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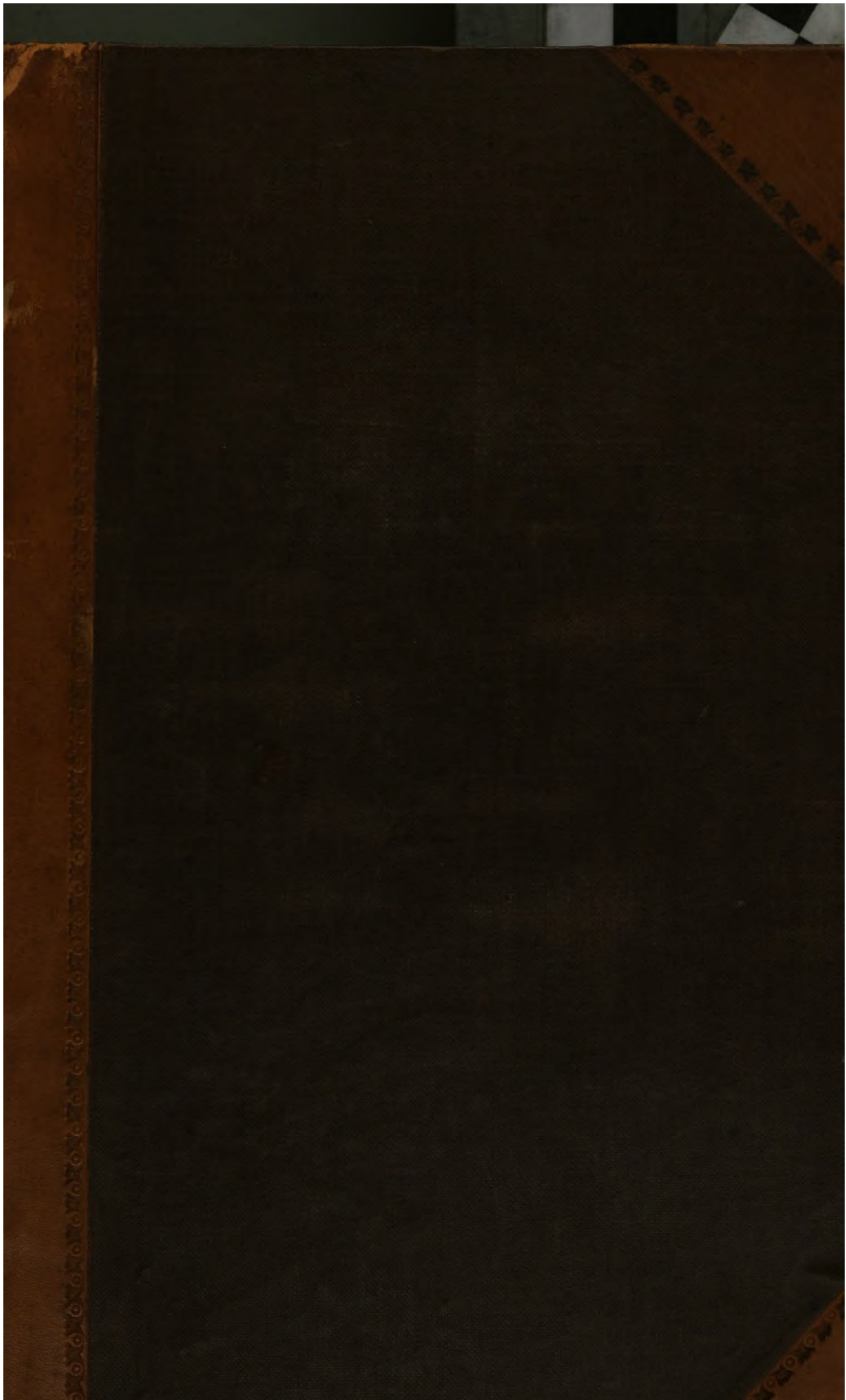
