

SIR JOHN (later LORD) LIGONIER (1680-1770),
MILITARY COMMANDER
and MEMBER of PARLIAMENT for BATH

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The importance of the role played by Jean Louis Ligonier in the life of this country for the first seventy years of the eighteenth century, and of the city of Bath for fifteen of those years, was acknowledged by his contemporaries as he was first knighted and then ennobled. Since then, Ligonier's life and achievements have been neglected, and it is the aim of this article to rescue him from this undeserved obscurity.¹

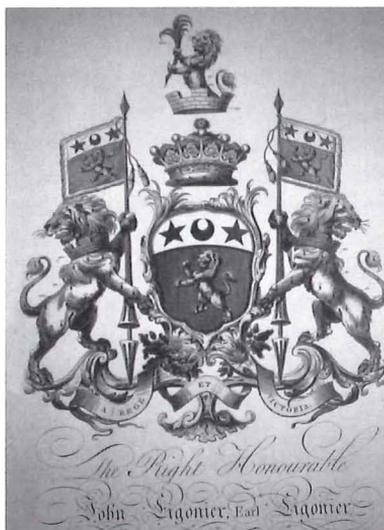
Jean Louis Ligonier was a French Huguenot, a Protestant, who like others at the end of the seventeenth century sought refuge abroad from religious persecution in his own country. In 1698 he left his home in Castres, near Toulouse in Languedoc, to follow a trail to safety already established by relatives. He went first to Utrecht, where an uncle reported to his mother that he had arrived safely but with little clothing and that 'very worn', and then on to Ireland where a cousin was to become the minister to a Huguenot settlement at Portarlington.² Little is known of these difficult years, but in the course of them Ligonier must have decided that his future lay in the army. In 1702 he became a naturalized Englishman and joined the British forces going to defend the Netherlands against the French in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). As a volunteer with no money and few connections he was in an unenviable position, but through his bravery on the battlefield he gradually established himself as a leading figure, not only in military circles, but also in the upper ranks of the society of the day. By the middle years of the eighteenth century, Ligonier had attained a remarkable position. He combined the highest of military responsibilities (overseeing the supply of arms through the Board of Ordnance from 1748 to 1763, and leading the army as its first professional Commander-in-Chief from 1757 to 1766), with civic duties, serving as an elected Member of Parliament for the city of Bath from 1748 to 1763.

Ligonier's bravery on the battlefields of western Europe cannot be doubted. In the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns he was the first man through the defences of Liège when the siege was broken in 1702, and he continued to be found in the thick of the fighting, as at the battle of

Malplaquet in 1709, when more than twenty bullet holes were found in his clothing. In the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) he so impressed George II by his valour at the battle of Dettingen in 1743, the last at which a British monarch led his troops on the battlefield, that the King wished to perform the ancient privilege of appointing him a Knight Banneret, on the field of combat. He was dissuaded from undertaking this grand gesture as the last king to do so had been the Stuart Charles I, more than a century earlier, and it was thought unwise to follow that example. Instead, Ligonier and others were rewarded for their bravery by being created Knights of the Bath, the medieval order of chivalry revived by the Hanoverians in 1722, to distinguish between their awards and those of their unfortunate predecessors.³ Ligonier must however have regretted the lost opportunity of the dramatic battlefield ceremony, for the simple square of the banneret was incorporated in his coat of arms (fig.1).

At what point in his career, and how widely, the surname of this French Huguenot came to be pronounced as 'Ligoneer' rather than 'Ligonier', cannot be firmly established, although the accumulating evidence will be considered. Certainly, when he went in 1719 with an expedition to northern Spain, where an army was being assembled which it was feared might pose a threat to the Hanoverian succession similar to that two years earlier when Spanish troops had landed in Scotland, his style was still that of 'Legioniere'. This episode

illustrates also the way in which the career of this young officer was progressing, and the influential circle of contacts to whom he was becoming known and trusted. The expedition (9,000 men, 50 transport ships and a squadron of the battle fleet) was commanded by Lord Cobham, formerly Sir Richard Temple and once Ligonier's Brigade Commander in Marlborough's army, with whose approval Ligonier was appointed Adjutant General to the force. The troops landed at Vigo, where the



1. The coat of arms, crest, and motto of Lord Ligonier. The two lions 'reguard' support spears carrying 'bannerets' with Ligonier's arms. Reproduced by courtesy of the Fort Ligonier Association, Pennsylvania, USA.

immediate enemy proved to be drink rather than the defenders. General Wade, Ligonier's patron and predecessor in many positions including that of M.P. for Bath, reported that there was a 'great quantity of wine of the latest vintage and for two days our soldiers were in a very ill condition of defence'. It was Ligonier, the Adjutant General, who by 'staving the wine and punishing the drunkards', disciplined the force and enabled it to mount a successful punitive attack.⁴

Ligonier's reputation was enhanced by this expedition, which had required diplomatic skills in the handling of the military and naval forces as well as personal courage, and in 1720 he was allowed to purchase the Colonelcy of the 8th Horse, then on the Irish Establishment. This was a royal favour, a signal distinction almost unheard of for a commoner, and a reward for military service rather than political manipulation. Ligonier held the office for twenty-nine years, during which time the regiment came to be known officially as the 'Black Guards' from the facings on their uniforms, and unofficially as the 'Ligoneers', a pronunciation coming more easily to the serving soldier than the 'Ligoniers'. As Colonel, Ligonier was entirely responsible for the regiment: for practical matters like food, clothing, training, and medical aid, and for the maintenance of morale. It became a proud regiment and one for which there was competition to join. Premiums were paid to secure entry, even by troopers, and desertion by the lower ranks was never a problem. The maintenance of high standards must have required strong discipline, but the continuing affection shown for Ligonier suggests that he was more of a benign paternalist than a military martinet. As late as 1913 the historian of the Dragoon Guards could write that Ligonier was still known by reputation to all the regiment: recruits learnt of him; chargers carried his name; children were christened after him; and his crest and motto were borne by every member of the regiment.⁵ These fine words suggest a genuine rapport and continuing affection in an army which had changed less in the years before 1914, than it was to do in those following the Great War (1914-1918), as the horse gave way to the tank.

The regiment was based in Ireland between 1720 and 1742. Ligonier became Chief Ranger of Ireland and maintained an establishment at Phoenix Park in Dublin, but he knew the professional importance of moving in London circles. Here he found that he was especially welcome at court, being made a Gentleman of the Privy Council by George I in 1724, and an Aide-de-Camp to George II in 1729. He was appointed Brigadier General in 1736, a promotion which led him to reflect in a letter to his brother in Castres, on the importance of commitment, for,

'We people of Languedoc are often accused of not reaching the highest posts in war because we get impatient and go off home ...'.⁶ The correspondence demonstrates the close contact that was maintained with his family over the years, but also the continuing sense of being an outsider, despite having become a favoured member of the 'establishment'. That Ligonier never married was a source of concern to his family. They found a suitable young Frenchwoman for him (tactfully declined), and he continued to enjoy a relatively carefree social life, with many women friends, both respectable and less so, and a long-standing mistress, Miss Miller, by whom he had a daughter Penelope.⁷ He may simply have been too committed to his career to undertake the responsibilities of home and family.

