their lives or were wounded. Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Craufurd and Rothes, Brigadier Douglas, and other officers of the British troops distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct upon this occasion. With this battle, in which the Austrians had little share, the operations in the campaign in the Low Countries ended. Both armies,

dissatisfied with the issue of the action, and as if ashamed of such an idle waste of blood, went soon after into winter quarters. The allies, passing the Maese, quartered their troops in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxemburgh, and the French cantoned theirs in the places they had newly conquered.*

A. D. 1747. Vast expectations were entertained of this year's campaign. Lord Sandwich, as ambassador to the States-General had smoothed some difficulties, and the Duke of Cumberland repaired to Holland to take the chief command of the allied armies. Between Dutch, Flemish, Bavarians, Austrians and English, nearly 100,000 men were collected, in the month of March, under our English Prince, who, however, soon testified that he was not the general destined to vanquish Marshal Saxe. There were, it is true, many unfavourable circumstances: the allied army consisted of many unamalgamating parts, and the number of native British troops fell far short of what had been agreed upon; yet still it must remain indisputable that Cumberland, compared to Saxe, was as a bold dragooner to a consummate general. The latter, from his cantonments, intercepted the Duke's provisions and supplies; and when he took the field, it was to move to certain victory; Cumberland had put his army into some of the worst positions that could

* Russell—Smollett.

have been chosen; and the allies were thoroughly beaten at Laffeldt, near Maestricht, on the 2nd of July. For on the arrival of the French King at Brussels, it was resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. With this view, Marshal Saxe having called in his detachments advanced towards Louvain in May; and the confederates perceiving his intent, endeavoured by forced marches to gain possession of the heights of Herdeeren, an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of the threatened town. But in this they were disappointed. The enemy had seized the post before their arrival, and were preparing to rush down upon them, in order to get between their main body and Maestricht, by turning their left wing. An engagement was now unavoidable. The Duke therefore disposed his army in order of battle, and judiciously directed some regiments of British infantry, during the night, to take possession of the village of Val, or Laffeldt, in the front of his left wing, which extended to Wirle, within a mile or two of Maestricht, and was composed of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians. The Austrians who lay at Bilsen, composed the right wing, and the Dutch occupied the centre.

At daybreak His Royal Highness, with Marshal Bathiani and Prince Waldeck, visited the lines, and made some alterations in the former dispositions by advancing the front line of the left in a line with the village of Laf-

feldt, and bringing up the second nearer to sustain it; and the village was occupied by the regiments of Craufurd,* Pulteney, and Dejean, and Frendeman's regiment of Hanoverians, with artillery. The foot guards were likewise retired from the village of Vlitinghem (where they had been posted), and made a flank from the right of the Hessian grenadiers, toward the Bavarians of the centre, fronting the latter village, which was burnt to prevent the enemy making use of it.

No sooner were the batteries of the left wing all fixed for the reception of the enemy, than their infantry appeared coming down into the plain through a valley between the hills which leads from Rempert, formed in a vast column of nine or ten battalions in front, and as many deep, of their best corps, bearing directly at the village of Laffeldt, in and about which almost the whole action, which lasted near five hours, was.

At ten o'clock the cannonading on the enemy's side began against the village with the field-pieces that they brought with their infantry, which was immediately followed with the attack of their first brigades. But they suffered severely in their approach from the artillery of the confederates; and the British musketry saluted them

* This was now Major Richard Worge's regiment, to the colonelcy of which the Earl of Craufurd had succeeded Lord Sempill, lately dead.

with so warm a fire that the front of the column was broken and dispersed, as were the second, third, and fourth divisions, with prodigious loss. Not discouraged, fresh battalions advanced to the attack with alacrity and perseverance, so that the British troops in Laffeldt, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were at last obliged to give way. Being, however, opportunely supported by the regiments of Wolfe, Howard, Conway, and Hauss, they recovered their footing in the village, and drove out the enemy with great slaughter. The brigades of Navarre, La Marque, Irish, Monaco, Royal des Vaisseaux, and several others, were entirely ruined. The enemy kept still pouring on fresh lines of foot, so that the village was lost and regained of both sides several times. The battalions of the British and Hanoverian infantry entered the village four or five several times each, though the French but once, as they could never be rallied, and were always supplied with fresh brigades. The field here exhibited a horrible scene of carnage.

At noon the Duke ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way: Prince Waldeck led up the centre: Marshal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice.

The motions of the Austrians under Bathiani were so slow as scarcely to deserve the name of action; so that Saxe, apprehending no danger from that quarter, was able to turn almost the whole weight of the French army against Laffeldt, and not only to regain possession of it after it had been three times lost and won, but to break entirely the left wing of the confederates, in spite of all the efforts of the Duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with great courage, and no inconsiderable share of conduct. The Dutch, instead of supporting the broken wing, fell back in disorder, and overthrew in their flight five Austrian battalions that were advancing slowly to the charge. The French followed their blow, and, having routed the centre, divided the right wing of the allied army from the left. At this dangerous crisis, when Saxe hoped to cut off the retreat of the confederates, and even to make the Duke his captive, Sir John Ligonier rushed at the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of Austrian cavalry, upon the victorious enemy. He bore down everything before him, and although he was himself taken prisoner, from pursuing too far, he procured time for the Duke to collect his scattered forces, and to retire to Maestricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even to bring off all their artillery, except sixteen pieces of cannon. About ten thousand of the French,

and five thousand of their adversaries, were killed or wounded.*

Such was the obstinate and bloody, but partial battle, of Val, or Laffeldt, in which the British troops distinguished themselves greatly, and, if properly supported, would have obtained a complete victory. On the testimony of His Royal Highness, there was not a battalion or squadron of the Royal or Electoral troops, which did not charge and beat the enemy more than once. It would be unjust to the rest to say that any corps of them did better than the others, though some were put to a severer trial. Major Worge, with his regiment, was in the very heart of the strife, from its commencement.†

The Duke of Cumberland having reinforced the garrison of Maestricht, passed the Maese, and stationed his troops in the Duchy of Limburg. The French army remained at Tongres, near the field of battle; and Saxe, after amusing the confederates for awhile, with various

* London Gazette of 12th July, 1747.—Russell's Modern Europe.

† In the London Gazette is a notice dated Whitehall, July 11, stating, that the Earl of Ancram had arrived from the allied army on the preceding Tuesday, with the standards and colours taken from the French, and enumerating them. And appended to it is the following note:—There was another colour taken by late Craufurd's regiment of foot, and given in charge to the Hussars, who have not brought it in yet.

In the same Gazette, the number of killed, wounded, and missing in Craufurd's regiment of foot, is stated to be, rank and file 128, officers included.

marches and movements, sat down before the walls of Bergen-op-Zoom, where they lost a vast number of men, and must have failed entirely, but for the indolence of the Dutch governor, an old man, in his 81st year. With the surrender of this famous fortress, the campaign in the Low Countries ended, and both armies went into winter quarters, the French triumphantly, the allies accusing one another and quarrelling.

The battle of Laffeldt was the last engagement of any importance in which the British forces took the prominent part during this continental war. In the next year, 1748, the French made a vigorous assault upon Maestricht, which was, however, defended with great skill and resolution by its Governor, and garrison of Imperial and Dutch troops; and the Duke of Cumberland, with some additional troops, went over from England to its relief. But these hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The plenipotentiaries agreed, that for the glory of his Christian Majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it should be restored, with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the 3rd of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and a cessation of arms immediately ensued.

The two armies now remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty, which was signed on the 7th of October.

From the commencement of the war, in 1739, to the peace in 1748, there was not a single engagement of the British forces on the continent, in which one or other, or both of the brothers were not present, and active participators. Captain John in the two sanguinary ones—the victory at Dettingen, and defeat at Fontenoy; Major Richard in those of Fontenoy, Roucoux, and Laffeldt; besides the intermediate battle of Culloden at home, which Captain John Worge's regiment arrived some days too late to take part in.

After the battle of Culloden, and in the course of the next few months, all remnants of the rebellion being completely suppressed, the remaining troops were, to a considerable extent, withdrawn from Scotland; and, in the autumn of the same year, the 16th Foot was stationed at Durham, and continued in these quarters for some time. Here Captain John Worge became acquainted with Miss Eliza Grieve, the daughter of John Grieve, Esquire (by Mary Robinson his wife), of High Fryers Hill, near Durham, to whom, in September, 1746, he was united in wedlock. At Durham, Major John (for he was promoted second Major shortly after) appears to have remained for some time with his regiment, which after-

wards was placed on the Irish establishment, and stationed at Dublin; for their first child was born at Durham, and died at Dublin in her infancy.

In January, 1752, he was promoted first Major; his regiment still, and in the years following, quartered in Dublin and its neighbourhood; himself and a division of it at Athunry.

On the 9th of April, 1756, Major John Worge was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the 16th Foot. And in the year following, after two and twenty years of arduous and constant service, and some of them of unparalleled severity and trial, he resigned his command, and was succeeded on the 2nd of February, by Major Laborde of the same regiment.* Shortly after

* Having occasion no further to pursue its history and achievements, I cannot better take my leave of this worthy old regiment than with a notice of the recent presentation of colours to it. The ceremony took place near Portsmouth, in September, 1842. The Rev. R. Bingham, jun., of Gosport, at the request of Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, eloquently addressed the regiment. "The prowess of your corps," he said, "will never be forgotten when Oudenarde, or Ramillies, or Blenheim is remembered. There are those truly who will ever rouse themselves, and think with honest pride how fields were won, as often as they hear the name of Wellington. But can Marlborough ever pass into oblivion? Yet with Marlborough the old 16th earned many an unfading wreath, while they assisted in laying the basis of that renown upon which the superstructure of England's modern glory has been so nobly raised." The Ensigns, E. F. and H. A. Macdonald received the colours, kneeling, from Lady Pakenham, who pronounced a brief eulogium on the gallantry of the regiment. General Sir H. Pakenham then (in the absence of the Colonel, Lord Beresford) addressed the commanding-officer, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell. He observed, on the advantage of numbering regiments, that "thus a regiment never dies; its ranks may

this, he became resident in the county of Clare, near Limerick, and dying about the year 1760, was there interred. Besides his eldest daughter Eliza, who died in infancy, Lieutenant-Colonel John Worge had one son, George, who also died young; and he left surviving him, two daughters, Mary and Jane. Mary married, in 1765, Mr. Samuel Smith, son of Patrick, and grandson of Samuel Smith, of Belfast, in Ireland. The good service which Mr. Smith had done the State by his zeal and exertions, pending the rebellion, as already detailed, were not forgotten by the Court and Royal Family upon this occasion; and Mrs. Smith, not only as the wife of so good a citizen, but also as the niece of a gallant officer, and daughter of another deceased one, (both highly esteemed by the Duke of Cumberland,) was honoured with particular marks of the Royal favour. She died very young,

be thinned in action, its strength may be reduced by climate, but the number always remains, and by this clue we may trace with unerring accuracy, how regiments have availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them of obtaining distinction in the former course of their service." The 16th had been at Blenheim, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, Dettingen, and Fontenoy. In reply, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell remarked:—"More than half a century has now elapsed, since this old corps had the good fortune to front an enemy in the field. During this eventful period—a period into which mighty images are crowded, all more or less allied to our duties and professions, many British regiments have been favoured with an opportunity of winning honour and renown; not so the 16th, whose destiny seems to have been shadowed with the gloom of comparative obscurity ever since the memorable day (by a curious coincidence just 63 years ago, the very day he was speaking) when the regiment laid down their arms upon the glacis of 'Baton Rouge.'"

leaving four infant children, three sons and a daughter, namely, Worge, Samuel Poyntz,* John De la Chambre,† and Mary Worge Smith,‡ surviving her, and was buried in the family chancel in Eastbourne church. Her sister Jane Worge, lived to an advanced age, and died at Great Oakley, (the seat of her relative, Sir Arthur de Capell Broke, Baronet,) in 1839, unmarried; and beloved and regretted by all who knew her.

* S. P. Smith m. Ruth d. of Richard Lemon, Esq., of the County Galway, and left issue, 1. George Roche Smith, surgeon in the army, m. Grace, d. of Major Maunsell, of Plassy, County Limerick, and has issue; 2. Eliza; 3. Mary Ann, m. John Francis Purcell, Esq., M.D., of Carrick on Suir, physician to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and has issue; 4. Samuel Smith, surgeon in the army.

† J. De la C. Smith m. Catherine, d. of Daniel Osborne, Esq., of Silverspring, County Kilkenny, and d. 1805, leaving issue, 1. Jane Worge, m. John Elliott, Esq., of Waterford, M.D.; 2. William Henry Smith, of Hen Dderwyn, County Glamorgan, late in the army, now a barrister of the Middle Temple, m. I. Sarah, d. of George Marshall, Esq., by whom he had issue William Osborne, and Fanny, II. Catherine, d. of David Davis, Esq., who d. January, 1842, leaving issue one d., Alice Jane; 3. Samuel Smith, of Darjeeling, and Calcutta, m. I. Eliza d. of William Rhodes, Esq., by whom he had issue, one d., Eliza Osborne, II. Eliza, widow of Richard Morris, Esq., by whom he has issue Richard Webb, Catharine Osborne, and Mary Jane; 4. Edward Osborne Smith, of Harrow, Middlesex, F. S. A., &c., m. 2 June, 1826, Mary Ann, youngest d. of the Revd. Henry Fly, of St. James's Palace, D. D., F. R. S., &c., who d. 10 April, 1829, leaving issue, one son, Henry Fly Smith (see pedigree Coll. Arms, Norfolk, v. 3. p. 28, 29, D. 14, 278, 277); 5. Elizabeth Mary, m. Thomas Elliot, Esq., Barrister at Law, of the Inner temple; 6. Richard Broke Smith, d. in India, 1834.

‡ Mary Worge Smith, died unmarried.

CHAPTER II.