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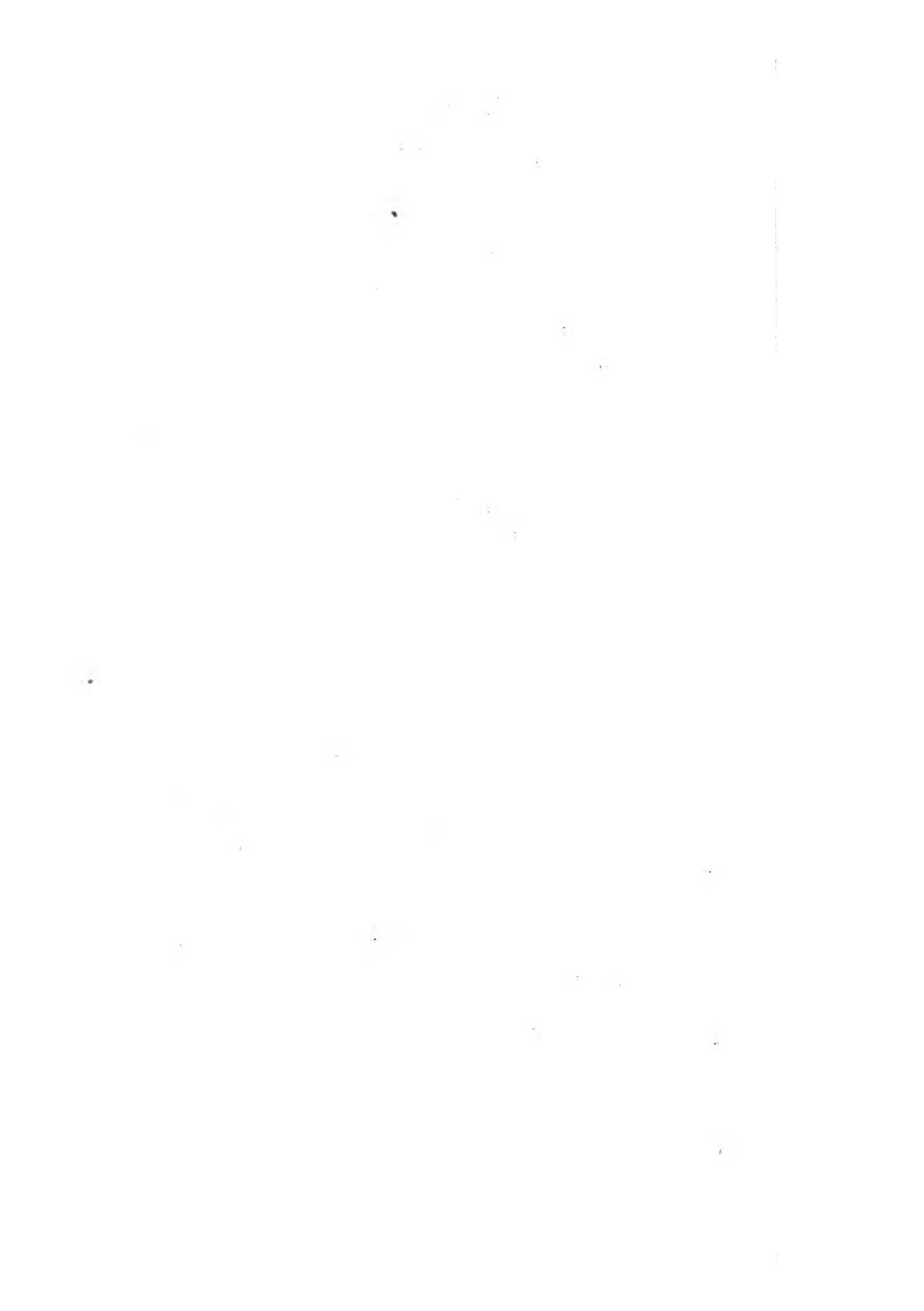