After the long period of relative peace secured by the Walpole Administration, dynastic and mercantile rivalries came to the fore in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, to provide circumstances that were to favour Ligonier in his chosen profession. As conflict with Spain from 1739 became part of the more general War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), it was seen that the army was depleted in numbers, due to peacetime economies, and short of good regimental officers with battle experience. Ligonier was well-placed to respond to this military opportunity. He was first set the task of guarding the vulnerable Irish coastline, and then called into service on the European mainland. Here he gave outstanding service at both the staff and battlefield level. He was a personal staff officer to the King, whose appreciation of his courage at Dettingen (1743) was noted earlier. For long periods in 1744 he was in effect the army commander, due to the illness of his old colleague Field Marshal Wade (1673-1748), although when Wade was replaced it was not by Ligonier but by the King's second son, the twenty-five year old Duke of Cumberland, with the title of Captain General. To Ligonier however fell the task of rescuing the army from some of Cumberland's ill-considered moves, and he led the troops with great distinction at the battles of Fontenoy (1745), Rocoux (1746), and Laffeldt (1747). The last-named has been called Ligonier's greatest feat of arms. It culminated in a cavalry charge, described by Horace Walpole as 'an act of desperate gallantry', which left Ligonier almost alone and surrounded by French troops. As the Carabiniers approached he called to them in French that they were to go the other way, but they were not deceived, for they saw the Star of the Order of the Bath on his uniform. Ligonier was taken before the French King Louis XV, presented it is said by Marshal Saxe with the words, 'Sire, I here present to your Majesty a man who has defeated all my plans by a single glorious

action'. Ligonier feared for his life since he might be regarded as a renegade Frenchman, but he was treated chivalrously and returned by exchange to the English.⁸

Lord Henry Campbell, Ligonier's young Aide-de-Camp, was not so fortunate. Anxious to find the missing Ligonier he searched the battlefield, and was killed by French plunderers before the General's survival was known.⁹ This episode illustrates not only the affection inspired by Ligonier in those serving with him, but also the tangled nature of the allegiances at that time. Lord Henry was a kinsman of the 2nd Duke of Argyll, a military commander from Marlborough's time and a good supporter of Ligonier in those early days. The Duke was an influential Scotsman, who had rallied to the Hanoverian rather than the Stuart cause. As a result of the 'Auld Alliance' between the French and the Scots however, there were Scotsmen in the service of the French King at Laffeldt, who were not happy with the courteous treatment of Ligonier after his capture, probably because of the ruthless way the Scottish supporters of the Stuarts had been dealt with during and after the recent battle of Culloden. But Ligonier had not been involved in that relentless hounding of the Scots by the Duke of Cumberland, though when it was realized that the Rebellion of 1745 posed a serious threat to the Hanoverians, he had gone to London to organize an army to defend the country, before returning to the larger theatre of war on the continent.¹⁰ It seems in keeping with the man that an exceptional provision was made for those going north to Scotland, namely an issue of blankets. A similar concern is shown in a document of December 1745, which authorized the expenditure of £300 on 1,500 pairs of shoes. At other times Ligonier himself paid for extra doctors for his regiment, and for a regimental hospital. He was also concerned with the quality of food, and managed to arrange for wheat rather than rye bread for the soldiers.¹¹ This then was the civilized soldier who, as the war drew to a close, could have expected some rest and ease in his later life. He was then sixty-eight years of age and had returned to England only twice in the previous six years – in 1745 as noted, and for a brief period of leave in 1747/8. The years had otherwise been spent at the front, or in winter quarters planning campaigns.

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Ligonier knew before returning to England at the end of 1748 that any retirement, even if desired, was to be illusory. Field Marshal Wade, a Member of Parliament for Bath since 1722, had died, and in March 1748

(whilst still in the field), Ligonier had been elected in his place. The Bath electorate was then a self-perpetuating oligarchy composed of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen of the city, but it was an independent body, in the pocket of no great family, and willing to support men of national standing or local worth. As with any such group, some within the Council were more influential than others, and Ralph Allen has been seen as particularly so, but Marshal Wade's position was based upon his own personal standing, built up over the years.¹² Indeed, it may be that Ralph Allen owed more to him than the other way round, as Wade stood surety for him in his postal endeavours before his position was established.¹³ Bath returned two members, and the voting records show that each councilman had two votes. In the 1747 election George Wade had secured 29; the lawyer Robert Henley 17; and the local landowner Joseph Langton of Newton St.Loe, 13. The first two were therefore elected.¹⁴ Ligonier must have seemed an ideal replacement for Wade, as a friend of the former member and, after Laffeldt, a national hero, but he was not yet known personally in Bath, and so Joseph Langton stood once more, with some hope of success. The voting was close, and in the end Ligonier had only a narrow victory, by 15 votes to 14.¹⁵ However he was to establish himself as an affable, sociable man, as was his fellow MP Robert Henley, who had earlier met his wife through his frequent visits to Bath. The two remained in harness until Henley, having advanced from Solicitor-General to Attorney-General, became Lord Keeper of the Seal in 1757.

It is unlikely that Ralph Allen would have promoted Ligonier's candidature so strongly had he not known him already, probably through his close connection with Marshal Wade, and known also that as a supporter of the present establishment, royal and protestant, he was an instinctive Whig. On Ligonier's first official visit to the city in January 1749, Allen showed great courtesy by riding out to meet him, and then escorting him to the Guildhall for a formal introduction to the Corporation, before taking him to stay at his fine Palladian mansion at Prior Park.¹⁶ This set the pattern for future visits. In 1754, Ligonier arriving in Bath for the coming election, stayed at Prior Park where Dr. William Warburton (1698-1779) was now a regular visitor. Warburton had married Ralph Allen's niece Gertrude, and so was made welcome by that hospitable man, but he was not a very sympathetic character, appearing to have more learning than sense.¹⁷ But perhaps even he was charmed by Ligonier for he wrote to Philip Yorke (1722-1770, lawyer, politician, and himself a welcome partaker of 'sybaritic' dinners at Prior Park), that Sir John had stayed for about a week, in which the evenings had been spent:

in that serious chit-chat you would most have liked. C. Seabright had hinted that the brave old veteran oft thought seriously of what everyman is most interested in: and that he should like to get the conversation to turn on certain points he wanted to satisfy himself on: and I soon found him in that disposition.¹⁸

After his life of action, Ligonier enjoyed pondering the eternal verities with Bath worthies and old friends.

Although Ligonier and Henley were unopposed, so that the former's stay in Bath in 1754 became what Warburton called 'a visit of Ceremony', he made the customary acknowledgement to the Corporation and £500 was presented for the removal of the North and South Gates and adjacent properties (see Chapman & Holland, this volume, fig.1, p.56).¹⁹ Such a straightforward gesture may have been more to Ligonier's liking than the system of mutual favours which facilitated the politics of the time. In June 1752 for example, he had written to the Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768), the great dispenser of patronage and place in the interests of maintaining parliamentary power:

My Lord, I am Going to do myself what I very often Have found fault with in other People, that is ... my Lord you Have done me many favours, and for that Reason I Beg you will do me an other ... a Prebend of Windsor Has departed this Life, and Mr Warburton, the Solicitors friend, Mr Allens friend and Heir aparent, my friend and Your Graces Humble Servant, does me the Honour to think, that my Soliestetions to your Grace on His Behalf may Be of some service to Him, your Grace knows His abilitys, the figure He makes In the Learned World, and His warm zeal for the king and His family, therefore I shall say nothing more upon this subject ...²⁰

Perhaps because of his difficult temperament Warburton was hard to 'place', and the position went elsewhere. Ligonier wrote again on his behalf to the Duke, in September 1757:

The Dean of Bristol it seems is Gone to rest with his fathers, and your Grace having been so Good to say that upon His Departure all your Graces Interest would Be in favour of Mr Warburton. I take the Liberty of Putting your Grace in mind of your gracious Promise of Recommending Him to His Majesty, I avoid as much as I can Giving you any trouble, on account of the City of Bath, In Consideration of which I beg this favour ...²¹

Warburton received this appointment, and went on to become the Bishop of Gloucester. The letters show Ligonier's hesitancy about the seeking and exercise of patronage, in the light of which a copy of a note

to him from Newcastle in December 1757 (on the subject of positions in the army for two nephews), is of interest, for it ends with the advice, 'I think you should see The King a little oftener than you do ...'²²

In the years of peace following the War of Austrian Succession, Ligonier also developed a formal connection with another community, in this case one with whom he had strong ties by birth, religion, and family, the Huguenots. Many of the former refugees had, like Ligonier himself, prospered in Britain, but others had not, and on their behalf he accepted the position of Governor of the Corporation which managed a Hospital 'for poor French Protestants and their descendants residing in Great Britain'. Following his appointment in 1748, Ligonier remained closely involved with the administration of the French Hospital until his death over twenty years later. In 1752 he presented his portrait by Bartholomew Dandridge to 'La Providance' as it was known; in 1761 he re-wrote the rules for the Hospital; and in his will he bequeathed £500 to the Corporation. The original French Hospital was a substantial three-storeyed building in Finsbury, surrounded by orchards and market gardens, but after Ligonier's time, with declining numbers and an encroaching city, it moved and was eventually re-established in the city of Rochester in Kent in 1960. Here the portrait of Ligonier still hangs.²³

Further honours and responsibilities were bestowed upon Ligonier in 1748-9. His election as a Fellow of the Royal Society was a tribute to him as a man of letters as well as of action, for he was well-read and kept an enviable library, and his elevation to the Privy Council was an acknowledgement of his high standing with the King and the invaluable advice he could be expected to give in matters of state. He had long owned a town house in North Audley Street (to which later reference will be made), and in 1750 he complemented this by the purchase of a country house, Cobham Place, in Cobham, Surrey. The house had been rebuilt in the early eighteenth century by its then owner, John Bridges, and although not grand it had caught the eye of Daniel Defoe, who thought that 'for the size of this House, there is hardly any other near London, which has more useful and elegant Apartments'.²⁴ Sadly it no longer survives, but drawings show it to have had a pleasant appearance, with extensive and landscaped grounds, well-equipped with stables, coach houses, and outbuildings sufficient for the maintenance of a pack of hounds. It provided an ideal retreat from London, but was not so isolated that the sociable owner would ever be without--- company. Living in the close neighbourhood were the Duke of Newcastle at Claremont; the Frederick family (with one of whom, Charles, Ligonier was to work closely at the

Board of Ordnance) at Burwood Park; and Admiral Edward and Mrs Fanny Boscawen at Hatchlands. After a visit to Cobham Place in 1756, Fanny Boscawen wrote to her husband then at sea:

I must tell you while I think of it, that we dined, and supped with Sir John Ligonier ... There were his three aides de camp, George West, Hotham and Clinton, son of the Admiral. Hotham you know is a favourite of mine but he yielded to his master, for seventy five is a dangerous age, you know, to me, and I am apt to fall in love with persons so qualified. Accordingly Sir John Ligonier won my heart that day and his aide de camp went off only with my money. He's a charming old man that's the truth on't, polite, conversible, easy, free and very cheerful, so we spent a very pleasant day and came home by the light of the moon which was late.²⁵

It is small wonder that Ligonier also charmed what he called his 'Bath friends', and that the Allens and the Warburtons and probably others were pleased not only to provide hospitality on his constituency visits to Bath, but also to enjoy staying at Cobham.²⁶

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Although seventy five years of age, the 'charming old man' described by Fanny Boscawen had already embarked upon what was to be the greatest challenge of his career – that of taking responsibility for the supply of ordnance and the command of the army in the years of commercial and territorial rivalry with the French which came to be known as the Seven Years War (1756-1763). Fought in continental Europe, India, North America, the Indies, West Africa, and at sea, with campaigns which established Britain as the leading colonial and commercial power in the world and laid the basis for the later empire, this may be thought of as the first world war. We are fortunate to have a portrait of Ligonier at this time, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds over several sittings in 1755, 1757 and 1760 (fig.2). This is a family rather than a regimental or state portrait, passed down through the Grahams after the marriage of Ligonier's daughter Penelope to Arthur Graham, a soldier from Armagh in Ireland.²⁷ It shows a firm but genial man, dressed in the blue uniform worn by officers of the Board of Ordnance to which he had been appointed as Lieutenant General in 1748, in succession to Marshal Wade in this office as at Bath. As the conflict developed Ligonier was in 1757 appointed Field Marshal (prompting the thought that Reynolds' further work on the canvas might have had something to do with the new baton as well as



2. Portrait of Field Marshal Lord Ligonier by Sir Joshua Reynolds, c.1755-1760. In more formal portraits (including battlefield scenes), the star of the Order of the Bath is prominently displayed. Here it may just be seen on the left breast. A field marshal's baton is carried in the right hand. (*Reproduced by courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London*)

two additional portraits on horseback); Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces in Britain; and Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards. As befitted the new military rank Ligonier also received social preferment, with an Irish viscountcy in 1757. This carried no seat in the Lords and so he continued to represent Bath until the successful conclusion of the war in 1763, when he received an English peerage that was upgraded to an earldom on his retirement (under protest) as Commander-in-Chief in 1766.²⁸ For much of the war Ligonier's military leadership was complemented by the political control and strategic insights of William Pitt (1708-1778), later Earl of Chatham, who had indeed pressed for Ligonier's appointment to these several positions on being himself confirmed as Secretary of State, in 1757.²⁹ What is most unexpected about this partnership is that it was also played out in Bath's political life, for at this critical time in the nation's history these leaders were the two Members of Parliament for the city, Ligonier from 1748 to 1763 and Pitt from 1757 to 1766.³⁰ A further, colonial link will be discussed later.

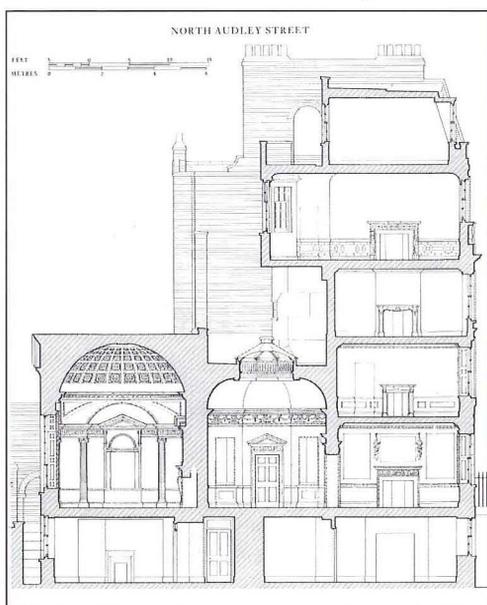
As Lieutenant General of the Ordnance from 1748, Ligonier was responsible for the provision of military supplies: guns and explosives for the Royal Navy and the East India Company, and these plus a wider range of goods including barracks and their fittings, for the army. In peacetime this was the highest post in the military profession: in time of war it was crucial to military success. The superior office of Master General was usually held by a person of high rank, as a political appointment conferring a seat in the Cabinet. It was therefore quite remarkable that having served as Lieutenant General from 1748 to 1756, Ligonier should have been appointed Master General in July 1759 (following the death in October 1758 of the ineffective 3rd Duke of Marlborough), holding this office in concert with his continuing military responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief.³¹ This dual task would have been too onerous, even for a younger man, had there not been excellent support from within the Board. This was provided by the Surveyor General, Charles (later Sir Charles) Frederick (1709-1785), a non-military man with a practical approach, interested in the technicalities of munitions making.³²