On the return of the British battalions from the continent, in 1748, Major Richard Worge proceeded with his regiment to Ireland, for which country, the 25th Foot, and four other regiments, were then embarked; making the forces on that establishment to amount to 26 battalions.

In October, 1754, being still on the Irish service, he was promoted from the 25th Foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the 9th regiment of Foot; and very shortly after, proceeded with the latter regiment from Cork (where it had been stationed) to England. Here he served until 1758, when the 9th Foot returned to Ireland.

On the 9th of September, however, in this year, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Worge was appointed Governor of the newly conquered French settlement at Senegal, on the coast of Africa, and at the same time promoted to the command of the battalion of land forces sent out to act with the navy destined for the reduction of the neigh-

bouring Island of Goree, and to garrison and retain those newly acquired posts.

In addition to the settlements on the Gold Coast, the English had formerly settlements also on the river Senegal, out of which they had been driven by the French, who at this time engrossed the whole gum trade from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of 500 miles. The Dutch were the first who settled Senegal, and built two forts. The French made themselves masters of them in 1678. In 1692, the English seized them; but next year the French re-took them, and had kept them ever since. They built Fort Louis on the Island of Senegal, or St. Louis, the principal of several forts guarding the entrance of the river; a quadrangular fort with two bastions, and of no inconsiderable strength at this time. They built Fort St. Joseph, near 300 leagues up the Senegal, on which they had abundance of other settlements, and on the same coast they fortified the Island of Goree, a great basaltic rock, with a town upon it, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The principal commodities which the French derived from these settlements were, the valuable article, gum-senega, which is collected in the forests from the Acacia-tree, by the Moors; hides, bees'-wax, elephants' teeth, cotton, gold-dust, negro slaves, ostrich feathers, ambergris, indigo, and civet. Their large imports of the chief of

these productions at this period, compared with their former, shewed (says a writer of that day,*) "that their commerce had increased in a prodigious degree, and greatly exceeded any other power in Europe, while two thirds of the same commodities were the produce of lands stolen by them from their *nominal* friends and allies. Hispaniola they robbed the Spaniards of. The neutral islands every body knew their false title to. Nor had they a better right to Senegal, or any other part of Africa." The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand, from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity.

Great Britain was now again fully embarked in a war with her old antagonist and rival in science, commerce, and arms; and the spirit of the English nation being now thoroughly aroused, the war, which had commenced in defence of her colonies, was prosecuted with a resolute determination to extend their limits, increase their number, and lessen those of the French. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; while she failed not to exert herself in

* Gent. Mag. 1756.

successful efforts against the French settlements, on the coast of Africa. To this course of retaliation she had been moreover provoked by the French, one of whose naval commanders had, with a small squadron, scoured the coast of Guinea, captured several English trading ships, and made an abortive attack on Cape-Coast Castle, the reduction of which would have been followed by the submission of the subordinate English forts on that coast. And the peculiar situation of the gum trade, with the further consideration that the conquest of these settlements would render it very difficult for the French to supply their sugar plantations with negroes, and so considerably increase the price of their sugars, and prevent them from underselling us in the foreign markets, were also among the reasons that made it desirable to annex these to the possessions of Great Britain.

The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderric, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish King of Legibelli.* He found the African Prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other

* The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators, by that of the Gum Coast, and called in maps, the Sandy Desert of Sahara.

Europeans; and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that England would send out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In this case he promised to join his Britannic Majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming perceived the advantages that would result from such an exclusive privilege, and elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort Louis. This was presented to the Board of Trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination; but it required the patriotic zeal, and invincible perseverance of Mr. Cumming, to surmount a variety of obstacles, before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then, it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship, and in lieu of 600 land-forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from Lord Ligonier, the Lords of the Admiralty

allotted 200 marines only for this service. After repeated solicitations, he, in 1757, obtained an order that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea, should be joined by a sloop and two busses, and make an attempt on the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the year following, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the Ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprise. A small squadron was equipped for this purpose, consisting of His Majesty's ship the Nassau, of 64 guns; the Harwich, of 50; Rye, of 24; with the Swan, sloop, and two busses, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board 200 marines, under Major Mason, with a detachment of artillery people, under Captain Walker. On the 9th of March this squadron sailed from Plymouth; and in their passage touched at the Island of Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan, sloop, to Portendic; being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend, the King of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal

charter, written in the Arabic language. This Prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable* Moors; and the Queen Dowager, who remained at Portendic, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal; but she assured him that, should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the meantime, one of their chiefs, called Prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the King, with advice of their arrival and design. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble 300 warriors to join the English troops, and that, in his opinion, the King would reinforce them with a detachment from his army. By this time, Captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portendic, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the 22nd of April he weighed anchor, and next day discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The Commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship, richly laden with

* A name the subjects of Legibelli give to those of Brakna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.

gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road, at the mouth of the river; and here he perceived several armed sloops, the enemy had had time to equip to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in sounding the entrance, and conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire, over a narrow tongue of land, with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, Captain Miller, of the London, buss, passed the bar with a flowing sail, and dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till dark, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day, he was joined by the other small craft, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides for some time, when the enemy's vessels were repulsed, and obliged to retire up the river; and at the same time, two of our busses and a dogger, running aground, immediately bulged. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore; where they were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to 390 Marines, besides the artillery. As they expected to be attacked by the natives who lined the shore at some distance, ap-

parently with the intention of opposing their descent, they forthwith threw up an intrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water; for by the accident, not only a large quantity of ammunition, and some cannon, but the whole of the tents were lost, and the troops were thus obliged to lie on a sandy shore, exposed to the scorching heats of the climate, without any shelter, for some days. While they were thus employed, the negroes came in great numbers, and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by 350 seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

When they were ready for proceeding to attack Fort Louis, which is about twelve miles up the river from the bar, deputies arrived from the Superior Council of Senegal, with articles upon which they proposed to capitulate. Captain Marsh and Major Mason made some alterations therein; and on the first of May, they were agreed to; being in substance as follows:—That the forts, storehouses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every thing belonging to the Company on the river Senegal, be put into the possession of the English. That all the white people belonging to the Senegal Company, be conducted to France with their private effects; merchandise, and uncoined treasure excepted. And that the free Mulattoes or Negroes and natives should remain in quiet possession of

their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion, and have the liberty to remain in the place, or retire, as they preferred.*

In consequence of these articles, Major Mason, with the Marines, took possession of Fort Louis, where they found 232 French officers and soldiers, 92 pieces of cannon, with treasure, slaves, and merchandise, to a very considerable value.†

The Corporation and Burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to His Britannic Majesty; the neighbouring Princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation, and the King of Portendic, or Legibelli, sent an Ambassador from his camp to Major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship. The number of free independent Negroes and Mulattoes, settled at Senegal, amounted to 3,000, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factories of Podor and Galem, the latter situated more than 600 miles further up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great

* The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, a perusal of which, would have been of infinite service to the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.—*Smollett's Hist. of England.*

† Lond. Gaz. June 10, 1758.

Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper management, she might derive inconceivable riches.

Fort Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt upon the Island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. In this island are the principal magazines and warehouses belonging to the French; and here the Negroes were confined, until shipped for the West Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island, had been added to the armament, Goree would probably have been reduced, and the nation saved the considerable expence of a subsequent expedition against it. At present the ships were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miscarried accordingly, though the failure was attended with little damage to the assailants.*

It was not until after the acquisition of these settlements on the Senegal, that the Government of Great Britain became fully conscious of their real value; and of the advantages accruing therefrom, to the commercial interests of the country; or it never would have cost Mr.

* Smollett—Grand Mag. 1758.—Gent. Mag. 1758.

Cumming so much time and labour to bring the Ministry to even this partial adoption of his plan. But when the success which had attended it became known, the Ministry at once saw both the importance of the newly conquered territory, and the desirability as well of improving the defences of the settlement, and the approaches to it, as of sending thither a more regular and sufficient garrison, and a competent Governor; by whose presence the same should be more certainly defended, and held by Great Britain safe against disturbance and insult on the part of the French, and attempts on their part to retake it. The administration were also well aware that these settlements would ever be of uncertain tenure, and liable to such attempts so long as the fortified Island of Goree remained in the hands of the French, and that the reduction of that fortress, their sole remaining settlement on the coast, alone would make us secure, and crown the campaign in Africa with a proper and complete success.

For the first of these objects, they made choice of Lieut.-Colonel Richard Worge, as a man of the resolution and temper so absolutely necessary in the person who should command there; a soldier of whose courage and conduct there would be no doubt; one who had now had great experience in military tactics, and moreover, a person of good quality, and not deficient in point of property, should occasions arise for the exercise of his indi-

vidual liberality in the course of discharging the trust reposed in him;—one, therefore, possessed of all those qualifications that are usually considered essential to fit a person to command or govern. He was the opposite, where it was desirable in such an enterprise he should be, in character and qualities to the unfortunate General Braddock, who so sadly miscarried in America three years before; while he was of that hardy cast of mind and frame, that well fitted him to endure the trials of a coast and country far from the most civilised and healthy—of a post which he would choose for those very characters in it, which would make your less sturdy warriors shun the undertaking. To describe him as completely in three words as I could in as many pages, while I give a proof of the ready power which the soldier Duke of Cumberland possessed of appreciating the talents of those fighting under him, I will only further observe, that the Duke, between whom and Worge the most particular friendship long existed, used ever familiarly to call him " his rough Diamond."

For the reduction of Goree, which, from the nature of its coast and defences, a naval rather than land force was best calculated to accomplish, and indeed in some degree must necessarily have effected before the troops could get a footing on the island and commence their operations, the ministry decided to send out a considerable squadron;

and, to command the same, made an excellent choice in the Honourable Augustus Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle.

The following are the particulars of the forces:—

Torbay,	74 guns . .	Commodore Keppel Capt. Owen
Nassau,	64 ,, . . .	Capt. Sayer
Fougueux,	64 ,, . . .	—— Knight
Dunkirk,	60 ,, . . .	—— Digby
Litchfield,	50 ,, . . .	—— Barton
Experiment, Prince Edward, Roman Emperor,	Frigates	—— Allen —— Fortescue —— Newsom
Saltash, (sloop)		—— Stirling
Firedrake, Furnace,	Bombs . .	—— Orrock —— Falkener

Cambridge and Lydia, Tenders.

Seven transports, having on board Richard Worge, Colonel Commandant and Governor of Senegal, with a body of seven hundred men of the regular troops under him. These consisted of the second battalion of Lord George Forbes's, or the 76th Regiment of Foot, with Newton, its Lieutenant-Colonel, and some detachments from other corps; a portion of which embarked at Portsmouth, and the remainder were ordered to hold themselves

in readiness at Cork, and to the command of which Worge was appointed on the 11th of October. Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the Litchfield and Roman Emperor sailed for Ireland with the transports, to take on board the troops, and on the 19th the whole squadron followed and arrived in Cork Harbour on the 22nd, when Commodore Keppel, on board the Torbay, first hoisted his broad pendant. On his arrival, however, he found there neither the Litchfield nor her convoy; but that being forced by stress of weather into Kinsale, two of the transports had been separated; and, instead of finding Captain Barton in readiness to join him in the offing, the troops were still at quarters in Cork.

One of the missing transports reached Cork Harbour in a shattered and leaky condition, but the other not arriving in time the Commodore was obliged to sail without her.

On the 26th the squadron put to sea and got as far as Kinsale, whence they were driven back by stress of weather and returned to Cork, the Litchfield and transports to Kinsale.

At length on the 11th of November the squadron got under weigh, and were joined off Kinsale by the Litchfield, Roman Emperor, and transports. The wind continued favorable and the weather fine for a few days. It then came on to blow a heavy gale, accompanied with

thunder, lightning, and rain. Some of the transports suffered considerably; and a flash of lightning shivered the main-top-mast of the Torbay to pieces, damaged her mainmast and killed one of the crew. As they neared the African coast the storm became terrible indeed. "Never," says an eye witness on board the Fougueux,* "in the memory of the oldest of our seamen was such a continued tempest seen! sometimes it was so dark, that it was with difficulty we could discover each other on the deck. Presently in the midst of a dreadful gust of wind, the heavens would burst forth in such awful flashes, that the sea turned sometimes to a green, sometimes to a blue, at others to a pure white colour, and the whole sky was in such a general blaze, that it was with difficulty we recovered our sight for some time. From this dreadful scene, the next minute such a profound calm would ensue, that the sails beat against the masts, by the motion of the ship only; and in two or three minutes following, a sudden squall was succeeded by a terrible hurricane, which roared so furiously, that being obliged to ease off the foresheet, it was torn out with a force so violent, that the adjacent timbers were set on fire." To add to their dangers, in the middle of the night when the Commodore supposed they were many leagues from

* Voyage to the coast of Africa, in 1758, and Account of the Expedition to and Taking of Goree by the Rev. John Lindsay.

land, he discovered they were close upon the coast of Morocco. Guns were instantly fired from the Torbay to apprize the remainder of the squadron of the danger. When morning came the Commodore saw one of his ships in the midst of the breakers; but the violence of the gale precluded the possibility of rendering any assistance to the unfortunate crew. This proved to be the Litchfield, which from the howling of the wind and roar of the waves had not heard the Torbay's signals, and ignorant of her danger had stood on, and at length stranded on the Barbary shore, at a place called Veadore, about nine leagues north of Saffy, where she lay over on one side, with all her masts gone by the board, and was soon after dashed to pieces. The Somerset transport struck a little a-head of the Torbay, and before that ship could wear clear of the danger, the seas were seen to break over the transport as high as the main-top, and she became a complete wreck; the Lydia bomb-tender shared the same fate.*

Many of the survivors of the Litchfield were much injured by being driven with violence on the rocks as they endeavoured to gain the shore, and were cruelly used

* The Litchfield lost several officers and 130 men; but the crews of the transport and tender, as well as the troops on board the former, mostly escaped. See an account of this misfortune in *Beatson's Naval Memoirs*; and Captain Barton's Despatch in the *Grand Magazine*, vol. 2, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

by the natives. After going through the greatest hardships they were sent to Morocco, and there employed as slaves in carrying wood for buildings and weeding in the Emperor's garden: and in this situation they continued until, with some other British subjects, they were ransomed by Captain Milbank, of the Guernsey.