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ANNALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM
THE ASCENSION OF GEORGE III, TO THE PEACE OF
AMIENS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Volume III.

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*Inhuman decree of the Convention against the suspected. . . .
Execution of General Custine. . . . of the queen of France. . . .
of 22 deputies of the Gironde. . . . Vendean war. . . . Atrocities
at Lyons. . . . Recovery of Toulon by the Republicans.*

THE faction of the mountain were now masters of France. A committee, whose object was ill defined by its title, the committee of public safety, was the central organ of this despotic government. Danton, as we have seen, was the original leader of this body; but the power of this demagogue was already on its decline. Robespierre, Collot D. Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, recognizing no longer, in their comrade of the September butcheries, the same activity of spirit, resolved to detach him from their party. Robespierre, addressing him in the confidential manner of a friend, informed him that the mountain had begun to suspect him, that they looked with contempt on his weakness, and had not forgot to report his old con-

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nections with Dumourier. Retire, said he, for a while, and repose upon me as a friend, who will watch over all dangers in your absence, and give you the signal when you may with safety return. Danton, perceiving that his rival had at least the power if not the inclination to destroy him, submitted to his injunction; he retired to the country, where he lost his *revolutionary* energy, and with that his consequence and his safety. His three rivals usurped the power which he had relinquished, and used Barrere as a flexible instrument, whom they could destroy at pleasure.

One of the earliest measures of the committee of public safety was the law which they recommended to the convention, and which was passed under the name of the law of the suspected. A decree which was rendered still more dreadful by the agents to whom its execution was entrusted. Revolutionary committees were established to be the judges of the suspected, and the power of imprisoning and putting to death was delegated through a thousand channels. Every village had its revolutionary committee. Paris had forty-eight of them—the most abandoned wretches were selected to compose them, and these in their turn erected new ones. Among them there were some men who had no means of escaping the title of suspected, but by soliciting for the office of arrestation. A strange, a salutary generosity inspired others to accept this employment that they might render it void; so merciful a fraud could not long pass either undiscovered or unpunished. But to fill up the great mass of those revolutionary committees, whose members amounted to 200,000, the lowest refuse of society were generally picked out to sit in judgment on the lives and liberties of the flower of the French nation. These ministers of vengeance had still others subservient

to them ; eings whose capacity was only fitted for the place of informers, and these were retained in the service of the convention by a regular salary. All whom misery or domestic dependence had spited at their superiors, could enrich themselves by the ruin of those to whom they owed a grudge. Every low and resentful sentiment which want and humiliation breed in the human bosom, had its full scope ; but gratitude and fidelity had also their prodigies.

Hitherto the revolutionary tribunal had only directed its vengeance against obscure individuals, and almost all selected from that class of the people whom the demagogues affected to flatter. In the months of September and October, the committee of public safety delivered in succession to execution the illustrious General Custine, the queen of France, and 22 deputies of the Girondine party. The execution of Custine was the last crime in which Danton took any share. All his military operations were submitted to the scrutiny of judges and juries, who were better acquainted with massacres than with battles, and his difficulty before such a tribunal was not so much to justify his conduct, as to make it level to their comprehension. The juries of the revolutionary tribunal could not find a verdict that Custine had betrayed his country ; but they received new orders, and he was at last condemned. For six months past the Austrians had been victorious in all their actions : and, after three pitched battles of the first importance, had opened their way for marching to Paris, when the widow of the last king of France was destined to the scaffold ; either because the Jacobins wished to shew their contempt for their enemies, by depriving themselves of such a hostage, or that they found a consolation for their reverses in the shedding of blood. In searching for witnesses against

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Mary Antoinette, the most revolting choice was made on the one hand, of the supporters of the present tyranny, and on the other, of those who had been already proscribed, and who waited for the hour of sacrifice in their dungeons: the latter description were given to understand, that their own fate would depend upon the evidence which they delivered. Among the condemned deputies, there were two who were called in evidence, but they did not choose to attest their republicanism by accusing the queen. They tried also to make the queen an accuser in her turn; and brought Bailli into her presence, in hopes that she would yield to the implacable resentment which she was known to have cherished against the first constitutionists. But when repeatedly interrogated, whether La-Fayette and Bailli had been accomplices in the flight to Varrennes, she constantly denied it. Lator Dupin, who had been minister of war during the constituent assembly, was called as a witness. At the words, do you know the accused? he bowed in her presence, penetrated with grief and respect.—‘ Ah! yes, (said he), I have the honour to know *Madame*.’ The revolutionary tribunal wished to drive her by terror to ingratitude, and presented to her the small number of commissaries of the commune who had respected the misfortunes of the prisoners of the temple; but the queen employed all the dexterous address of a female mind to screen them from the forfeit of their humanity. A calumny, revolting to nature, was brought as one of the articles of accusation: she heard this atrocious fiction, and allowed it to pass in silence. One of the jury asked her to explain herself on this subject: she hesitated a moment, but rising on a sudden, with new animation and dignity, she turned to the audience, and, in an accent of inexpressible grief, pronounced these words,—I appeal to all the