Unfortunately few of Ligonier's papers survive, and those that do are scattered, but letters written to Charles Frederick in 1755, as rivalries with the French increased in North America and India, show the problems of supply which this country faced, especially in the matter of gunpowder.³³ The powder was purchased by the Board from contractors, and in March 1755 Ligonier questioned its quality and raised the suspicion that supplies were going to the French. He returned to the latter theme in a letter of 15th October 1755, writing: 'The Powder Runs In my head and [I] think all the Contractors ought to be summon'd and talked to, Pressed to work for the king, for I fear our Powder will go abroad if a Better Price is offered'. He mentioned the possibility of sending to Holland, Danzig or Hamburg for 10,000 barrels, a course he would propose to the Board that day for he saw 'the Greatest of misfortunes threatening us, viz the want of Powder at this very critical juncture'. This action was approved, and in writing to Frederick the next day, Ligonier raised again the importance of stopping the export of powder, '... for God's sake Let Instructions be prepared ... and send them to me at Cobham to sign that they may Go away Immediately'. The third of this run of daily letters, written on 17th October, was addressed significantly to 'Dear Frederick' rather than 'Dear Sir', a sign that formality was being replaced by friendship. Ligonier referred again to the scarcity of powder, for the 11,000 barrels in store six days before had been reduced to 7,000, causing him to lament, 'what a fatall thing this might prove to be'. Meanwhile the move towards a ban on the export

of powder proceeded, and on 20th October Ligonier was able to write to Charles Frederick with the news that, 'a [Privy] Council was held this morning on Purpose that a Proclamation will Immediately Come out to Prohibit the Exportation of Powder'. He believed that by cutting off the overseas market the powder would 'come in fast Enough. However we neglect nothing'. This determination to 'neglect nothing' was shown in the following months with a visit to the naval base at Sheerness with Frederick (should they go by coach or postchaise?); queries about the fortifications at Ostend (Frederick to send to the Tower for the plans of 1744 or 1749); and about those at Dover (with a note about the antiquities there).

As Ligonier's responsibilities increased at this critical time, his correspondence shows that his town house in North Audley Street was becoming his main base, rather than Cobham Place. Here he had his office, run by the loyal and long-serving Richard Cox; maintained his military staff of promising aides-de-camp; held meetings of the Board of Ordnance when he became Master General; updated and annotated the lists of army officers in

order to maintain control of these as Commander-in-Chief; and entertained his friends and fellow officers. An example of his hospitality is provided by the reception that followed his appointment as Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Guards in December 1757, attended by many promising young officers including Lord Howe, Jeffrey Amherst, William Keppel, Guy Carleton, William Draper, and Charles Hotham.³⁴ As the cross-section of No.12 North Audley Street shows (fig.3), the house lent itself to such a splendid occasion, with a spacious entrance hall on the ground floor leading to an octagonal library with shelved recesses,



3. Measured drawing of No.12 North Audley Street, London. (© Crown copyright, N.M.R. Crown copyright is reproduced by permission of English Heritage acting under licence from the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office)



4. Nos.11 & 12 North Audley Street, built by Edward Sheperd c.1730, with later additions to No.12, on the left. Lord Ligonier's London home, and the 'War Office' during the Seven Years War. On the corner to the right, adjoining Grosvenor Square, is the house used by General Eisenhower as his 'War Office' during the Second World War. (Photograph by R.A. Buchanan)

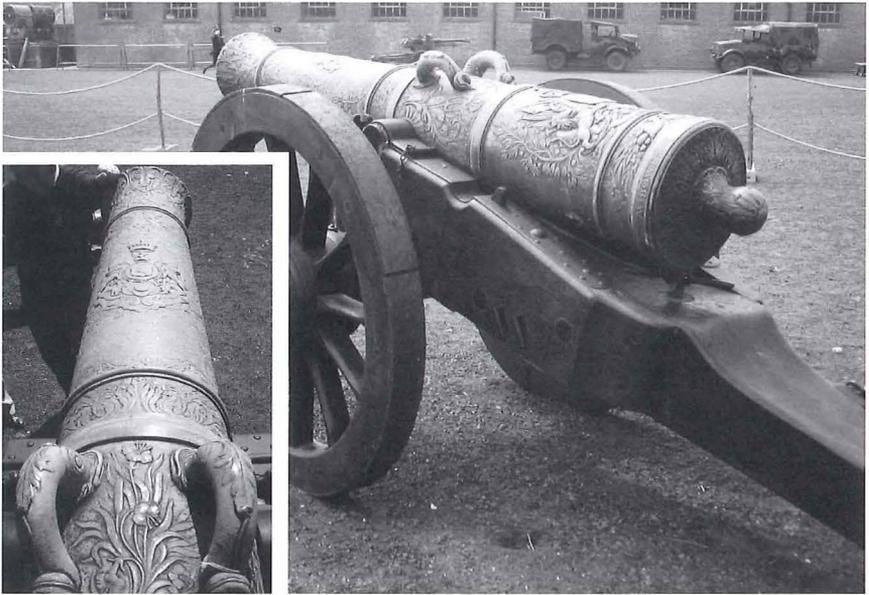
a note such as that (undated) to Frederick saying, 'Put on your frock [coat] and Come to me for a moment'.³⁶

In the early period of the war good cheer was hard to come by. Pitt's comment in 1756 that he dreaded 'to hear from America [... and] Asia perhaps may furnish its portion of ignominy', was followed within three weeks by the loss of Calcutta in India, and within three months by France's greatest victory in North America, the capture of Oswego, a fort on Lake Ontario.³⁷ The latter caused Ligonier particular pain, and he wrote on 11th November [1756] to Charles Frederick, 'I fear our Behaviour at Oswego

and a fine gallery with a 'magnificent dome'. This gallery at the rear of the house frontage is larger than the street would indicate, because it stretches across the back of No.11 as well as No.12 (fig.4). Both houses were built by 1730 when No.12 came into Ligonier's possession, to be followed in 1744 by No.11. Both houses were then run as one establishment until his death in 1770. These two are the only houses of the original development not to have undergone severe rebuilding, and No.12 in particular has been described as having 'one of the finest Georgian interiors of London's private houses'.³⁵ Together they provided an accessible 'War Office' from which Ligonier could operate as 'Chief of Staff', able to keep in touch with colleagues to whom he could send

if the french accounts are to be [believed] is worse than anything that has Happened, *we shall become the scorn of nations*' [my italics].³⁸ The appointment of William Pitt as Secretary of State less than a month later raised hopes, but he held office and not power, and in April 1757 he was dismissed by the King. In this period of disarray, Ligonier had written to Frederick on 3rd February 1757, urging him to 'keep up your Spirits and Come to town ... if you are well enough ...', though his comments over the next few days about a shortage of ammunition, culminating on 10th February with the observation that '... all the Expence and Hope of Success In the Expedition is Gone for nothing Without this material ...', would not have aided recovery.³⁹ Then in July the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt reached an arrangement acceptable to the King, with the former at the Treasury as the nominal head of the government and Pitt as Secretary of State in charge of the war. But new initiatives could not be implemented overnight, and on 3rd August 1757 Ligonier wrote of '... Bad news, we fought very well In Westphalia, but have been Best [got the better of]' – the French were masters of the whole Electorate. He had probably learnt of the defeat of the Duke of Cumberland's army at Hastenbeck on 25th July, which meant more than the loss of a battle or a province. It jeopardized the whole policy of keeping the French army occupied in Europe in order to limit their activities elsewhere, especially in North America. Coastal raids were devised as a way of applying pressure on the French, but with little success until an attack on Cherbourg in 1758.