Captain Barton, upon his return to England, was tried for the loss of the ship and most honourably acquitted; and he was immediately appointed to the command of the Temeraire of seventy-four guns, together with the surviving officers and crew of the Litchfield.

On the 14th of December, the squadron anchored in the road of Santa Cruz, one of the Canary Isles. Here the Commodore found the Nassau, which had parted company with the Dunkirk in the storm of the 3rd, but had been safe in port some days. The Bomb-ketch which had separated from the fleet soon after its departure from Ireland, and the Experiment, which had been dispatched in advance, were also here; together with an ordnance transport, which being dispatched after the Armament from Spithead, had made a much happier passage. The Prince Edward, after a fruitless endeavour to find out, and if possible, to relieve our unfortunate friends on the Barbary coast, reached the same port on the 9th.

Having repaired all their damages, and taken in a sufficiency of wine, the squadron sailed from Teneriffe on the 20th, and on the morning of the 27th, first observed with the aid of the telescope, the fort and flagstaff on the summit of the hill on the Isle of Goree, towering above the low lands about Cape Emanuel. In the afternoon, they came to anchor in the road of Goree, the Island bearing south-west by south, about four miles distant, and in eighteen fathoms water; the Saltash sloop and the transports having the troops on board, being ordered down to a bay between Point Goree and Point Barabbas, a situation from which the troops could most conveniently and speedily land when their co-operation should be required.

This island lies about a mile southward of Cape Verd, and is distant from Senegal about 120 miles. It is strongly defended by nature, being surrounded with rocks and shoals. It consists principally of a mass of black basalt, which rises abruptly to the height of several hundred feet. It is wholly inaccessible to the west, and nearly so to the east and south. It is easier of approach towards the north; but here numerous batteries and fortifications had been erected by the French, as indeed they had been at every point where a landing could be effected. The anchorage is good, especially in the small bay lying to the north-east.

Goree, formerly called by the natives Barzaquiche or Besaquiche, was in 1617 yielded to the Dutch by Biram, a king of those parts, and they retained it until, in 1663, Commodore Holmes took it from them. In the next year De Ruyter obliged the English governor to deliver it again to its former owners. In 1667 Count d'Estrees, with eleven sail of French men of war, took it from Governor Hopsac; and, notwithstanding several attempts on the part of the Dutch to recover possession, it had remained with the French ever since.

Upon the former attempt two ships only made their appearance, when M. St. Jean, the governor, agreeably surprised, was pleased to say, "What! think they I shall give up the island to two ships? No, not while a gun stands on its carriage." But now the case was altered, and a vastly different force presented itself, prepared to give them battle; and yet no flag of truce was seen; and instead of making proffers or treating for articles of capitulation, as was somewhat expected, they were found occupied in preparations for a defence, scaling their old guns, and carrying ammunition of all kinds to their batteries; great quantities of which were afterwards found, scattered profusely around all the island—such as double-headed shot, chain shot, star shot, great spikes of iron and old rugged nails, bound up into sizes for their gun bores; and besides the common shot in use (the great

and grape shot) they were also well supplied with every different kind of destructive material, including bomb-shells.

The commodore lost no time in putting his orders in execution, and having reconnoitred the place he resolved to attack it with the ships on the west side, not because it was the weakest, but, being to leeward, any ship that should have the misfortune to have her cables shot away might escape any disastrous consequences, put to sea, and by beating to windward be enabled to get into action again. Each captain had been furnished with instructions accordingly, together with a rough map of the island.

Soon after four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, Worge began to remove his troops from the transports to the flat-bottomed boats preparatory to landing, and before nine o'clock the whole of them, to the number of 600 men,* were in their respective boats and in the best order for action; the colonel then had them placed on the off side of the transports, to be in protection until the anxiously expected signal for a descent on the island at a moment's notice.

The commodore made the following disposition of his squadron:—the Prince Edward he ordered to cover the

* One hundred of his men had been left behind on the coast of Barbary, as already noticed.

Firedrake bomb from the fire of the enemy, and to anchor abreast of a small lunette battery *en barbet*, a little below the citadel on the north. The Nassau led the van of the line-of-battle ships, and was to bring up abreast of St. Peter's Battery of five guns. The Dunkirk was directed to follow in the order, and anchor off a battery, a little to the north of the former, which was at this time in course of erection, but not finished nor an embrasure opened. Next followed the Commodore himself, in the Torbay, taking for his part the West Point Battery of five guns, with the western corner of St. Francis' Fort, of four guns of a smaller size. The Torbay was followed by the Furnace bomb, and astern of her was the Fougueux, to which ship was assigned the mortar battery of eight guns and two mortars. As soon as the first ship had dropped her anchor from her stern, she was to hoist a pendant at her mizen-peak as a signal to the ship immediately astern of her that she had brought up. Thus the second was to acquaint the third, and so on of the rest; and the captains were ordered not to fire a gun until each was abreast of her station, and moored both head and stern.

Shortly after nine o'clock the Firedrake gave the preconcerted signal for commencing the action by throwing a shell. In a moment the fire of the British was returned by the enemy from their forts and batteries, and with

their second shot were fortunate enough to carry away the Prince Edward's ensign staff, and set fire to an arms chest close by it, which, blowing up, killed one of the marines. Encouraged by so successful an onset, and not observing any ship coming to second the Prince Edward, the enemy brought all the guns they could to play upon her, and with terrible execution.

The Commodore, observing that the Firedrake by overcharging her mortars threw most of her shells beyond the Island, an error which those on board could not perceive, sent an officer on board the Furnace bomb with this message, " That as they saw the error of the other in overcharging the mortars, they would avoid that extreme, and that as the enemy seemed bent upon sinking the Prince Edward and Firedrake, he desired they would at the distance they then were, begin their fire, and endeavour as much as possible to draw part of the enemy's attention from our suffering friends." These orders were immediately obeyed, and the Furnace bearing close under the Fougueux's stern, and getting upon her larboard quarter, fired with considerable effect.

The Nassau was somewhat tardy in her first movements, so that this ship and the Dunkirk, came down together to their stations. They then quickly called the enemy's attention from the Prince Edward; the former, making full amends for lost time by a fire uncommonly

brisk and vigorous; the other, firing less rapidly, but with better aim—discharging not a gun before pointed, and making every shot tell.

The wind now, as the sun grew warm, began to lull; greatly hindering both the Commodore's ship and the Fougueux, from getting down so early as wished: and, a signal being presently made for the Captain of the Furnace bomb, he, to come under the Torbay's stern, run athwart the Fougueux's lee-bow, and farther impeded the latter ship's progress; so that by the time her anchor was down, her presence was little needed, but as an inducement to a more speedy surrender when the enemy saw a ship whose power they knew, (for she had once been their own,) about to pour forth her additional vengeance upon them; for the fury of the Torbay alone seemed sufficient to have razed the very foundations of the Island itself.

The Commodore had brought her up with so much judgment abreast of the angles of both the West Point Battery, and Fort St. Francis, that when she was moored the enemy could not bring a gun to bear upon her from thence. Five guns only could have touched him with advantage from the whole island; that is, two from St. Peter's and the three guns on the small lunette on the hill, as you go up to St. Michael's; both which had been and were so warmly attacked by the other ships, that being by that time deserted, she had her battery to attack

with hardly any opposition. Although indeed had the contrary been the case, the fire from the Torbay was so terrible, so near, and so well aimed, that none but madmen would have stood it. That ship was in one continued blaze of fire, and that part of the island upon which she lay, was darkened with a cloud of smoke, sand, and earth, to a degree wonderful.*

The effect of this destructive cannonade was soon apparent. The enemy fled in confusion from their guns. It was in vain that M. St. Jean, the Governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honor, ordered "every man to his quarters on pain of death;" the soldiers could not be induced to return to their posts. At the same time an account was brought him that three boats had already reached the island and were landing the troops; a report not likely to be true, for no communication had as yet been had between the Commodore and the Commandant for the latter's proceeding to action, and it is certain that Worge would never have attempted to land his forces but with the concurrence of the Commodore, nor unknown to the ships whose shot was falling thick and indiscriminately on every part of the island.

The Governor, however, was induced to lower his flag, in order to gain time, and rally his men; and a small

* Lindsay.

regimental flag was seen to pass in great haste towards different quarters, while a drum was heard to beat to arms, as though preparing to oppose the landing; and his flag came down at a fortunate moment for him, as the Commodore was that instant ordering a signal for the Furnace bomb to come close under him in the Torbay, and to fire from her mortars grape shot of pound balls amongst the enemy, and a signal to Worge that the military should proceed to execution; which this step of M. St. Jean's put a stop to, much to the mortification of the soldiers, who, with their officers, were becoming exceedingly impatient of their inactive position.

On the cessation of the firing, the Commodore sent an officer and his secretary to the Governor, who, before they could land, spoke to them from the beach, and desired to know on what terms the Hon. Mr. Keppel proposed he should surrender. The officer told him he thought he had surrendered, as he had struck his colours. The Governor replied that he meant it only as a signal for parley. Upon being told that the place must surrender at discretion, he answered, that if that were the case, he was sufficiently prepared, and knew how to defend himself. He proposed that the French troops should be allowed to march out with the honors of war; which was rejected, and the officer left him with this signal,—that the Commodore would fire a gun over the

island, after which they might begin again when they pleased.

Upon this, the boat returned with all speed on board; and the Commodore, upon being informed of what had passed, fired the gun over the island, and made a signal to renew the action. The enemy fired only a few guns, when the ships poured their broadsides with redoubled fury on them; whereupon the enemy fled from their guns, struck their regimental colours, and called for quarter from every part of the island. The place was immediately taken possession of, and the British colours hoisted on the fort.*

The loss on the part of the English was about twenty killed, including one officer, the master of the Nassau. The damage to the French next to nothing; one killed only, a negro, and very few wounded, they pretended; and indeed it appeared so, to their no small discredit, in so ill supporting their brave governor.

Amongst the wounded in this action was Duncan, at that time first lieutenant of the Torbay.

During the attack, many thousand negroes lined the African shore, to behold such a scene as floating castles, subduing those they had long looked upon as invincible.

* See Grand Mag. Vol. 2., Lindsay, Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs, and the Life of Augustus Viscount Keppel, by the Hon. and Rev. Thomas Keppel.

Whilst the ships were thundering against the island their astonishment was inexpressible.

It is to be observed, that circumstances occurred to facilitate the capture of Goree. The enemy naturally supposed, that after the fall of Senegal it would be their turn next, and they had even heard of the intended expedition against them, but they had no idea of seeing their visitors before the following March; so that, although they had planned a great number of new batteries, only four or five had been made fit to obstruct an enemy, and these two on that side of the island which the squadron did not attack.

The letter which the Hon. Commodore Keppel, wrote to the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt on this occasion, gives a very modest account of this very brilliant action. Immediately on its arrival in England it was published in a London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Monday, January 29, 1759, and is as follows:—

"Torbay, in Goree Bay, Jan. 3, 1759.

"Sir,

"I arrived here with the squadron under my command the 28th of December past in the evening; and the next morning, agreeable to his Majesty's instructions, I attacked with the ships, the fort and batteries on the

island of Goree, which were soon reduced to desire to capitulate; and the Governor's demands were, to be allowed to march the French troops out of the garrison with the honors of war. His terms I absolutely rejected, and began a fresh attack; it was, however, but of very short duration, when the island, forts, garrison, &c., surrendered at discretion to his Majesty's squadron.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Worge had his troops embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, in good order and readiness, at a proper distance, with the transports, to attempt a descent, when it should be found practicable, or requisite.

"Two days after the surrender of the island, I ordered it to be delivered up, with the cannon, artillery, stores and provisions, &c., found in it, to the officer and troops Lieutenat-Colonel Worge thought fit to garrison the place with; and the Colonel is taking all imaginable pains to settle and regulate the garrison in the best manner, and as fast as things will admit of.

"The inclosed, Sir, is the state of the island, with the artillery, ammunition and provisions found in the place at its surrender.

"French, made prisoners of war, about 300.

"Blacks in arms, a great number; but how many I am not well enough informed as yet to say precisely.

" The loss the enemy sustained, as to men, is so very differently stated to me by those that have been asked, that I must defer saying the number till another opportunity.

" Iron ordnance of different bores, ninety-three ; one brass twelve pounder ;* iron swivels, mounted on carriages, eleven ; brass mortars, mounted on beds, two of thirteen inches; one of ten inches ; and one of iron, of ten inches.

" In the magazine: powder, 100 barrels, shells filled and empty, shot of different sizes, cannon cartridges filled.

" Provisions of all species for 400 men, for four months."

It has been seen that in this action the Nassau and Fougueux, were from various causes, and some not very clearly explained, tardy in getting engaged ; and some personal jealousies and mutual recrimination among the officers of those ships were the consequence; such animosity having moreover arisen partly from some observations injudiciously made upon the subject by some of the land officers on board the transports. That the troops,

* On Fort St. Francis, was found a long brass cannon of a small bore, towards the middle of which was engraved " Elizabetha Regina," and nearer the touch-hole, it had its maker's name, " Thomas Pitt made this pece, 1589." It was taken from the English by the Dutch, from the Dutch by the French, and thus from them by its original owners.—*Lindsay.*

being veterans, and used to action, may have felt the irksomeness of their inactive position, and given expression to feelings, perhaps not unprovoked by observations among the sailors,* may be readily imagined; and that they did not bear it with the patience recruits might have done would not be very surprising. But it is not to be supposed that the superior officers of the land force

* It was natural to expect that the navy would plume themselves on this occasion. The following homely but good humoured specimen from the pen of one in that force, and inserted in the *New Universal Magazine* at the time, may amuse the reader:—

" Goree Bay,
New Year's Day—1759.