mothers who hear me, whether one of them believes in the possibility of the crime? She spoke to furies, and furies could only answer her with their tears. During the whole scene of her trial, which lasted for several days, she supported herself with unvaried, yet dignified composure. At the sight of the place where Louis had suffered, she seemed impatient to present herself for execution. She suffered on the 20th of October. The Girondists were next called to their condemnation. Before reading to the convention the act of accusation against those of the party who had already been arrested, the reporter, Amar, cast a ferocious look to the right side of the assembly, where some deputies of the proscribed party continued to sit, with an honourable constancy. First of all, said he, it is our duty to arrest those traitors who are present—the cowards who now meditate their escape. Let the convention shut them up, and consign them over to justice, in this hall. The convention passed the decree, and forty deputies, the last remnant of the party, were consigned to the revolutionary tribunal. The most of them were arrested on the spot: twenty, who had already fled, were outlawed. A few days after, the same savage, Amar, mounted the tribune, and demanded the heads of the 73 whose names were attached to the protest against the Jacobins, which we have already had occasion to mention. A silence of terror filled the assembly. A defender rose to plead in their behalf, can we believe it! it was Robespierre. Either the sentiment of pity had for once come across the heart of this barbarian, or his clemency, which is more probable, arose out of dark and distant views of policy, and a fear of being rivalled by the men of blood whom he had trained to his policy.

None of the deputies found pardon; none of

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them indeed implored it. When they heard their sentence of death, they made the hall resound with unanimous cries of—long live the republic: they embraced each other. A cry of horror was raised on all sides, when Valeze, one of the condemned, plunged a dagger into his heart. The judges retired precipitately from their seats, as if they had already had every thing to fear from the despair of the deputies. They were remitted to prison, and supported death with becoming constancy. Thus perished (almost all in the flower, or at least in their vigour of life) Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Lasource, Sillery, Ducos, Carra, Dûperry, Gardien, Duprat, Fauchais, Beauvais, Duchatal, Mainville, Lacaye, Lehardi, Boileau, Antiboul, and Vigée. One of the most virtuous of the proscribed deputies, one of the most enlightened men of the age, Rabaut Sⁱ. Etienné, suffered soon after. Madam Roland was another illustrious victim—Roland himself, who had been obliged, for the sake of safety, to fly alone, was found dead; after hearing of his wife's death, he fulfilled his prediction that he would not survive her. The body of Petion was found torn in pieces by wolves; the mayor of Paris, who could have prevented the bloodshed of the 10th of August, and permitted it to be shed, scarcely deserved a better fate. Condorcet, after wandering about till hunger drove him to seek for food in an inn, was recognised for a '*proscribed,*' by his famished appearance, and arrested; but swallowed poison in sufficient time to avoid execution.

Thus, by execution or suicide, perished the greater part of the Girond faction. Before the appearance of those men on the scene of politics, the friends of order and of liberty had struggled with advantage against the two opposite extremes; but the Girondists divided, and by dividing, destroyed

the only party who could have been the saviours of France. They promoted themselves in the revolution by compromising with their enemies, and by overthrowing those whom they ought to have made their friends: they were presumptuous in their hopes, and crooked in their means. Their love of a republic was much akin to that enthusiasm, which the great pictures of Athens, of Sparta, and of Rome, produce on the minds of inexperienced youth. Without adoring their memory, let us at least respect it for the talents of so large a proportion of their party, and for the real virtues of so many who belonged to them in the last and most honourable period of their career. They sustained the last conflict against the destroyers of society and of men, and for a long time, with unequal arms. In that honourable cause they died with becoming constancy. The most of them were respectable for their private virtues. Nor can the praise of disinterestedness, relatively to their private fortune, be withheld from the whole party.