The surrender of Cherbourg on 8th August 1758 was an occasion for great rejoicing, especially as the soldiers returned home with French cannons and mortars as trophies, some twenty three guns in all. These were displayed in Hyde Park and the people flocked to see them. Writing of the King, the Royal Chaplain noted that 'the old man is highly delighted ... and has ordered folks of all sorts to be let go close to the canon – & boys to get up & sit across them etc'.⁴⁰ In a victory parade organized by Ligonier the guns were then drawn in triumph to the Tower, where some remained on display whilst others were taken as trophies (to Cobham Place for example), or melted down for re-casting as two 24-pounder ornamental guns. One, cast in 1762, carried the royal arms and those of Lord Ligonier (as Master General of the Board of Ordnance), and a dedication to: 'The Rt. Hon. John Lord Viscount Ligonier, Master General; The Most Hon. John Marquis of Granby, Lieutenant General; The Hon. Sir Charles Frederick Kt. of the Bath, Surveyor General', and other members of the Board of Ordnance (fig.5). A second, less finished gun was also cast, probably in the 1770s. It is not known whether Ligonier fired in celebration



5. Bronze gun cast in 1762, from French guns captured at Cherbourg in 1758. Weight c.52 cwt. To the right of the 'dolphins' or lifting handles are the royal arms with the monogram of George III. To the left are the arms of Field Marshal Lord Ligonier (see details in the inset). The gun may be seen at Fort Nelson near Plymouth. (*Photograph by R.A.Buchanan*)

any of the guns taken to Cobham, but he was invited to dinner at nearby Claremont by the Duke of Newcastle, and his reply shows his appreciation of the victory – 'These things give us reputation'.⁴¹

The opportunity to celebrate must have been all the more welcome as the long campaigns in India and North America dragged on. Largely through the influence of Robert Clive (1725-1774), Pitt's 'heaven-born general', who had arrived in India in 1744 as a 'writer' in the service of the East India Company, Britain's position had become well-established in significant parts of the sub-continent, especially Bengal.⁴² But here there was an established structure of princely government and trade within which to operate. In North America there were no clear guidelines as to territorial possession: the coastal colonies were in British hands, but the French claimed Canada in the north and the Mississippi basin in the south. Their aim was to link the two by a system of trading forts, and in this scheme the wedge of land which is now Western Pennsylvania was of particular importance. Here, the headwaters of the Ohio River (especially the Allegheny and

Monogahela rivers), flow through the mountains to join at the Forks. At this crucial point the French governor of Canada had in 1753 established the fort that was to bear his name, Fort Duquesne. The capture of this fort was to become one of the focal points of British strategy in North America, for if this vast inland territory were to be secured by the French, this would effectively bar any future westward expansion of the British seaboard colonies. Fort Duquesne was taken at the third attempt.⁴³

The first expedition was led by the Virginian George Washington in 1754, up the Potomac River and across the mountains, but it was ill-equipped and no match for the French and Indian force. The party was forced to stand at the hastily constructed Fort Necessity, a palisaded enclave from which Washington was lucky to escape with his life. The commander of the second expedition, pursuing the same line of approach in the following year, was not so lucky. General Braddock of the Coldstream Guards, leading a British force, was killed whilst in retreat. His grave may still be found in a damp and desolate place in the forest, although his monument stands boldly on the nearby highway. His failure showed the difficulty of adapting the principles of European warfare to the circumstances of colonial fighting. Although, in response, it was Pitt who had the power to commit larger forces to North America, it was Ligonier who was able to select the most able leaders, through his knowledge of the army officers. Brigadier John Forbes of the Scots Greys, Ligonier's staff officer in former campaigns as at Laffeldt, was given command of the third and ultimately successful expedition to take Fort Duquesne. Forbes struck inland from Philadelphia, building a road as the expedition progressed through the Pennsylvanian forests and mountain folds, and establishing forts at intervals, to provide some security for the soldiers and their supplies. The last stage was reached in the autumn of 1758 when a fort was built on a bluff overlooking the Loyalhanna Creek. It was called Fort Ligonier, and from here the British troops advanced to take Fort Duquesne, which they found burning and abandoned by the French. It was replaced and renamed, Fort Pitt. The links between the military and political leaders, forged in London and Bath, were thus recorded for posterity in the New World. Fort Pitt prospered and became Pittsburg. The small town that grew up around Fort Ligonier still thrives. It is known as 'Ligoneer'. The Fort has been restored after a careful archaeological excavation, and it was my privilege to give a talk there in 1995, bearing a letter and gift from the then Mayor of Bath, Councillor J.Manning. The gesture was returned in abundance by the Mayor of Ligonier. A room in the museum at the Fort has been furnished in the Georgian style, and

carries a fine painting of Ligonier on horseback, one of the two already mentioned as companions to that by Reynolds shown in fig.2. Perhaps most poignant, given Ligonier's care for the well-being of the troops, and his order for footwear that survives in Bath, the museum has drawers full of the leather soles of British boots, evidence of the manning of the Fort until it was decommissioned in 1766.⁴⁴

This push to the west from Philadelphia was only one part of a three-fold plan for the defeat of the French in North America. In Canada the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence was to be secured, followed by a move up the St. Lawrence River to take Quebec. From New York there was to be a strike up the Hudson River, to take Montreal and help secure Quebec. One of the officers picked for special duty was General James Wolfe (1727-1759), who was to win Quebec, but lose his life on the Heights of Abraham in doing so. When staying in Bath, Wolfe's parents rented a house in Trim Street (now No.5, to which a trophy of arms was later added), and here they were visited several times in the 1750s by their son, especially in 1758 before he and his men set sail for Canada in a fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen, whose home at Hatchlands near Cobham has already been mentioned.⁴⁵ The key to the success of the Canadian operation, Louisburg, likened to the Rock of Gibraltar as guardian of the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was captured that year. In the Hudson Valley, the expedition to the north was commanded by Major General Abercromby with a force of nearly 30,000 men, of whom two-thirds were provincial troops in recognition of their suitability for the terrain. Lord Howe, a promising young soldier from Ligonier's own First Regiment of Guards, who had shown a flexibility of approach to the new conditions, was drafted in to help the regulars. For both Howe and Wolfe, Ligonier had achieved a 'local acting' promotion of rank as a way of advancing talented officers, though this was opposed by the King. Both young officers were to lose their lives. As Abercromby pushed up beyond Lake George towards Montreal, there was the heroic disaster at Ticonderoga, the inspiration for Robert Louis Stevenson's dramatic and ghostly poem. Howe was killed here and Montreal was not taken until September 1760, and then by General Jeffrey Amhurst (1717-1797), one of Ligonier's able young men and an effective commander-in-chief in America.⁴⁶