" Dear Roberts,

I've stolen a moment's time to tell
That here we are—alive and well.
We made this bay last Thursday night,
And 'gan th' attack next day at eight;
By closely plying every gun,
Soon a surrender was brought on.
This work the Army had no hand in,
We did the job without their landing:
Reverse of Louisbourg, for there,
The glory was the landsmen's share;
Therefore, to bring our credit home,
The glory here was all our own;
And Keppel may with truth surprise ye,
By writing—' *Veni, vidi, vici.*'
Adieu, excuse this hasty rhyme,
I'll make amends another time.

Your's truly,
BEN. COOLEY.

P.S.—We're happy here in our Commanders.
My compliments to Jenny Saunders."

entertained the same sentiments. The expedition against Goree was essentially a naval one; the invasion of the island by a landing party was out of the question until the squadron had first silenced the batteries, whose guns would have proved certain destruction to any force attempting such descent; and it was only in the event of the garrison holding out to the last, instead of capitulating when the French run from their guns, that the troops could have been called into action. The best possible understanding and friendly feeling existed between Commodore Keppel and Colonel Worge; whose friendship continued through life, and when after the peace they were both members of the British Senate.

Great joy was evinced by the nation on the occasion of this conquest, although damped in some measure by the wreck of the Litchfield, and the transport with troops, on the coast of Barbary; and much importance was attached to the acquisition of this new territory. On the 1st of February, being a court day, there was a great appearance of nobility and gentry to compliment his Majesty on the taking of Goree.* And, among other indications, some time after, a fine bronze bust was put up at the Senegal and Goree Coffee House, in Cornhill, on which was the following inscription:—"George

* *Gentleman's Magazine.*

Dunk, Earl of Halifax,* under whose auspicious patronage the plan for conquering the French settlement of Senegal and Goree, on the coast of Africa, was happily carried into execution, in the year 1758."†

To return to the scene of action. After the surrender of the Island, signal was made to weigh, and the squadron again anchored in Goree road, about a mile off the Island.

The Commodore then proceeded to water and refresh his squadron from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings; and, by his order a public sale was opened on the Island for disposing of such of the merchandize as might be of future use to the officers and force destined to be left there in garrison.

Worge at the same time became fully occupied in making the necessary arrangements for the proper defence and government of Goree. He appointed Lieut.-Col. Newton, of Forbes battalion, to be Governor, with such portion of that force for the garrison as he considered the place required, and he thought he could spare from Senegal. These troops he proceeded to land, with the assistance of the Commodore, and settled in their quar-

* This nobleman's name was originally Montagu, and with his family the Worges had the honour to be connected, Sir Clement Worge having married the Earl's cousin, Miss Montagu, daughter of the Lord Chief Baron. Sir Clement was Solicitor General at the time the Duke of Newcastle was First Secretary of State.

† *Annual Register*, 1762.

ters with all practicable expedition ; and he was the more anxious not to waste time, as a snow had come into the roadstead from Senegal, on Sunday the 31st, bringing accounts that the garrison there was grown very thin, both on account of natural deaths and slaughter, and were at the same time in melancholy circumstances for want of provisions; these reports being confirmed a few days after by the Escorte sloop, from Senegal, and by a lady who had been driven thence overland by mere want.

On the 3rd of January the Saltash sloop was despatched to Britain with the news of the action; and on the 5th the Commodore fitted out and despatched under cartel to France, three transports, having on board the French prisoners and their baggage. By the 10th, the ships being watered, and the troops landed and in their quarters, nothing further remained to detain either Worge or the squadron at Goree ; the Commodore then stationed there, for the service of Governor Newton, the Experiment and Roman Emperor, together with one of the brigs which he had captured, and which he brought into his Majesty's service and called the Goree, placing therein his first lieutenant, with orders to act as captain, and on the 12th bade farewell to Goree ; the Governor saluting the Commodore with 15 guns, which the Torbay returned with an equal number.

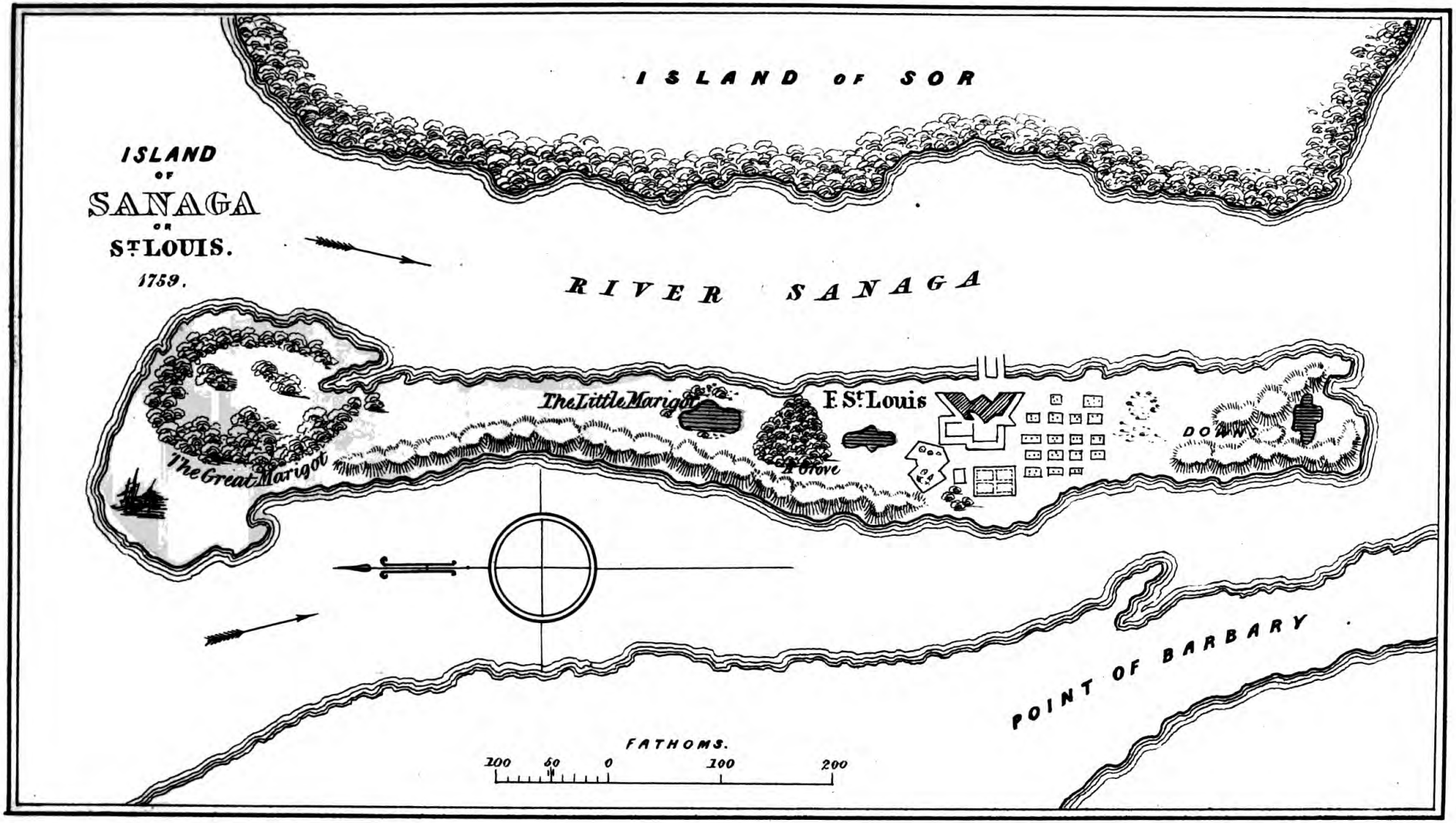
The squadron, thus reduced to 13 sail, now made the

best of its way, with the remainder of the land forces under its escort, to Senegal; and the Commodore having, in order the more speedily to beat up the passage, directed that each ship of war should take a transport in tow, on the 16th the whole armament reached the mouth of the river Senegal.

Here the squadron continued for about a week, principally engaged in conveying the troops to Fort St. Louis, and making preparations for its final departure for England; and on the 23rd, having taken leave of the new Governor and thoroughly scoured the coast of the enemy, the Commodore set sail from Senegal for Great Britain; and after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed, arrived at Portsmouth with the two-decked ships the beginning of March.

To show the importance of these conquests in a commercial point of view, it may be here observed that the Gum Senegal, with which the Dutch had for a long time supplied the English at an extravagant price, was now purchased by them to supply the French; and on the 7th of this very month, no less than 176 cwt. was entered at the custom-house on their account.

One of the first events that followed the arrival of the new Governor of Senegal was of a character as amusing as it was troublesome—the visit of Tresor Mughtard, King of Leghiboli, a considerable prince in those parts,


ISLAND OF SOR
ISLAND
OF
SANAGA
OR
St LOUIS.
1759.
RIVER SANAGA
The Little Marigot
F. St Louis
The Great Marigot
Dolphins
POINT OF BARBARY
FATHOMS.
200 60 0 100 200

who came to congratulate him. His first appearance was on the Barbary side of the river, attended by his nobles and retinue mounted on horses and camels to a very considerable number. Here he halted until the Governor should be informed of his visit. A canoe immediately pushed from the continent, bringing a messenger from the King with an interpreter; the latter of whom, accosting the party on shore in a very barbarous sort of English, asked to be carried to the Governor; and, being led to the officer of the guard, he was immediately conducted to the Colonel. Hereupon a barge was ordered round with Captains Allen and Hamilton of the Marine, to wait on his Majesty and conduct him over the river, while Major Mason waited at the river side to receive him on the island; all which, however, his Majesty thought too little a parade.

It seems it had been a custom with the French, for their Governors to go in person and conduct crowned heads into the island, and the King finding only two military officers, made a great many hesitations, and could not easily acquiesce under such a diminution of his accustomed honours. Whereupon Captain Hamilton represented to his Majesty that he was not to expect those submissions formerly paid by the French. That the French were only a company of merchants and trading men—their Governor only a private person; whereas the

English were the immediate servants of the King of Great Britain—their Governor the representative of his Majesty, and that therefore such condescensions could by no means be complied with.

After a long confabulation with his nobility on the subject, the King was prevailed upon to go on board the barge with part of his retinue, attended by the two captains; but on his arrival at the island there arose a second misunderstanding about getting out of the boat. The latter, being deeply laden, could not be brought to shore by many feet; two marines therefore jumped into the water to carry their own officers dry on shore, whither they went before the King, on purpose to assist the Major in receiving him on the island; and the interpreter gave them to understand that those marines who brought their officers on shore dry-footed, should likewise attend his Majesty for the same purpose: but Major Mason, with Captains Allen and Hamilton, being of opinion that it would be improper to treat the King in the beginning with any kind of ceremony, which they might think it too servile to continue, begged leave to acquaint his Majesty, through his interpreter, that it was not the custom of the Kings of England to be supported by any but Englishmen, and for the same reason Englishmen must not suffer themselves to become the servants of any other potentate whatever.

Upon his being set on shore the Major received him with a salute of seven guns, acquainting him that if they had diminished some of the honours which a merchant company thought it their interest to comply with, they had made up the deficiency in military honours, by the addition of five guns; for the French, it seems, only gave two. From the river side, as the King was conducted across the parade to the Fort, he was met by a company of negroes attached to the Leghiboli Moors, who danced before him in the strangest manner imaginable, until he was received into the fort by a captain's guard. The principal dancers were women, nine in number, and placed three and three abreast. The middle one of the row nearest the king, whilst she danced, stooping, spread out her garments like wings as a token of submission; and the outermost women, at the same time they danced, sung a song, in the chorus of which they were joined by the other six dancers, with certain notes, or rather screams, some treble, some tenor, some counter, some bass; and all of them at the same time clapping their hands, and throwing their bodies into many extraordinary, extravagant, and some hardly decent postures.

In this manner, arriving at the Fort, he was led up to the Governor's apartment, where was placed a great chair, with the first piece of shewy covering or furniture that came to hand thrown over it, in which Worge with much

civility seated the King. The appearance of this court was the most ludicrous imaginable. " In the first place, you must know," says Mr. Lindsay, " that the great room or hall into which the king was ushered, was no other than that which the Governor uses as a dining-room for the numerous company he is often pleased to entertain; and this accident happening at a very unfortunate time of the day, the table was already covered for his guests. However, unprovided with greater convenience, in the midst of this disorder the honest well-meaning Governor admitted his royal visitors. Let the reader now suppose to himself a tall well-made man, of a grave aspect; his beard decent; abating his colour, comely; dressed in a robe of coarse worsted gauze, broad striped in blue, and with his robe, sleeves of fine white linen loose and flowing in the manner of a surplice; his crown made of scarlet cloth stuffed apparently with griss-griss, or rather a sort of ancient diadem, encircling his temples, from the back of which hung some ornamental part of his dress, made of the before-mentioned gauze; having some portion of his arms and his hands, as well as the lower part of his thighs and legs, bare, and sandals on his feet. Next imagine this figure lolling on the arm of the chair; one leg laid on the other knee, and diverting himself by picking his teeth with a short twig picked from a tree on his way; now and then diversifying the scene a little

by whiffing from a short tobacco-pipe which one of his nobles presented him with, and which his Majesty, after wiping the end he had in his mouth, was graciously pleased to honour his principal counsellor with, in order that he might take a whiff of the same tobacco. Lastly, suppose this favourite sometimes sitting, sometimes standing, on the King's left hand, while his guiriot or chief musician, upon a seat at his right hand, during the audience thrummed most wretchedly upon a lute or instrument of the guitar kind, made of a calabash, and strung with horse-hair; besides these, the interpreter sat betwixt his Majesty and the Governor, and the rest of the nobles took their seats as they could; some of whom were armed with swords, some with muskets, and others with lances, or bows and arrows, made up this strange court."