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During these events, the war in La Vendee exhibited atrocities which nothing in history surpasses; but the horrors exercised at Lyons, if possible, rivalled them. Since the revolution of the 10th of August, although that event had displeased the greater part of the Lyonese, yet they had observed a prudent silence; and, on the formation of the convention, attached themselves to the moderate party. This alarmed the jacobins; they sent a colony of their barbarous adventurers to form a club in that city, at the head of which was Challier, who assumed, and well deserved, the title of the Marat of Lyons. By the express orders of the jacobin head-quarters, a massacre of 600 of the most respectable inhabitants of the place was proposed and resolved on among the assassins; but pity and remorse had touched some of the hearts

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of even those conspirators. The inhabitants were warned of the fate which awaited them. The mayor (unlike Petion) took active measures for resisting the intended crime; he ordered the *generale* to beat at midnight, and at the break of day the assassins found all those under arms, whom they had devoted to sacrifice.

These events were previous to the last insurrection in Paris of the 2^d of June, which completed the fall of the Girondists; preparatory to which, the jacobins thought that the news of some massacre in the south would tend to warm the zeal of the Parisian rabble. But the massacre required a pretext. Challier invented one, by arresting 100 of the principal citizens; well knowing that the Lyonnese would not tamely suffer them to be sacrificed. The following day, their generous fellow citizens swore to deliver them, and they kept their word.

The 29th of May was a scene of dreadful carnage in Lyons. Under pretence of conciliation, a battalion of the Lyonnese sections was invited to appear before the Hotel de Ville; when, on a signal given, an unprovoked carnage was begun by the jacobins, by a discharge of cannon and musketry. The cry—to arms, spread through the city; the Hotel de Ville, defended by 18,000 of Challier's followers, was taken by the intrepid sections; and, though more mercy was shewn them than such perfidy deserved, an ample retaliation was made. Challier was brought to trial and executed. But this effort of the Lyonnese patriots, on the 29th of May, was rendered unprofitable by what we have seen to take place in Paris on the 2^d of June. It was in vain, after the fall of the Girondists, that the citizens, wishing to avoid the horrors of a civil war, displayed their devotion to the general cause of France, by sending assistance

to the army of Kellerman ; and even accepting of the new jacobin constitution : it was in vain that they tried to make terms ;—no terms were proffered, but an unconditional submission, which implied the surrender and sacrifice of their whole property, and of their best citizens.

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The siege of the city was now inevitable ; it was surrounded by 60,000 assailants. The same bombardment which the Austrians had been decried for using against Lisle, was here supported with a still greater barbarity by Frenchmen against Frenchmen. The inhabitants supported the siege with great valour. During the bombardment, some traitors in the city had given concerted signals, by which the effect of the shells was too successfully guided. The arsenal was blown up : the hospital (called Hotel de Dieu), where all the wounded were crowded, was struck by several bombs, and set on fire. Whatever atrocity the Lyonnese had witnessed, they conceived it impossible that their fellow creatures could have intentionally directed their fire against such a part of the city, where not only their own wounded, but those of the jacobins were collected ; and where the latter were treated with a generosity truly heroic on the part of the citizens. A black flag was erected over this mansion of suffering, to implore the mercy of the besiegers ; but the bombs were sent with fresh fury, and guided by the very signal with surer effect. The horrors of famine were soon added to the other miseries of the besieged. In the extremity of want, the women and the aged voluntarily gave up the use of rye and wheaten bread to the men who were exposed to labour on the ramparts, and reserved for themselves and their children, only an allowance of half-a-pound of oaten bread to each person per day. The arrival of new forces to the besiegers, and the loss of so many of their

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best troops, during successive sorties, at last drove the Lyonnese from their strongest posts around the place, and put an end to all possibility of a farther defence. In these dreadful circumstances, all the armed men of the city embraced the resolution, which, if it should not retrieve their fortune, could, at least, render it no worse, to sally out of the gates, and either meet immediate death, or break through their enemies. As for those whom they left behind, it seemed still incompatible with human nature to believe, that the enemy would exercise an unprofitable vengeance on beings who could inspire them with no resentment. Unhappily there were still traitors in their bosom, who cut off this melancholy hope, by giving notice to commissaries of the convention. The last, the feeble remains of the Lyonnese army took leave of all that was dear to them, and marched out of their city. They met, at first, with a slight resistance; but, as they advanced, immense bodies of cavalry attacked them in full charge, and scattered them in every direction. Of many thousands, who composed this unfortunate sally, only 50 or 60 escaped destruction, who arrived in Switzerland, with their commander Precy.