Out of a mixed bag of personal disaster and military and naval triumph in the many theatres of the war, had come the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1759 for Pitt, Ligonier, and their commanders. At this climax of the war the King died, to be succeeded by his grandson of twenty-two years, George III, who had neither liking nor respect for Pitt, and placed his confidence in

the Earl of Bute. The new King saw the war as 'bloody and expensive', and when he and his ministers, including Newcastle and Bute, would not support Pitt in a pre-emptive strike against the Spanish, he resigned. As moves were made towards peace in 1762, Pitt (and others who believed the future lay in overseas settlement and trade), felt the country was being cheated of many of the fruits of its sacrifices and victories. In contrast, country squires and city merchants felt they had supported an expensive war for long enough. This clash of attitudes was of national importance, but more particularly, from our point of view, it was to bring about a crisis in the political life of Bath.⁴⁷

It was the tradition in Bath, as in other constituencies, to mark important events in the life of the nation – great victories, royal births – by inviting its Members of Parliament to present a 'Loyal Address' to the monarch. Pitt and Ligonier had been pleased to do this at several significant moments in the past few years. Now however, on 25th May 1763, the Council agreed to send an address to the King, begging leave to give thanks for 'the adequate and advantageous peace which you have graciously procured for your people'. Copies were sent to the Members for presentation to the King but Pitt, who had earlier attacked the treaty in the Commons as being entirely 'inadequate', refused to perform this courtesy. In a letter of 2nd June 1763 to Ralph Allen, he explained that, 'The epithet of adequate [was] so repugnant ... it was impossible for me to obey the commands of the corporation in presenting their address'. Allen made no apology for the term, but said it was his own, used in place of something even less acceptable proposed by the mayor. He had acted according to conscience and would always have the greatest respect for Pitt's 'glorious administration'.⁴⁸

Ralph Allen's instinct was for discretion,⁴⁹ but Pitt's champions amongst the satirists cruelly exposed the rift in the formerly harmonious relationship. A cartoon entitled 'The Knights of Baythe, or The One Headed Corporation' (fig.6), showed Allen looking foolish with a Cornish chough on his wig (perhaps marking his provincial background and heraldic aspirations). He was surrounded by the members of the Council, identified only by the symbols of their working life as a slur on the faceless followers. Bute with his Scottish plaid, and the mitred Warburton, are both claiming influence in the composition of the Address, and the presence of four intersecting roads below the scroll (to France, Scotland, the Devil and Bath), raises the suggestion that it was in Allen's personal interest as the contractor for the cross road posts, to support Bute.⁵⁰ The timing of the caricature, 28th May 1763, is of interest. In March Ligonier had written to



6. 'The Knights of BAYTHE, or the ONE HEADED CORPORATION'. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath)

6. *'The Knights of BAYTHE, or the ONE HEADED CORPORATION'*, by William O'Gaarth, 28 May 1763. In addition to the main figures discussed in the text, the identification of some of the following members of the Common Council of Bath may be suggested, along the line-up from left to right:

1 Alderman Walter Wiltshire the wealthy carrier, with a waggon for a head, inscribed 'Wiltshire Wagg'.

2 A figure with the head of a horse, wearing a driver's coat and carrying a whip, perhaps concerned with the post-horses.

3 A group of some five members of the medical fraternity, probably including Simon Crook. The one labelled 'GALEN' holds a phial containing an 'Emetic for the ancient City of Baythe by Ralph ...'

4 A greyhound with 'FOR' on his collar. Probably John Ford of the Greyhound Inn.

5 An ass with an abject manner, saying 'Pray don't drive me, Sr John I'll go graze on the COMMON, or in PRIOR PARK'.

6 A Janus figure in legal robes. Possibly the Recorder of Bath, the Lord Chief Justice Pratt, invited to sit for his portrait in October 1764.

7 Richard Laurence, with a clock face, watchmaker, sheriff of Bath in 1770, and the direct ancestor of the local historian Godfrey F. Laurence.

8 A book seller, probably James Leake the younger. As a face he has a volume entitled *Beau Nash's Jest*, and carries a gaming table for the game 'E and O' or 'Even and Odd'.

9 A leaded window, suggesting Thomas Atwood, the plumber and glazier.

10 An ironmonger, holding a hammer and with a door lock for a face.

11 A toyman, perhaps Mr. Spurrier, holding a doll and necklace, and with a bag of money marked £500 for a face.

12 'Whats all this CLUTTER about' asks the next figure, providing a heavy hint that this is Lewis Clutterbuck, with a pen and inkstand for a face, and holding a large book. Clutterbuck, an attorney, had become Town Clerk in 1759.

13 The last identifiable figure has a saddle and stirrups for a face. Probably John Chapman, a saddler, and ancestor of another local historian, the joint-author of an article in the current journal, Elizabeth Holland.

14 In front to the left is the Falstaffian Sir John Sebright, brandishing a wooden dagger and uttering the oath, 'Dam ye for a set of Poltroons Il drive you from hence with this Dagger of Lath'.

15 In front to the right is a figure with the slogan 'Work for the Cooper' round his body, and a barrel labelled 'ADEQUATE' for a head. For some as yet undiscovered reason he has his back to us.

tell Allen of the promise of an English peerage, a reward for his war service and imminent retirement from the Board of Ordnance. A new Member for Bath was sought, and Sir John Sebright was found acceptable to the Council. A military colleague of Ligonier's, he had sometimes acted on behalf of both MPs when their duties in London prevented their appearance

in Bath. The Council Minutes show that he was elected on 23rd April 1763, and as the new MP Sir John is represented by the Falstaff-like figure on the left. But the portraits that hang on the wall are of Pitt and Ligonier, which suggests that at some time the city possessed a portrait of the latter, although the nearest that it now comes to having a likeness of him is the crude representation in this cartoon. Pitt began to loosen his ties with the city. He had bought a house here in 1755, No.7 The Circus, but sold it after the debacle, and relinquished his seat in 1766 on becoming Earl of Chatham.⁵¹

On receiving his peerage, Ligonier had tried to maintain an association with the city by suggesting his nephew Edward (1740-1782) as his successor, but he was not yet well-established and the Council had preferred Sebright. In view of Edward's later troubled life it was perhaps a fortunate choice. He suffered a disastrous marriage to the 'wanton' Penelope, daughter of the first Lord Rivers, whose affairs gave the gossips much to talk about. The couplet quoted provides confirmation of what must by now have become the recognized pronunciation of the name:

But see the luscious Ligoⁿeer
Prefers her postboy to her peer.

Both Edward and Penelope were painted attractively by Gainsborough. They were divorced in 1771. Edward remarried but died without issue, and this line of the Huguenot diaspora came to an end.⁵²



Jean Louis Ligonier's life was an extraordinary one, not least because it demonstrated the openness of English society in the eighteenth century to men of merit. His bravery and good spirits were much admired, but he would not have risen in the military hierarchy had he not also developed qualities of leadership and discernment, in handling both friend and foe. All these qualities came together in his last battle in the field, at Laffeldt in 1747, at the age of 67. After a short time of peace they were to be called upon once more, to meet the challenges provided by his appointments to the command of the British army and the control of the supply of ordnance. In these roles he could offer a continuity of military authority and expertise that was not to be found in the sphere of government, however great the royal power of George II and Cumberland, and the political power of Pitt and Newcastle. In particular his knowledge of the army and capacity for organization made him an ideal colleague for Pitt, whose drive for colonial expansion could not have been sustained without Ligonier's support. His sanguine temperament complemented Pitt's more volatile nature. The

latter's popularity amongst contemporaries and his continuing fascination for historians,⁵³ have caused Ligonier's role to be eclipsed, but it was a significant one. It deserves recognition. At a critical time, when the future of this country was in the balance, Ligonier's personal qualities as a soldier enabled him to plan the conduct of campaigns and to select and support adaptable young officers, able to show in unfamiliar circumstances the daring and initiative of his own younger days.⁵⁴

Amidst these heavy responsibilities for men and supplies, Ligonier served the city of Bath for fifteen years. He was not a great Parliamentarian, for his 'natural turn for silence and douceur' made him unfitted for the Commons. Pitt thought he should have received an English peerage sooner than he did, to 'exempt him from the drudgery of the House of Commons',⁵⁵ but in those less democratic days Ligonier had what was perhaps more important than a combative Parliamentary presence, that is the ear of politicians and the court through which to exercise his influence. As befits an ancient borough, Bath was never over-awed by its MPs, as the rejection of Edward Ligonier and the episode of the inadequate peace showed, but it gained greatly from the distinction of being associated with such heroic and significant figures as Ligonier and Pitt.