Being thus seated, after a pause, Governor Worge, speaking to the King, hoped he saw his Majesty in good health; which being made known, the King gave a nod with his head, and the interpreter answered he was well. Soon after this his Majesty enquired if King George was well when his excellency left England; to which the Colonel replied that his Majesty was then in good health; and in return enquired after the health of the Queen of Leghiboli, which was answered as before. All which questions, with several others of the like

nature that were simple and common, were easily understood and easily answered on either side; but when they came to talk of business they were greatly perplexed on both sides.

The Arabs, or Moors, very soon came to an old and favorite scheme of theirs, namely, the destroying of Poydore, and erecting a fort at Port en Derrique, or Portendic; and the English as soon got to their more favorite and substantial topic—roast beef and plum-pudding. "But alas!" continues Mr. Lindsay, "each gave the other so little satisfaction, that I began very heartily to pity the poor Governor in his government! After a long pause he cast around a look of despair and wished he had some one could understand them. Major Mason talked a great deal, and not only as if he understood them, but also as if they understood him; though, for my own part I looked upon all we said to them, not being understood, as tending to little purpose; while it appeared to me the Governor, at least on his side, if not the Major himself, understood still less of what the Moorish interpreter said to them;" so that after a long conference they spoiled their dinners to very little purpose, and parted without coming to any agreement how his Majesty should furnish the Governor with cattle, or how the Governor should return the obligation.

Before closing the account of this scene, the following

is a description of a favorite mistress to one of these great men, who made her appearance on this occasion. She was small in stature, differing nothing in colour from the males; had her forehead concealed with one part of her head-dress, while another part covered the lower portion of her face, even to her eyes, and was sustained in that position by her nose only; for at times, she would let it fall under her chin, to regale herself with a pipe of tobacco, the smoke of which she took in at her mouth, but threw out in a surprising manner from her nostrils. Her dress was loose; but what was extremely singular, her ancles were encircled with two large clumsy rings, which made her straddle in her gait most shockingly.*

On the next day, being Sunday, the Governor had to receive a party of a very different and much more agreeable kind. There was among the negroes who inhabit the Island, a person known by the name of Mr. Charles, a man of extraordinary understanding, good education, and polite carriage, who by his knowledge, his integrity, and amiable qualities, had obtained such an ascendancy over the minds of the rest of the inhabitants, that his opinion was implicitly adopted as a law among them. After the expulsion of the French, there having been no ecclesiastic upon the Island, he converted his own house

* Grand Magazine, vol. 2; 1759.

into a chapel, of which he became himself the ordinary, officiating every Sunday before a decent and numerous congregation, of whom he might truly be stiled the king, priest, and legislator. This person, at the head of the Christian natives, which included almost the whole number, came in procession, two and two, both male and female, to pay their compliments to the Governor on his arrival; who having assured him of their obedience, begged they might be protected from any insult, and hoped they should not be forced from their houses, which had ever been their own properties, and not the French. At the same time, they presented a memorial of the above, signed by most of those who waited on him, which Mr. Charles, as their spokesman, desired might be transmitted to his Britannic Majesty. The Governor accepted their address with great satisfaction, in a very complimentary manner observed, that they were a very fine people,* and dismissing them, assured Mr. Charles that

* The men are tall, straight, and well made, and have neither thick lips nor flat noses, like the negroes in the more southern parts of Africa, and most of them are very decently dressed in the French manner. The women are in general extremely beautiful, having fine features, and being well made. Their manner and conversation is extremely polite; and in personal delicacy, without which no beauty can prevent disgust, they surpass the Europeans in the greatest degree. They bathe twice a day, and in this particular have a hearty contempt for all white people, whom they imagine must be disagreeable, the women especially; so that even the men look upon the prettiest of our women with the most frigid indifference, though some of the officers' ladies dress to great advantage, and would be thought handsome even in England.—*Lindsay.*

instead of their houses being taken from them, if from want of room in the garrison, he should be obliged to billet soldiers upon the inhabitants, they should be paid lodging-money according to their rank.

It has been already observed, that the ascertained value of the settlements on the Senegal, and the intended addition of Goree were among the grounds for sending out a more adequate garrison force, with a Governor of greater weight, experience, and discretion, than the late temporary Governor of St. Louis. A short notice of the situation in which the place with its English garrison was now to be found, in reference to its connexion with the neighbouring powers, and of the conduct of Major Mason during his brief administration there, and the differences which had unfortunately arisen between him and some of the African potentates, as well as with Mr. Cumming and others, will further show the necessity for, and opportuneness of the appointment of Colonel Worge and of his arrival at this time; while the relation may prove interesting to the reader. In justice to the Major, at the same time, it must be here observed, that barring perhaps some small lack of discretion, and the possession of rather too warm a temperament, he really seems to have managed affairs very well during his short residence at Senegal, considering the novel and peculiar position in

which he must have found himself, and the difficulties it is easy to conceive would arise out of it to him.*

Upon the north side of the Senegal, over a vast tract of land is the Desert of Sahra, on which towards the west for almost a hundred leagues into the country live those Arabs, subject to Tresor Mughtard, King of Leghiboli, and towards the east are settled the Moors of Brackna; between whose kingdoms the gum forest unluckily lying, it had become a bone of contention which kept them perpetually at variance. Mughtard, however, not contented with what he might gain by open conquest, had been planning to undermine the Brackna Moors, through the unwitting instrumentality, if he could, of the Europeans; and this he first hoped to have accomplished by means of the French, as follows.

The English having established a factory for the gum trade at Portendic, a place of good anchorage on the Barbary coast, about forty leagues north of Senegal, in the latitude of 18 degrees 5 minutes north, and a fort whither the Leghiboli Moors bring their trade, Mughtard had it in his power, on the one hand, to do great service or the contrary to the English, which the French were sensible of; on the other hand, as those Moors were

* To the Rev. Mr. Lindsay I am further indebted for much of the particulars that follow.

the only people who fed and reared cattle in large herds, it was likewise evident they could, by meeting the wants of the French garrison, or refusing to do so, also materially affect the condition of those in Fort St. Louis. Mughtard then, keeping a fair outside show with the French subjects, begged the Governor, on his part, would break with his enemies the Brackna Moors, and in consequence destroy, or evacuate, the fort at Poydore, and settle at Portendic instead, when he would on his part, of course to the injury of the English, sell his gum to the French factory only.

Had this proposition been acceded to, the Brackna Moors, who then brought their gum to a place called Le Coq, near Poydore, having then no factory amongst them to take it off their hands, would have been much discouraged in gathering it, and must either have given it up, or run the dangerous risk of coming down the Senegal, within reach of the enemy's fire for many leagues, which it would be folly to attempt; and the Leghiboli Moors would in the end, therefore, become sole masters of the gum trade, and sell it at very extravagant prices.

Not only on this latter account, but probably also, not choosing to quarrel with the English for what would be of so small a consequence to the French, their Governor could not at the time possibly think of honouring their King's request; while the refusal in the sequel became

the cause of the French being entirely routed out of Africa; for the Tresor of Leghiboli, some years prior to this period, having fallen out with the French, laid the foundation of their destruction by communicating their weakness to Mr. Cumming, at Portendic; and this gentleman, upon the late declaration of war, laid the important enterprize before the ministry; the Sultan having, as it was said, promised the aid of 700 men, together with a tender of his alliance, if such a reinforcement had been found necessary.

The British colours were no sooner hoisted on Fort St. Louis, than several congratulatory meetings ensued, in which the Leghiboli Moors very early made their favourite demand—that the English should demolish the Fort at Poydore, and give up all connexion with the Brackna Moors, which they expected of them, as the business, if not duty, of one ally to encourage another. But as that Fort commanded a communication to Fort St. Joseph, at Galam, 300 leagues above St. Louis, and our chief factory, near the gold country—as it was a market to dispose of our native manufactures for the toils of a very considerable and powerful nation—as the retaining the Fort, as well as that at Portendic, in our possession, would keep the price of gums at a moderate rate, to which end it was our business to stand well with every nation, to offend none, and to build additional forts

rather than demolish those we had—Major Mason very wisely kept them off from that point, and promising that if they would make him umpire between the Brackna and Leghiboli Moors he would endeavour to gain each of them an honourable peace, he besought them rather to live together like brethren.

In thus waiving them from the main point he however managed it in so prudent and artful a manner, that the Sede Mughtard, uncle to the King and regent of Leghiboli, expressed at his departure great satisfaction with Major Mason's behaviour.

Soon after this came the cadge, called sometimes the dauphin of Brack, a very considerable prince, son and heir of the great Brack, whose dominion was all that tract of country from the mouth of the Senegal to Poydore towards the south; and as ambassador from the the King, his father, proposed some articles in regard to trade, and chiefly horned cattle. This Prince too, was so well received, and dismissed in such good humour, that sitting down with his followers on the Moorish side of the river at a village opposite Fort St. Louis, they gave themselves wholly to jollity and mirth; drinking with many other toasts those in particular of the King of England and the Governor of Senegal. In this frolic, the brandy which the major had presented them with became too strong for their heads, and not content with quaffing

their alliance, they must next show their zeal by salutes, and as they seldom go from home without having their pieces loaded, many of them now forgetting to draw their bullets, most unthinkingly fired them into the garrison to the endangering of several of the soldiers' lives.

The Governor being informed of this, and justly alarmed by a number of rude infidels discharging loaded pieces into a fort, ordered one of his cannon to be charged with grape shot, and fired among them. Hereupon one man being killed, a second wounded, and the Prince himself narrowly escaping a ball, a second conference ensued; in which all matters being amicably adjusted, and both parties convinced that neither was to blame, the negroes once more took their leave with satisfaction. But when the report of this affair reached the ears of the King, he expressed the greatest concern for the ridiculous and shameful behaviour of his people, and received his son in a very abrupt manner.

Nothwithstanding, however, these fair approaches, whether from any real dislike to the politic delays of Governor Mason with respect to the petition concerning Poydore on the side of the Tresor of Leghiboli, or any secret grudge lurking, from the late mistake, in the heart of the Brack, or whatever other causes, although both had promised to return the Governor's civilities and presents, with cattle, provisions, and other commodities

much wanted in the Island, neither of them had had the honour or grace to keep his word in the smallest degree.

"From this source," says Mr. Lindsay, from whose work these particulars are taken, "together with some misunderstanding between Governor Mason and Mr. Cumming, in some points relating to trade, as well as some differences between the Major and Captain Rook, the well-wishers of each party had repeated things as their friendships led them, little to either of their satisfaction, and with regard to the Governor's conduct on the Island of Senegal, not much to his honour."

It had been said by the Major's enemies that the Princess Pinetica (daughter to a former and niece to the then King of Brack, a lady who had a sort of palace on the Island, attended by many slaves, and in whose interest all the inhabitants of the Island professed themselves,) had been grossly abused, and without the least provocation, by Major Mason, in the character of Governor; and that he had thereby alienated from our interest those we ought to cherish. The same reverend writer then states the particulars of the affair, which are as follows:—

The Princess, it seems, had a negro slave, extremely handy about a kitchen, and who used to be an assistant to the Sieur Brue, the late French Governor, in that capacity; and this man had been also hired by the Major,

at the rate of nine livres per month. A considerable time after, the Major, taking notice of the usefulness of the fellow, spoke much in his praise, and in the course of conversation unguardedly talked of having the man more about him, which gave some busy person the opportunity of making mischief. For the Princess, naturally high spirited, proud, and hasty, hearing a distorted version of the Major's speech, and imagining he meant to deprive her of her property in her slave, with an air of superiority, ordered her slave to her palace.

The Governor on his part, in his temper as hasty, hearing of her behaviour in an aggravated manner, was in turn offended. He would immediately have discharged the negro from his service, but that he had never yet had an interview with the Princess on his account, and the person from whom he hired him as agent to the lady was not then on the Island. He met her Highness, however, by chance, drinking tea with Major Maul's lady, when, her manner clashing with his passion, he forgot himself so far as to use her with more harshness than she expected, more perhaps than a woman of her pride could bear without resenting it.

This trifling affair made a very sensible impression on many of the negro inhabitants, who came in a body to condole with her on the occasion; and although the Major, in his cooler moments, might be sorry he had carried

the matter so far, on account of her sex more than her royalty, yet as she had, in the character of wife to M. St. Jean, then Governor of Goree, behaved herself in a most indiscreet manner all along, he thought himself warranted in what he did; and to put it out of her power to be the occasion of any further disturbance, he ordered her forthwith to quit the Island; an order which was, however, through the intercession of parties, recalled, and the princess brought to confess her fault and beg his pardon. And, Mr. Lindsay proceeds to observe, she could in no ways have expected, but from her sex only, to have been treated from the very beginning in the polite manner she had been, with the above exception. She was the wife of M. St. Jean, Governor of Goree; at that very time she was in constant correspondence with him, and buoyed up the spirits of her dependants in hopes her husband (or rather gallant) would be able to defend Goree against the English, and that in a short time the French, with a double force, would return to their possession at Senegal again. By these means even the negroes on the continent were greatly deterred from serving the Governor and his people, and kept the markets so poorly supplied, that at the time of the arrival of the squadron, with Worge and his reinforcements, they themselves, as well as the English, were brought to so low an ebb that one of their ladies had left the Island for want of bread.

But to this incident, trifling in its nature, must be added another more melancholy in its effects. On the 28th of July, a fresh recruit of troops arriving from England, one of their boats in passing the bar was cast away; but being on the south channel, some of the soldiers getting to shore, saved their arms and accoutrements, with which they were about to proceed to the Island, when, alarmed at the approach of a body of negroes, they threw them down, and took to their heels. Upon learning this, the Governor next day sent messengers to the adjacent towns, demanding nine stand of arms, the property of his master, the King of Great Britain, left on their beach by ignorant soldiers, just escaping from shipwreck and frightened at the sudden approach of the natives, who must themselves have been sensible that the same could not be deemed a wreck, or abandoned, unless they could justify the putting men unfairly to the rout that they might seize upon their effects; and he begged they would return them without giving him the trouble of using military force.