Notes

- 1 For Ligonier's military career see Rex Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier. A Story of the British Army 1702-1770* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1958). The present author's interest began with a study of the correspondence between the gunpowder makers of the Bristol area and the Board of Ordnance in the early 1760s. See Brenda J. Buchanan, 'Meeting Standards: Bristol powdermakers in the eighteenth century' in Brenda J. Buchanan ed., *Gunpowder: The History of an International Technology* (Bath University Press, 1996).
- 2 A good account is still provided by Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots, Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries, in England and Ireland* (new & revised edn., 1876), particularly chap. XIII, 'Huguenot Officers in the British Service'. See also the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, especially vols. 4 (1884), 8 (1909), 10 (1911), 15 (1933) & 18 (1952), and Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp. 1-12.
- 3 Central Office of Information, *Honours and Titles* (HMSO, 1992), pp. 72-73.
- 4 After the capitulation of Vigo, Cobham laid waste the surrounding area, Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-39. Jonathan Marsden, in his 'Description of the Garden', *Stowe Landscape Gardens* (The National Trust, 1997), notes that Cobham was able 'to profit handsomely' from this expedition (p. 12), and suggests that the equestrian statue of George I, cast in 1723, was a token of his gratitude for his viscounty in 1718, and return to political favour and military command after the death of Queen Anne.

- 5 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, p.39, quoting S.W.Thomson, *7th Dragoon Guards* (1913).
- 6 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.51-52. Most of this private correspondence has been lost, but records survive in publications of 1866 and 1893, referred to by Whitworth, p.2.
- 7 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, p.49.
- 8 *Ibid.*, chaps.IV to VIII for a full account of these campaigns. On tactics and the European context see Jeremy Black, *European Warfare 1660-1815* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1994), pp.122-129.
- 9 A painting by John Wootten in the entrance hall of Inverary Castle shows the Duke of Cumberland, Sir John Ligonier, and Lord Henry Campbell at Laffeldt. John Cornforth and George Hughes-Hartman, *Inverary Castle* (Pilgrim Press, 1990), p.2.
- 10 Ligonier's brother Francis, Colonel in Command of the Brigade of Dragoons, died in the Scottish campaign. He wrote his epitaph, expressing sentiments which tell us as much about Ligonier as about his brother: 'A native from France, descended from a very ancient and honourable family there. A zealous Protestant and subject of England, sacrificing himself against a Popish Pretender at the Battle of Falkirk 1746 ... his duty called him to the field ... he exerted a spirit of vigour and heroism'. Quoted by Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.114-115, from Maclachlan, *William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland* (1876).
- 11 Bath Central Library, Access.No.21067, Braikenridge Collection 12124, Warrant for Shoes for the Army signed by Sir John Ligonier, 17th December 1745. On the baking of bread, Ligonier advised the Duke of Cumberland that: '... a Gent makes two Holes, about 3 foot deep He Jumps Into one of em, and Lining the other with some old Piece of Linen, il Petrit Son Pain Ladedans [?within], Pendent que quelques une de ses Camarades, are making an oven, dug on Some Side of a Bank, which Being Round a top Like a vault is as Good or Better than any Built oven after the first Baking, which will be a Little gresy, I don't know why our Soldiers should not practise this ...', 14 February 1746, Cumberland Papers, Royal Archives, Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.115-117.
- 12 John Cannon, 'Bath Politics in the Eighteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, vol.105 (Taunton, 1961), pp.87-105, especially pp.87-89.
- 13 Benjamin Boyce, *The Benevolent Man. A Life of Ralph Allen of Bath* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p.20.
- 14 Bath Record Office (BRO), 'General and Bye-Elections', a list of the candidates at elections from 1721, with the number of votes received. See also 'Returns of Members to Parliament 1572-1868'.
- 15 BRO, 'General and Bye-Elections'. Langton's supporters raised objections as Ligonier was not then a freeman of the city, but these were 'brushed aside'. See Cannon, *op.cit.*, pp.89-91.
- 16 *Bath Journal*, 9 January 1749.
- 17 Geoffrey Treasure, *Who's Who in Early Hanoverian Britain* (1992); A.W.Evans, *Warburton and the Warburtonians* (1932).
- 18 Boyce, *op.cit.*, pp.108, 212; Whitworth, *op.cit.*, p.109. There is some doubt as to the identity of Se(a)bright: 'C' or 'J', the Sir John who was to succeed Ligonier as MP for Bath.

- 19 BRO, Council Minutes, 17 June 1754.
- 20 British Library (BL), Newcastle Archive, Add.MSS., 32,728 f.1.
- 21 BL, Newcastle Archive, Add.MSS., 32,874 f.344/2.
- 22 BL, Newcastle Archive, Add.MSS., 32,876 f.264.
- 23 Jane Brown, *The French Hospital. A Short History* (n.d.). I should like to thank Mr.S. Champion de Crespigny of the French Hospital for information made available to me, and for a photograph of the painting of Ligonier on horseback by Dandridge; Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.196-197.
- 24 David C.Taylor, *The Book of Cobham* (Barracuda Press, 1982, 4th impress.), p.6, quoting from Defoe's *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724).
- 25 John Rocque's Map of Surrey (c.1760) shows the country seats of friends and allies near to Lord Ligonier's estate at Cobham, especially Claremont, home of the Duke of Newcastle (named after the Earls of Clare, a family title), later purchased by Robert Clive; and Burwood Park, Walton, home of John Frederick Esq. Hatchlands was built for Admiral & Mrs. Boscawen in the years 1756-1757, during which time they lived in a nearby property owned by General Onslow. He was then a rather choleric military commander of the south-western district of England, based at Plymouth, where the Somerset militia failed to turn out when called upon. For the Boscawens see Cecil Aspinall-Oglander, *The Admiral's Wife. Being the life and letters of The Hon. Mrs.Edward Boscawen from 1719 to 1761* (1940), pp.217-220; for Onslow see Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.294,302-304.
- 26 Boyce, *op.cit.*, p.220, refers for example to an invitation to Ralph Allen and his wife to visit Cobham in the summer of 1754, with their niece Gertrude, for whom there would be horses for riding.
- 27 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.172-174.
- 28 H.A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden eds., *The Complete Peerage* (1929), pp.654-657. See also Whitworth, *op.cit.*, passim.
- 29 O.A.Sherrard, *Lord Chatham. Pitt and the Seven Years' War* (1955), pp.242-244.
- 30 Pitt was strongly supported by Ralph Allen, and although there was opposition from the supporters of the local landowner Joseph Langton, and dismay at the speed with which Pitt's agents got to work, he was (with the exception of the missing vote of an absentee councilman), elected unanimously. Cannon, *op.cit.*, pp.90-94 and BRO 'General and Bye-Elections'.
- 31 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.180-183, 291-294; D.M.O.Miller, *The Master-General of the Ordnance* (n.d. 1972?), pp.52-54. Ligonier was appointed with the support of Pitt, after the objections of the King had been overcome.
- 32 A paper on Sir Charles Frederick was presented by the author to the Society of Antiquaries of London in June 1999. It is now being prepared for publication.
- 33 The letters from Ligonier to Frederick, here identified by date, are to be found in the Archive of the Duke of Newcastle, BL, Add.MSS, 57318. For a survey of the dispersed Ligonier papers see Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.230-231.
- 34 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.231-235.
- 35 Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Survey of London*, vol.xl (1980), pp.100-105, 356, with plates 11,25,26,53; Nikolaus Pevsner and Judy Nairn eds., *The Buildings of England, London*, vol.I (3rd.edn., revised by Bridget Cherry, 1973), pp.603-604.
- 36 BL, Newcastle Archive, Add.MSS, 57318, undated note.