In the meantime, the Major, to secure the rest of the troops, while disembarking, against a like misfortune, sent a party of fifty marines down the river, under the command of Captain Rook, with orders to encamp on the beach, having an armed sloop riding at anchor on the right, and the wreck of another lying high on the shore on the left, which would serve them as redoubts in

case of need; but to be careful of resorting to force unless driven to it. These marines, however, landing in the evening, imprudently marched towards a negro town a considerable distance from the sea, and there encamped; when the negroes, alarmed at having a body of soldiers so near, marched upon them in the night, and while the men were asleep, and their arms in the bell-tents, stormed the camp and put several of them to the sword. Recovering themselves a little, they did what they could to sell their lives at the dearest rate; and making great havoc among the enemy, with the loss of Lieutenant Wilkinson and twenty privates, Captain Rook and Lieutenant Cooper brought the other thirty men from the slaughter, and got them safely on board the boats. But Captain Rook, not contented with what he had suffered himself or inflicted on the enemy, jumped on shore with his musket and fixed bayonet; when, having killed three or four of their chiefs, exasperated the negroes, and received several wounds, he was obliged at last to throw himself into the water, where the enemy pursuing him with their hand-darts, spears, and assagays, faint with fatigue and loss of blood he was unable to support himself longer, and sinking down was carried away with the stream; while Lieutenant Cooper, stepping from the boat to his assistance, received a very dangerous wound

in the thigh, with which he lingered for some months, and then expired.

To this encounter did some impute great part of the shyness which at that time reigned between the negro villages adjacent and our garrison at Senegal; yet with what degree of truth may be questioned, since when the Governor on the occasion sent to Bourba Jaloffe, King of Domell, the latter declared, with grief, he was entirely ignorant of these misfortunes, and was with difficulty prevailed on to spare the necks of some of his principal officers who began the storm.

Upon the whole the Major appears to have been more sinned against than sinning, and to have steered his course, attended with no few difficulties and troubles for so short a period, with considerable tact and management. The Reverend Mr. Lindsay essays his defence with great earnestness and generosity; and that as well in speaking from his own knowledge, as by adducing the testimony of others in Mason's favor and concluding with that of his successor in the Government. "On my personal knowledge," says Mr. Lindsay, "the Princess Pinetica, who of all others had least reason to love the Major, declared it gave her no sort of pleasure to learn that he had lost his command; and with respect to the generality of the island I was well assured it gave them

no small uneasiness when told a new Governor was appointed. I might also mention the satisfaction the Honorable Augustus Keppel received on enquiring into the Major's conduct, and how soon he became sensible of the great use that gentleman had been of to this infant settlement. But to detain the reader as little as possible let me sum up by repeating a private speech of a very honest man, in the Major's favor; I mean the present Governor Worge, in whose goodness I hope for forgiveness in thus publishing what his modesty might wish to be concealed. 'I have been told strange stories (said he) of Major Mason; and have plentifully been urged to believe them; but I very early began to form some idea of the fatigues through which he has struggled; and am not a little surprised to think he has been able to conduct himself to the satisfaction of almost any, or near so well as he has. It has been represented to me as a grievance, that the Major by giving too many presents has rendered the negroes saucy and hurt trade. For my own part, instead of finding fault with that, I shall endeavour to outdo him in his generosity. I have laid out a considerable sum in such traffics as I am told will suit the country, and if it is in my power they shall ask nothing I shall not with an equal pleasure give. I am sent here to consult what may be for the good of my country, and of this garrison; and shall not suffer myself to think of what

may be to my own private gain, or the profits of individuals, while anything can be done for Britain. I will grant that such a behaviour may make the negroes saucy, and not a little affect private trade; but all that, if we shall at the conclusion of the war retain this conquest in our possession, may be easily remedied; while, on the contrary, should this acquisition be restored to the enemy, our generosity will prove a thorn in the side of the French merchants not to be plucked for an age.' "

The character and rude habits of the people inhabiting these coasts, have been incidentally given in the course of these pages, and among other things, a specimen of their style of dancing. Their musical instruments are represented as few, and of very primitive form and manufacture. Of their poetry, Mr. Lindsay professed himself no judge from their language; but gives a specimen of it in broken English, such as he heard at Goree, being a sort of song with which they used to flatter the English, after the surrendry of that Island. Thus,

" Frenchman a Goree
Go, pop— pop— pop— pop—
England a come! England a come!
Pop, pop, pop! Pop, pop, pop! Pop, pop, pop! Pop!"

In singing which, with a scornful sneer they drawled out the words *pop* on the French side, but on the part of the English with cheerfulness and vivacity, intimating

thereby, the great difference between the quickness of firing on board the English ships and the batteries on shore.

The country of Senegambia is far from uninviting. After crossing the bar, the Senegal becomes a beautiful, smooth, and gently-gliding river, at four fathoms depth. In advancing three miles higher, the country on the south side is clothed with a beautiful verdure, the trees in perpetual bloom, than which nothing can form a more agreeable contrast to the dry, sandy, and barren points of land that first present themselves to the shipping. All around it lie a great number of islands pleasantly stocked with trees, fruits, herbage, and birds, but appropriated to no use, except the island of Senegal.

Many parts of the continent, beside the gum forests, are covered with numberless trees, shrubs, plants, and roots; the palm of various species, the calabash, and pappau, and a very stately tree which at the root is six or seven feet in diameter, and rises tapering to the height of about twelve feet, where the diameter is diminished to four or five, and from thence it branches out into a great breadth and height, bearing a broad leaf shaped something like a maple, and a fruit which the natives call monkeys' bread, though it is often eaten by the negroes. This fruit is about twelve inches long, and four or five inches in diameter in the middle, whence it tapers off on each side to a point, in shape resembling a

grain of barley; it has a hard thick skin, like a shell, covered with a coarse green down, like velvet; the pulp within is not unlike a fine white sugar cake, intermixed with a great number of seeds, that somewhat resemble those of the tamarind, and there is an agreeable tartness in the taste. There is also another remarkable tree, which is of nearly the same size and figure, but bearing a different fruit. The fruit of this tree is from one to two feet in length, about five inches in diameter in the middle, and shaped like a melon; it is also covered with a green skin like that of a melon, and is also, like that, full of seeds of a yellowish white. The substance of the fruit itself is of a greenish white, and somewhat firmer than a melon. The manner in which this fruit grows is very singular, for it hangs from the branches of the trees by strings about half an inch in diameter, and from twelve to twenty and thirty feet long. The common products of the country are millet or maize, the Indian corn, the banana or plantain, the kidney-bean of various kinds, the pine apple, the cocoa-nut, the guava tree, the lime and lemon trees, citrons, dates, tamarinds, yams, melons, honey, and palm wines in great variety. There is also a great variety of herbs; but the negroes who have no notion of salad, neglect them, and the Europeans have been too indolent to examine which are wholesome, and which are noxious.

Among other plants which the Governor, Worge, afterwards brought with him to England from this settlement, was the strawberry commonly called the white-fruited Carolina, but more correctly the Chili Strawberry, *Fragaria Chiloensis*, of which it is a variety. It appears originally to have been brought from Chili to France by M. Frezier, about the year 1712, and thence found its way into various European gardens, and doubtless to Senegal and other French settlements. The red variety was in England many years before, and is said to have flowered in a garden at Eltham, in 1730. Except in colour, the two varieties are very similar, but the red is at this day the more favourite plant;* for although the

* The red Chili is thus described in *Rees' Encyclopædia*:—"Native of Chili, where it is called by the Spaniards *Fruitilla*, or little fruit. It was brought from that country to France in 1712 or 1716, by M. Frezier, and thence found its way into various European gardens. It flowered in that of Eltham in 1730, where Dillenius made his description, and very accurate figure, in which the peculiar direction of the pubescence, affording a certain specific distinction, is faithfully expressed, as well as the true shape of the serratures of the leaves. This strawberry is now one of the most common, immediately succeeding the scarlet at our tables, and known by the name of Carolina strawberry, rather than by its true appellation. Some gardeners have attempted to transfer the name of Hautboy to the present, that the true Hautboy, being less profitable, might become obsolete, and be forgotten. The Chili strawberry is as large in all its parts as any other kind, and rather larger in its stalks and blossoms. The leaves are of moderate dimensions, but firm, and somewhat rigid, veiny, almost smooth above, paler and very hairy beneath. Their serratures are broader, shorter, and more rounded than in any other species, so that they might almost be called crenate. The copious hairs of their footstalks are all directed strongly downwards. The calyx is closed after flowering, and embraces the ripe fruit, which is large, ovate, often compressed and abrupt, of a scarlet rather than crimson hue, studded with innumerable seeds, its inside spongy toward the

white, when cultivated in a very strong land, produces plenty of firm well-flavoured fruit, yet it is a bad bearer in many places, and has lately been less cultivated than formerly; while the neglect to cherish it where it has been permitted, so to speak, still to vegetate in many old gardens has by no means tended to improve its character. It is yet very general in the gardens of Sussex, and is still, or was until recently, to be found in that attached to the mansion of the late George Worge (brother to the Governor), at Battle.

The sea close upon the line of coast abounds with crabs, lobsters, mullet, soles, and a variety of fish, some remarkably good and some surprisingly beautiful. Amongst others is the rock cod; it has a large eye, protruding beyond the surface of the head full three-quarters of an inch; its colour is a dark brown mixed with red. There is also the king-fish, the bas, some of which weigh seventy pounds, the turtle, and the cavally, which is extremely beautiful, being without scales, of a silver white, with a blue tinge on the back that grows regularly deeper towards the head; the silver fish, which is of the same breadth as length, flat and thin; it has a beautiful

middle, and usually white. The flavour gratefully acid, with rather less of perfume than the other kinds. Frezier says the fruit is sometimes, in Chili, as big as a hen's egg. It is remarkable that this kind was so scarce in France when Duchesne published his book in 1766, though introduced fifty years before, that he tells us that he had tasted only a very imperfect and abortive one."

white scale, the back is finely coloured with a mixture of blue and green, and it is marked with five belts of a beautiful black. The bream, of a bright scarlet, with blue spots on the side of its head, and red eyes, and many others. There are also sharks and baracuttas in abundance. The crocodile and hippopotamus are often seen on the banks of the river, and ostriches and camelions are to be found here. The country abounds with lions, wolves, tigers, elephants, and other wild beasts.

In the month of August following its arrival at Goree and St. Louis, the battalion that went out under Worge, together with the troops previously at Senegal, consisting of draughts from various regiments, was formed into the 86th Foot, or Worge's regiment (for down to this period the regiments were more usually known and distinguished by the names of their colonels than by their numbers), and Worge was promoted Colonel Commandant of the same; Newton being at the same time promoted to be Lieut.-Colonel, and James Money, Esq. Major of the same; Newton was continued Governor of Goree, and Lieutenant John Cotterell was made Fort Major.

Very little occurred now at these settlements during this and the following years that would interest the reader. During the possession of them by Great Britain, the forces maintained there, both military and naval, were

amply sufficient for their defence against French aggression, and all attempts at re-capture; and the best efforts of the local authorities there were directed to the protection and relief of the British trading to these parts, as well as to the cultivation of terms of friendship and reciprocal dealings between the native people of this part of Africa and the English nation; the improving the old, and making new connexions, as well as rendering more permanent our relations in the way of trade and commerce with the whole line of country, whatever might ultimately become of the particular Islands of St. Louis and Goree.

Several disasters befel Goree while in possession of the English. On the 14th of March, 1761, a fire happened, which consumed in a few hours the whole town (except three houses), together with the quarters of some of the officers. The inhabitants suffered greatly, says the letter of a surgeon to the forces at Goree, who bitterly regrets the destruction of his instruments and medicines as a public loss, not retrievable in that country before the sickly season which was then approaching. It seems there had been a good supply sent out for both garrisons, but unfortunately the vessel was cut from Senegal bar by a French frigate.*

Again in 1763, early in the afternoon of October the

* Annual Register, vol. 4.

15th, " while we were sitting at dinner at the Governor's house about twelve in number," says one of the party, " the magazine of Fort Elizabeth, containing 8000 pounds of powder, unfortunately blew up. The Governor's house was not above twenty yards from it, but providentially none of us were hurt, although most parts of the house tumbled about us. The clergyman, who was sitting in my room, which was not five yards from it, was killed, as were also two sentinels standing at the Governor's door. The Negroe Town took fire, and was consumed."*

The principal officers in subordinate command both at Senegal and Goree, had continued much the same, excepting the following changes.

In 1762, the Colonel appointed Captain Doyley Bromfield, his Fort Major at St. Louis; and Major Thomas Maule was appointed Governor of Goree, in the absence apparently of Lieut.-Colonel Newton. In the year following, Lieutenant John Atkinson became Fort Major at Senegal, and the Honourable Lucius F. Cary succeeded Maule as Governor of Goree.

On the 19th of February, 1762, Worge was promoted to be Colonel in the army, and of the 86th Foot, and gazetted accordingly.†

* Annual Register, vol. 6. † London Gazette, March 13, 1762.

At length the unparalleled successes of the British arms both by sea and land, in all quarters of the world, rendered France and Spain naturally desirous of peace; France in particular was so disposed, for that politic court hoped then to recover in the cabinet what it had lost in the field. Accordingly, "in the midst of our splendid conquests," says Russell,* "to the surprise of all Europe, and the indignant astonishment of every honest Englishman, a negociation with the Bourbon Courts had been agreed to by the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty. And before the event of the expedition against Manilla was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, which have generally been considered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depression of France or Spain." It is certain the people of England never forgave the Minister for thus checking the career of their conquests; for they had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope from a continuance of hostilities.

By the definitive articles of this treaty, which were signed at Paris, in February, 1763, considerable changes were made in regard to the African settlements.† It

* History of Modern Europe.

† The first proposal of the French Minister was, "that the two crowns should remain in possession of what they had conquered from each other."

was agreed that " his Britannic Majesty should restore to France the Island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered; and his most Christian Majesty ceded in full right, and guaranteed to the King of Great Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Louis, Podor, and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal."

By these regulations, the trade on this river and the adjacent coast appears to have been divided between the two nations. The English were most advantageously situated for the trade in time of peace, and the French for carrying away the whole of it in time of war. But the abandonment of Goree in this manner was very inconsistent with the motives assigned but four or five years previous, for undertaking the reduction of that fortress.

It had been considered that the settlement at Senegal would ever be with difficulty retained by England, with the commanding Island of Goree in the possession of

And when the negociations were resumed, the French consented to give up both Senegal and Goree, provided Anamabo and Acra were guaranteed to them. Yet Mr. Pitt would not agree to these very moderate and very desirable terms, while Goree was after all abandoned to them. When the Parliament met, the censurers of the peace complained bitterly and justly that it had been surrendered without the least apparent necessity; while the advocates of the peace thought the rock of Goree of very little consequence, so long as Great Britain retained (which, however, she did not many years after the loss of Goree) possession of Senegal, which gave her the command of the chief trade of the interior parts of the country.

the French; and so experience proved, for in our very next war with that people it was taken from us; while in the intervening period we had often cause to complain of their encroaching propensities. Indeed the French had scarcely been a year in possession of Goree again before a memorial was presented by the Earl of Hertford to the French Court, setting forth the illegal proceedings of the Governor of that Island, in attempting to establish a settlement near the river Gambia; and that Court found it necessary to declare its disapprobation of his proceedings; and recalled him to give an account of his irregular behaviour.*

Immediately after the peace, by an Act of Parliament, 4, George III, c. 20, Fort Senegal and all its dependencies were vested in the Committee of Merchants trading to Africa. The Colonel hereupon ceasing to be Governor, returned to England, and a considerable reduction of the British forces taking place, Worge's regiment was one of the reduced.

By an Act of next year, 5, George III, c. 44, Senegal and all its dependencies were again, as well as the whole coast from the Fort Sallee in South Barbary to Cape Rouge, exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company and vested in the Crown.

* Annual Register, 1764.

In the course of 1765 advices reached England, that the traders who used to pay half in goods and half in money, paid only in merchandize; no slaves were to be bought at the lower end of the river; many of our men had been killed in wars with the Moors; and the settlement of Podore was ruined and abandoned.

Worge, who was now on the half-pay list, was hereupon again appointed Governor of Senegal, and all the settlements on that coast. He did not, however, return thither, or, at all events, long remain there, for in January, 1766, being then resident in Bedford Row, London, he was married, at St. Andrew's church, Holborn, to Miss Jane Bowman, a lady of good family from near Ormskirk, in Lancashire; and in March, 1769, was born their only child, Mary, and baptised at the same parish church.

Upon the general election in the spring of 1768, Colonel Worge was returned Member of Parliament for Stockbridge, in Hampshire, together with Richard Fuller, a London banker, of the same political principles as his own. These principles were essentially Whig; and during the few years of his life which he passed in Parliament he ever adhered to those sentiments he had held through life. In his votes and conduct on all occasions independent, he sided with the Whigs, if, in those equivocal party days, the minority might be so called, in

their constitutional and popular struggles as they arose; and, in particular, he will be found voting in company with the illustrious Keppel and others, against the arbitrary proceedings of the majority upon the Middlesex elections. This was the celebrated Parliament commonly called "The unreported Parliament."*

The elections had been signalised, above all others, by an uncommon animosity of contest, and by the immense sums expended; and the acts of the majority of the House so elected, did any thing but reflect credit on the Commons of that day, or the Ministry at its head. They had the effect of elevating that ephemeral patriot, Wilkes, to a degree of importance he would not otherwise have attained; and they called forth the powerful and sarcastic, but very indiscriminately wielded pen of *Junius*.

Among the important Acts passed while Colonel Worge sat in Parliament, may be mentioned Mr. Grenville's important Act for the better settlement of contested elections in 1770; and in the session following, the Act of 11, George III., cap. 55, passed, in consequence of acts of gross venality, to disfranchise a large portion of the freemen of the Borough of Shoreham, in

* The debates of which, in the House of Commons, are in course of publication at this time, from the manuscript notes of the late Right Honourable Sir Henry Cavendish, Baronet.

Sussex, and extending the right of election to all the freeholders of the Rape of Bramber. It was in this Parliament also that the Colonel's nephew obtained, through his uncle's instrumentality, his private Act of 8, Geo. III, cap. 29, authorising him to take the name of Worge instead of Jenner, pursuant to his uncle George Worge's will.

In April, 1770, Worge was raised to the rank of Major-General in the army.

During the recess of 1771 died the Earl of Halifax. His connexion with the conquest of the African settlements has been already noticed. He was one of the few Whigs who enjoyed Court favour in this reign. Worge had previously lost his best friend and patron, by the death of the Duke of Cumberland, in 1763; and his earliest friend in that of the Duke of Newcastle three years after.

The Parliament re-assembled the latter end of January, 1772, but Worge took little part in the business transacted, and finding his health rather on the decline he determined to relinquish his seat in Parliament. Accordingly in the course of the Session he was made Steward of the three Chiltern Hundreds; and on the 20th of April a new writ was ordered for Stockbridge.

Had he continued in Parliament during the discussions upon America which now ensued, there can be little

doubt he would have been found in the ranks of those who strongly condemned the course of policy, which caused our Colonies eventually to throw off their allegiance to the mother country.

Relieved now of his attendance in Parliament, the General took up his residence in the healthful village of Hampstead, as affording him the advantages of country air, and at the same time, of ready access to London and his numerous circle of friends there. He continued to live here until a short time before his decease, when he returned to his town house, then in Berners-street, where he died on the 4th of May, 1774.

General Worge made his will in the year preceding that in which he died, and by that gave his estates in Sussex and Middlesex to his infant daughter and only child, Mary. Between himself and his younger brother, Lieut.-colonel John, the greatest affection had always existed, and as the latter had not died in the like affluent circumstances with himself, the General did not now forget his niece, Jane, the only surviving child of John Worge, in whose favour for her life he charged his estates with an annuity. His surviving relatives in Sussex needed not his aid. They were at this time his sisters, Mary Worge and Jane Jenner, both enjoying the family property at Eastbourne; Thomas, the son of the latter, who with the name had now succeeded also to the property of his uncle,

George Worge, at Battle, and his two sisters. The executors were, the General's widow, Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson Baronet, then member for Sussex, and as well a Sussex and Eastbourne man as the particular friend and brother soldier of Worge, and John Barns, of London, merchant.

He was buried without parade, and a very modest tablet only commemorates him, consisting of a slab of white marble, affixed to the north wall of the great chancel of Eastbourne Church, (where the family burial-place then was,) and bearing the following inscription:—

"To the Memory of
MAJOR-GENERAL WORGE,
who departed this life
the fourth day of May, 1774,
aged 69 years."*

The General's widow died in the year 1806, and 65th of her age, at Great Oakley, in Northamptonshire, the seat of the late Sir Richard De Capell Broke, Baronet, who in 1788, married their only daughter, the Lady De Capell Broke now living, and mother to Sir Arthur, the late High Sheriff of that County.

In the death of Worge the British army lost a brave soldier, and a skilful officer. As he had lived respected,

* It should be "aged 67 years;" he was born in 1707.

so he died sincerely regretted by all who knew him. While it is true that he numbered among his friends some possessing the first weight with the Government and influence in the army, it is equally true, that to his own merit and his arduous and untiring discharge of the duties of his profession alone, was he indebted for every promotion he attained in the service. Nor would he on the reduction of the 86th Regiment, have gone unprovided with other command and promotion, but for the known partiality of George III. to the Guards, and neglect of the marching regiments (a circumstance which did not escape the celebrated pen of *Junius*), and for the practice likewise with that Monarch, of giving all command as much as possible to the aristocracy only, which he did to a degree highly subversive of discipline and efficiency in the army and navy, and with which he was honestly taxed by the gallant Earl St. Vincent.

CHAPTER III.

A SHORT history of the settlements in Senegambia from the time of Worge to the present day, and of the principal occurrences and matters affecting the same, will conclude these pages; and prove, it is hoped, neither foreign to our subject nor uninteresting to the reader.

In the year 1767 there was a great mortality among the troops in garrison at Senegal; out of 300 men scarce ninety remained when the accounts were sent to England, and there prevailed at the same time a great scarcity of provisions.*

In the next year the following account is given by an officer, in a letter dated from James Fort in Senegambia, May 19th. "I take this opportunity by a ship bound to the West Indies to inform you of my arrival at Senegal. The Honourable Governor O'Hara ordered me with a

* Annual Register.

detachment to relieve James Fort in the river Gambia; and at my arrival there found the Lieutenant Governor and the garrison in the greatest distress, being then five days without water, as no water is to be had on the island, it being all supplied from the main continent, and now being at war with the King of Baragh and that whole country, this garrison is greatly distressed, having all the vessels that supplied us taken, and numbers of our people made prisoners. The Lieutenant Governor ordered me and the troops under my command, on the following expedition;—to attack a principal town belonging to the enemy; and having landed them before daylight on 23rd April, St. George's day, every man having a St. George's cross in his hat, we surrounded the town, but were rather too soon, being discovered by the outguards and the barking of dogs; but to complete my design and my orders, immediately began the attack, when a smart engagement and a warm fire ensued.

"In less than an hour I was master of the place, burnt the town to ashes, destroyed everything that I could in that time come at, killed a number, made many prisoners, and embarked the troops and prisoners with little or no loss. The prisoners are all here, among whom is the Queen of Baragh, who had been on a visit in this place, it being like Bath in England, where the better sort of people come for the benefit of their health. Her Majesty

was so unfortunate as to have three of her fingers torn off by one of our hand-grenades. I have taken all the care in my power of her, also the Governor, and she is now attended by our surgeons."*

From the year 1767 to the year 1783, both inclusive, various sums were voted by Parliament for the civil establishment of the government of Senegambia, on that part of the coast of Africa situate between the port of Salle, in South Barbary, and Cape Rouge; and also for repairing and maintaining the British forts and settlements on the African coast.

In 1777 letters from Brest mentioned that a ship arrived there, bringing an account of an earthquake having lately happened at Goree, the principal French settlement on the coast of Africa, which had done considerable damage to the place and choked up the harbour so much as to render it dangerous for shipping to enter therein.†

In 1778, England and France were again at war with each other.

Strengthened by the accession of Spain, France opened the year 1779, by a successful expedition to the coast of Africa. The squadron employed upon this service, was commanded by the Marquis de Vau-

* Annual Register.
† Annual Register, vol. 20, p. 203.

drevil; and a land force much greater than was necessary (but both taking Africa only in their way to reinforce D'Estaing in the West Indies), was commanded by the Duc de Lauzun. As the garrisons were totally incapable of making any resistance, the British forts, settlements, factories, and property at Senegal, in the river Gambia, and other parts of that coast, fell without trouble about the beginning of February, into the hands of the enemy.

The French upon this occasion abandoned the Island of Goree, which they had recovered by the late peace; and transported the artillery and garrison to strengthen Senegal. Sir Edward Hughes soon after, on his passage to the East Indies, seized and garrisoned Goree; and as he had a body of troops on board the squadron, it was eagerly expected and hoped by the public at home, that he would have recovered those settlements which we had so newly lost. But as no attempt of that sort was made, it was concluded that officer's orders did not extend so far; and that it was of more importance that he should not risk upon that experiment the much greater objects which were then in view.*

It was in the course of the few years that Goree again remained a British possession, that Colonel Wall became

* Annual Register, vol. 23, p. 11.

Governor of it, and committed the crime for which many years after he suffered the extreme penalty of the law at Newgate. This officer, in 1762, fought with great bravery and effect at the reduction of the Havannah. In 1782 he was raised to the rank of Field Officer, and made Governor of this Island.

At this period, flogging in the British army was, as it has too long since continued to be, the horrid plague-spot in its discipline; a mode of correction, or rather torture, which good officers were loth to have recourse to, and bad ones as ready to abuse; and one which in the hands of Governor Wall was attended with fatal consequences at the time to his victim, and afterwards cost the other his life also. It was observed by *Junius*, about this epoch, that the private men in the foot regiments had four-pence a day to subsist on, and 500 lashes if they deserted; and that under such punishment they frequently expired. In this instance, Wall, while at Goree, had treated sergeant Benjamin Armstrong with the greatest cruelty, and had inflicted on him 800 lashes, under which he expired. The matter slept for a great number of years, when the charge of murder was revived against him, and so urgently, that he himself, probably not anticipating so fatal a result from the staleness of the charge, thought proper to demand a trial. He was accordingly tried in January, 1802, convicted of murder, and exe-

cuted; the King positively refusing to extend the royal clemency to him.*

By the year 1782, circumstances had occurred which rendered the belligerent powers desirous of peace. Accordingly, negociations had been opened; in January, 1783, preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, were signed at Versailles, and the definitive treaty was ratified on the 3rd of September following.

By this treaty, Article 9, the King of Great Britain ceded in full right, and guaranteed to His Most Christian Majesty, the river Senegal and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic; and His Britannic Majesty restored to France the island of Goree, to be delivered up in the condition it was in when the conquest of it was made.

* The following curious statement appears among military anecdotes by Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkie, in a late number of the *United Service Magazine*, and which may have given rise to a report which those who lived at such period may remember was very prevalent at that time—that, in fact, Governor Wall was not the person really hanged:—The execution of Governor Wall, for having flogged a soldier to death, will be recollected. There was at that time, in London, a Major Foster, of the 1st West India Regiment, who perfectly resembled the Governor in remarkable stature, gait, and feature; he was present at the trial, and was obliged to confess to himself that he saw before him an *alter ego*. The day after the execution the Major dressed himself exactly as he heard the deceased culprit had appeared on the melancholy occasion, and took a walk in the neighbourhood of Newgate, to the great terror of all those who saw him and had been present at the execution. I recollect well (continues Lieut.-Colonel Wilkie) a caricature, which is, I dare say, to be found among collections of that nature, representing a fish-woman dropping her basket at the apparition; and the title of it was "Governor Wall's Ghost."