- 37 Sherrard, *op.cit.*, p.120. See also Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years War. A Study in Combined Strategy*, 2 vols. (1907), *passim*.
- 38 BL, Newcastle Archive, Add.MSS, 57318, 11 November [1756]. The year is confirmed by Ligonier's *post script* that the Duke of Newcastle had that day resigned.
- 39 BL, Newcastle Archive, Add.MSS, 57318. Ligonier's letters of 9 February 1757 show that the Duke of Marlborough was pressing for powder, but 'what they Desire is Impossible within the Limited time'.
- 40 H.L. Blackmore, *The Armouries of the Tower of London*, vol.I, *Ordnance* (HMSO, 1976), p.21.
- 41 BL, Newcastle Archive, Add. MSS, 32882, 11 August 1758.
- 42 Sherrard, *op.cit.*, pp.238, 365. The victories in India were achieved with comparatively little help from the British government, yet through the East India Company a valuable trade continued to flow from that sub-continent. In September 1760, for example, Pitt wrote to his wife that '[Admiral] Pocock is arrived in the Downs with seventeen rich India ships, value above two millions'.
- 43 For transcripts of documents and copies of maps relating to the campaigns in North America, see Stanley Pargellis ed., *Military Affairs in North America 1748-1765. Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle* (American Historical Association, 1936).
- 44 For an accessible account of that part of the Seven Years War known as the 'French and Indian Wars', see J. Martin West (Director of Fort Ligonier) ed., *War for Empire in Western Pennsylvania* (Fort Ligonier Association, 1993). On the fort see Jacob L.Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation of Fort Ligonier 1960-1965* (Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, 1970). In travelling to Fort Ligonier to present a talk on 'Sir John Ligonier: Knight of Bath', 23 October 1995, it was possible to trace the line of the Forbes Road with its settlements such as Fort Lyttleton (the spelling varies) and Fort Bedford, named after George, Lord Lyttelton (1709-1773) and John, Duke of Bedford (1710-1771). Both politicians were frequent visitors to Bath where they, with Ralph Allen, were patrons of the author Henry Fielding – see A. Barbeau, *Life & Letters at Bath in the xviiith century* (1904), pp.158, 268-272.
- 45 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.236-239. Wolfe (1727-1759), had fought as a Major of Brigade at Laffeldt, and was known as an intelligent regimental officer with an interest in systems of manoeuvres; B.Little, *General Wolfe's House, Bath* (1980).
- 46 Whitworth, *op.cit.*, pp.209,213. Ligonier recommended both Forbes and Howe to General Lord Loudoun (sent to North America in 1756 in charge of the regular and colonial forces), with the words 'I wish you joy' of them. Forbes battled against ill-health as well as the enemy and died after taking Fort Duquesne. On Howe, see Pargellis, *op.cit.*, pp.418-422, for the dispatch of 10 July 1758 by Major William Eyre of the 44th Regiment, who reported his death in the 'first Skirmage'. The poem by Robert Louis Stevenson, *Ticonderoga. A Legend of the West Highlands* (1st pub. Scribner's Magazine, 1887; repr. Fort Ticonderoga Museum, 1947), tells the story of a death foretold at this unknown place, 'far from the hills of heather, Far from the isles of the sea'. In the Museum Library the original list of the killed and wounded includes: Campbells, Farquarsons, Grahams, Grants, McIntoshes, MacPhersons,

- Murrays, Southerlands, Stewarts – recruited to add to British fighting strength abroad, and to lessen problems in Scotland.
- 47 The Treaty of Paris of 10 February 1763 (signed separately from that between Prussia and Austria which ratified the former's possession of Silesia), confirmed Great Britain as the foremost European power in India and North America, with a naval supremacy that could underpin the development of colonial settlement and trade. But the return to France of some of the sugar islands of the West Indies, trading stations in West Africa and India, and fishing rights in Newfoundland, was thought by Pitt and his supporters to be a betrayal of hard-won victories and future prosperity. O.A. Sherrard, *Lord Chatham and America* (1958), pp.75-94; Black, *op.cit.*, pp.132-145.
- 48 Boyes, *op.cit.*, pp.276-280. See R.E.M.Peach, *The Life and Times of Ralph Allen* (1895), pp.175-176, for the Address, of which there is no copy in the Council Minutes.
- 49 Boyes, *op.cit.*, pp.279-180. Allen's offer of 4 June 1763, to take the matter no further unless that was Pitt's wish after reading the present letter, drew a rejection of such 'second thoughts'. Pitt explained that as their servant he owed his constituents an explanation, which they should have. The letter was therefore delivered to the Mayor and Council and the quarrel became public knowledge.
- 50 I am grateful to Mr.Godfrey Laurence for allowing me to see his correspondence with the British Library on the subject of this satirical print. It is identified in their *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, pp.290-292, as No. 4059, by William O'Garth, May 28, 1763. The cartoonist is thought to have been a knowledgeable local man rather than Hogarth, despite the signature on the drawing. Francis Yerbury, a Bradford-on-Avon cloth manufacturer and supporter of Pitt, has been suggested.
- 51 Cannon, *op.cit.*, pp.95-96.
- 52 Doubleday and de Walden, *op.cit.*, pp.654-657. Penelope (b.1749), was the daughter of George Pitt (1722-1803), a kinsman of William Pitt, created Lord Rivers in 1776. Lieut.Gen. Edward Ligonier (1740-1782) was the illegitimate son of Francis, mentioned earlier, and had a career of some military success. Married in 1766, he succeeded to his uncle's Irish titles in 1770, and fought a duel on his wife's behalf in Green Park in 1771. They were divorced that year and although both later re-married, Edward to Mary Henley (1773), and Penelope to a private in the Horse Guards, they remained associated in the public mind, as is shown by the couplet in the text, from *The Electrical Eel* of 1777.
- 53 Marie Peters, 'The Myth of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Great Imperialist. Part I: Pitt and Imperial Expansion 1738-1763', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.31 (1993), pp.31-74, provides a useful survey of the changing views of Pitt's role in these years.
- 54 Daniel J.Beattie, 'The Adaptation of the British Army to Wilderness Warfare, 1755-1763', in Maarten Ultee ed., *Adapting to Conditions. War and Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Univ.Alabama Press, 1986), gives an account of the changes of dress and tactics adopted particularly by Howe and Amhurst.
- 55 Lewis Namier and John Brook, *The House of Commons 1754-1790* (HMSO, 1964), vol.II, p.43.