By Article 10. The Most Christian King, on his part, guaranteed to the King of Great Britain the possession of Fort James and of the river Gambia.

By Article 11. For preventing all discussion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties should, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name Commissioners, who should be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions.

As to the gum trade, the English should have the liberty of carrying it on from the mouth of the river St. John to the bay and fort of Portendic inclusively, provided that they should not form any permanent settlement of what nature soever in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

By Article 12. As to the residue of the coast of Africa, the English and French subjects should continue to resort thereto according to the usage which had hitherto prevailed.

After the date of this treaty, and agreeably to the terms of it, the settlements in this part of the world continued about the same until the period of the French revolutionary war; when, in the year 1800, Sir Charles Hamilton making his appearance with a small squadron near Goree, the Governor thought proper to surrender; and a British garrison took immediate possession of the

forts, and of Joul, a dependent factory. The garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

In 1804, the first military operation of any consequence which occurred, was the re-capture of the settlement of Goree, by a small French force, under the command of the Chev. Mahè, which effected a landing on the rocks to the east side of the town, where the surf raged with the least violence, on the morning of the 18th of January; and having overcome the small force which Colonel Fraser, the commandant, had posted there, succeeded in penetrating through the town, and in surprising the main guard, of which he gained possession, though with some loss; and in the course of the day reduced Colonel Fraser to the necessity of capitulating, the force of the English being reduced to twenty-five white men, and that of the enemy being considerably augmented by the landing of the whole strength of the expedition, which had been fitted out at Cayenne for this purpose.

This conquest did not, however, long remain in the hands of the enemy. On the 7th of March following, Captain Dixon, of his Majesty's frigate, *Inconstant*, with a store ship and some sloops under his command, having arrived off the island, and suspecting the settlement to be in the hands of the enemy, despatched his first Lieutenant to ascertain the fact; who not returning nor

making the signal agreed upon, Captain Dixon commenced hostilities by cutting out a ship in the harbour, and stationing his small force in such a position as to cut off all succours from Senegal. On the following morning, as he was preparing to attack the town, he was agreeably surprised to see the English colours hoisted over the French, and shortly after received information that the garrison had capitulated to the officer sent on shore. He consequently stood into the harbour, anchored, and disembarked a sufficient number of troops to secure his conquest.

Thus was the settlement taken again and 300 black and white troops made prisoners, without a blow being struck.

It was upon this opportunity that Mungo Park arrived at Goree, in 1805, commissioned by the British Government to proceed up the rivers Gambia and Senegal, and ascertain the course of the river Niger. Here he enlisted from the garrison thirty-five soldiers of the Royal African corps with Lieutenant Martyn of the same to accompany him on the expedition; rejecting the services of several military and naval officers who volunteered to accompany him, as indeed all the garrison were willing to do upon the terms offered by Major Lloyd, the commandant, on the part of the Government, while no inducement would prevail on a single negro at Goree to go with him in his fatal expedition.

In 1809 the settlement of Senegal followed the fate of Goree. It was attacked by Major Maxwell, commanding the Royal African corps, with a detachment of the garrison of Goree, consisting of six officers, six sergeants, four drummers, and 150 rank and file, and assisted by Captain Columbine, of the Soleby frigate, and a body of seamen and marines. The isle of St. Louis and its dependencies hereupon surrendered to the possession of Great Britain.

Upon the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, these settlements were, by the treaty of Paris in 1816, restored to them by the English nation.

In this year, Mr. Hutton* visited Senegal, and the following account is given by him of the state of the settlement at that time:—"The island of Senegal, or St. Louis, lies in latitude 16 deg. 3 min. north, and longitude 16 deg. 10 min. west, is well situated for trade, being only three weeks' sail from England, and has many mercantile advantages, the most essential of which is its noble and commanding river, being navigable for small vessels, which may cross the bar, and load and unload close to the warehouses of the merchants, without the trouble and expence of boats or canoes. This river is about half a mile broad, and extends nearly north and

* Voyage to Africa, by William Hutton, 1821.

south from its mouth for about seventy miles, when it takes an easterly direction. Its source has lately been determined by M. Mollien to be between the parallels of 10 deg. and 11 deg. north latitude, and 11 deg. and 12 deg. west longitude, near Labbe and Timbo, from whence it takes a direction to the south, and afterwards west and north-west to the cataract of Felon, where it runs to the westward as far as Galem, which is a great trading place belonging to the French, who have a fort here called St. Joseph, and is, at least, 600 miles from the entrance of the river. From Galem it runs nearly north-west to Podor, another settlement, about three degrees from its mouth; from Podor, it continues its course westward to Serinpale, and from thence falls into the sea in 15 deg. 56 min. north, and 16 deg. 13 min. west, passing through an extent of country of nearly 1200 miles in the very centre of north-west Africa. On entering this river, the bar or sand-bank which extends across its mouth causes a considerable agitation of the waves, and there is some little danger in crossing it, but accidents seldom occur. Several persons, however, have been lost here, and in particular a captain of the navy and one or two sailors were drowned about ten years ago. The land on both sides of the river, on entering, is low and sandy; the western bank is a narrow neck of land which separates the river from the sea, and is called Barbary

Point. The town of Senegal is situated eight miles north from the mouth of the river, and is about one mile-and-a-half long and two-thirds of a mile broad. It is one of the finest towns in this part of Africa; but as the streets are not paved, the sand is sometimes unpleasant to the feet, the island being nothing but a sand-bank, which is completely surrounded by the river, affording amusement to those who are fond of aquatic and shooting excursions; and there are many good horses, and a fine piece of ground at the north point, where the inhabitants usually ride in the evening. There is, also, a good billiard-table, and when the English had possession of Senegal there was no want of society. The houses are well built of stone, very commodious, and comfortable; the streets are broad, cleanly, and well arranged, and the inhabitants are daily refreshed with land and sea breezes."

It was in sailing to resume possession of Senegal that the Medusa frigate sustained the terrible shipwreck which at the time attracted so much public notice; and that disaster seems for a considerable time to have paralyzed the attempts which the French were disposed to make toward restoring the importance of their settlements in this part of Africa. But they are now expending a great deal of money on them, and particularly on Goree, which they are fortifying very strongly.

As to the present position of these settlements, and

the possessions which England and France at this time enjoy in this part of the African continent.

The English have factories on the rich Gum coast at Portendic, to the north of Senegal; the Island of James, situated a few miles from the mouth of the Gambia, with the Fort of the same name; the Island of Boolam, with a secure and spacious harbour, and formerly one of the Sierra Leone Company's stations for promoting civilization among the Indians, for assisting in putting down the slave trade, and for cultivating West Indian products; and the Island of St. Maria, on the Gambia, with 12,000 inhabitants.

The French possess the island of St. Louis, or Senegal, at the mouth of the river of the same name, with 16,130 inhabitants, and the Fort St. Louis, whence ships proceed on their voyage up the Senegal. The trade between this place and the mother country was at one time very considerable, amounting to £750,000 annually; and the English disposed of an equal amount of goods on the Gambia. At the French settlement a considerable quantity of cotton is still grown and gum collected.

The names of the other places are, the island of Goree, which is separated from the mainland by the canal of Dakar, 1,500 toises in breadth.

The French have also in the neighbourhood of Cape Verd, a place called Rio Fresco.

On the left bank of the Senegal is the settlement of Bakel, 105 miles from St. Louis, to which there is a steam boat sent annually with goods. There are besides St. Charles, formerly called Fort St. Joseph; and the islands of Babaghee, Safal and Geber.

The Portuguese also possess St. Cachao, or Cachen, and other settlements in Senegambia.*

The position of Great Britain and France as regards these settlements, and the trade to this part of the coast of Africa, is far from being in a satisfactory state. It invites French aggression, and it is to be feared will prove a fruitful source of rupture, whenever it may cease to be an object with either power to be at peace with the other. Our mode of exercising on that coast the right of search for the suppression of the slave trade has been repeatedly used by French politicians to create a national animosity against England; the French complaining of insults to their flag, and that the English officers employed on that coast are deficient in courtesy, and too eager for prizes; and they have endeavoured to adduce instances of their misconduct towards them. On the other hand, the French have been clearly aggressors in the blockade of Portendic, a long line of neutral coast, to which Great Britain as

* See Encyclopædia Britannica, 7th edition, 1842, containing an exceedingly good and correct account of Senegal and Senegambia in their present state.

well as France has clearly a right to trade by treaty. This blockade has injured British merchants to the amount of nearly £100,000; and the demand of this compensation from France has again been the source of bitterness and dispute between the two nations. In October, 1842, M. Guizot, on behalf of Louis Philippe's Government, consented to refer these claims to the decision of the King of Prussia; and Lord Aberdeen agreed to such reference. Whether our ever-restless and intriguing neighbour will abide by such award remains yet a problem. A new treaty of commerce between the two countries is, however, what is wanted, and the only thing that will make them go on amicably together in this part of the world, and prevent the recurrence of further and similar disputes and hostilities.

From the evidence taken before the select committee on the Western Coast of Africa, in 1842, it appears that the trade of foreigners has greatly increased of late years in the Gambia and its neighbourhood, and that the French are allowed a free intercourse with our settlements there, while they do not allow us a reciprocal advantage at Senegal; that such increase of the foreign trade at the Gambia is to be attributed to the general increase of native produce there, in which all visitors participate; and that Goree, which belongs to France and is situated near the mouth of the Gambia, is nominally a free port, but very

far from a free port actually; the French merely admitting foreign timber and tobacco, but no British cotton goods or hardware; while we allow the free admission of their manufactures into the Gambia.

The following evidence of George Clavering Redman, Esq., upon the subject, is sufficiently interesting to be given *verbatim* from the minutes.

3368. Will you state what you imagine to be the chief cause of the decline of the trade at the Gambia? First, the loss of the gum trade, by the French taking it; that has been a serious loss to the Gambia merchants. It is now totally lost to the country, and has been so for the last six years.

3369. What is the next cause? I think the second cause is the permission of foreigners to come there upon the same footing as British ships, and they have an advantage, inasmuch as they only pay duty upon what they land, while a British ship is obliged to pay duty upon all that she carries into port immediately, and the British shipping are not permitted to go into the French ports in return.

Another cause is the increased trade of the Americans there, and foreigners of every description. They have cut up our trade there very much; they have divided it. There is the loss also of the mahogany trade.

3370. How is the mahogany trade lost? The state of

the market is the principal cause. An importation of mahogany from other parts of the world has taken place to a great extent; the Gambia mahogany being of an inferior description, we cannot bring it here to compete with that which is finer.

3371. Is it inferior to the Honduras? It is.

3372. In quality? It is inferior in quality to the Honduras. There is some Honduras that is quite as bad as Gambia, but it is not brought to this country. The Honduras brought to this country is better than the Gambia.

3373. Is not the objection to the Gambia mahogany confined to its hardness? That is one great reason; the cabinet manufacturers complain that it chips.

3374. Are those the whole of the causes of the decline of the trade to the Gambia? I think those are the principal causes, and the reduction of the price of produce of every description that has come from the Gambia; and you cannot get the natives to reduce their prices in proportion as the markets have fallen in this country.

3375. Will you state how the gum trade has been lost to us? From France interdicting the trade by a blockade, and an illegal one too.

3376. At what period was that? In 1834 and 1835.

3377. Why did the trade not revive after that was over? Because the French have increased their subsidies

to the King of the Trazars, and in signing the treaty that they made with him, they stated that so long as they do not bring their gum down to the British, at Portendic, they are to receive those subsidies, but if they have any communication with the British they are to lose them.

3378. That is the sole cause why we have lost the gum trade? Yes, it was a commercial blockade. The present Government and the late Government, and all the law officers of the Government have stated it to be illegal.

3379. The blockade does not now continue? No, but the French have satisfied the natives that they are the strongest power; they drove our ships away by their men of war.

3380. There is now no impediment to our ships going there? No, but we have no security against the French doing the like again.

3381. Are the facilities existing now to our carrying on the gum trade, equal to those enjoyed by the French for having a share of the trade? Certainly, upon that supposition. By a treaty between the French and English that trade is confined exclusively to those two powers. They will allow no other power to go there.

3383. Who will allow no other power to go there? France and England.

3384. Do you mean that there is a mutual compact

regarding the trade at Portendic between France and England? Yes, by a treaty between France and England in 1783 and 1814.

3385. What was the date and origin of the compact between the native chiefs and the French Government, to give them the exclusive supply of gum? During the blockade a treaty dated August, 1835, which gave 5,000 dollars per annum to the King; and further, the inhabitants of Senegal added, on condition that no trade should be carried on at Portendic with the British, that they would give the Trazars a proportionate contribution from every house, and even every hut in Senegal, the most insignificant of which should not be less than two dollars; previously to raising the blockade, the French obtained that treaty with the King of the Trazars.

3386. Are there any other tribes who are capable of carrying on the gum trade, who would be willing to carry on that trade with us, and who are not parties to that compact? No; the Trazars are a warlike nation, and they keep the key to all that country.

3387. Has any means suggested itself to you, by which this state of things might be remedied, so as to afford us a share in the trade? Yes.

3388. Have you any objection to state what those means are? Yes, I have a great objection, because when the time arrives I intend to take advantage of them.

3389. Is the time likely to be early or remote? When the Government obtain from France the indemnification due to myself and others.

3390. Are you one of the parties who have suffered in consequence of that blockade upon the coast? I am the greatest sufferer.

3532. Can you state the amount of the loss incurred by the transactions of the French, at Portendic? The actual loss is about £76,000.

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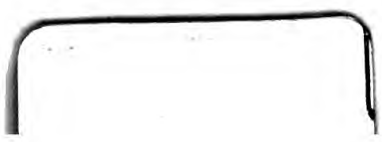
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