On that fatal day, Lyons opened its gates to the commissaries of the convention. The cannibal, Collot D'Herbois, entered with his troop of assassins; and, in a short time, it was computed that the blood of 6,000 individuals was shed by the guillotine and grape shot of the jacobins; not in the fury of battle, but in cool and horrid execution.

The army, which had reduced Lyons, was immediately marched to recover Toulon from the English, the Spaniards, and the Neapolitans. The troops of the allied powers, formed altogether, at Toulon, an army of 12,000 men. Our

troops, who had possessed it for several months, had, with great labour and expence, repaired and extended its fortifications, and established redoubts upon each of the mountains which commanded the forts. Among the allies, however, there was little unanimity. The national pride of the British and the Spaniards, and their rival interests, were constantly exciting disputes; and both of them held in contempt their indolent and unwarlike allies, the Neapolitans. The French troops were commanded by Dugommier, under whom, at the head of the artillery, served the young, but even then distinguished, Bonaparte. The siege endured for three months, and during the last five days and nights, there was an uninterrupted assault. The force and enthusiasm of the enemy, whose numbers ultimately amounted to 40,000, rendered the sorties of the besieged, however gallantly conducted, of little avail. The first sortie was directed against the redoubt which Bonaparte had constructed on the heights of Arenes, so as to annoy one of the most important out-posts of the garrison. This was effected on the 30th of November, and, for a while, the redoubt was in possession of the allies; but, unfortunately, flushed with their first success, they continued their pursuit till the republicans rallied, and in their turn became the assailants. The gallant governor, O'Hara, was wounded, and taken prisoner, and the whole body driven back with much loss. This success appeared to decide the fate of the siege. The out-posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and fort Mulgrave, were now exposed to the superior fire of the enemy, and, on the 17th of December, they yielded to a dreadful assault which was made with the bayonet, and with numbers which baffled all defence. The posts on the mountain of Faron, which overlooks Toulon, were at the same time carried, and the town

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then from that moment was judged to be untenable. A council of war being called, it was determined to abandon Toulon. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and, in the course of the evening, the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer-road of the harbour. Early next morning, the sick and the wounded were sent off, and measures concerted for withdrawing the British, Piedmontese, and Spanish troops. The Neapolitans had already set sail without orders. As the enemy now commanded the town, as well as part of the harbour, by their shot and shells, Lord Hood ordered the boats to assemble to the safest station, fort Malgue, where measures were concerted for the embarkation, and for destroying the arsenal and French ships, while they were yet in our power. The business was entrusted to Sir Sydney Smyth, and was executed by that illustrious officer with his usual intrepidity. Ten ships of the line, as well as the arsenal, and other magazines, were set on fire; but, owing to the calmness of the night, their conflagration was not complete. Fifteen ships of the line lay in the harbour, of which nine were consumed, and three were brought off. By day light of the 19th, after a night of terror and confusion, all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. But on board a few ships, it was impossible to crowd all the trembling fugitives, who had the vengeance of the republicans to fear, as Freron and Barras, the two commissaries of the convention, renewed in this place a too faithful picture of the enormities of Lyons and Marseilles. The victims were shot in rows, with musket and grape shot, and upwards of 1,000 certainly perished. Barras, who survived the reign of terror, and was afterwards one of those chief destroyers of the sys-

tem, has declared, that, far from obeying, he fell far below the orders of the committee of public safety, in point of severity. Yet, from the horror and execration of such executions, let none escape, who was even a passive instrument. When we hear of Bonaparte commencing his distinction in the service of such employers, it seems to accord well with the subsequent crimes of his career.

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Opening of parliament in January 1794. . . . The campaign of 1794. . . . Attack of the allies on the posts before Landrecies. Check given to the French, near Cambray, by the duke of York. . . . Defeat of Clairfait at Mouvron. . . . Defeat of Boileau by Jourdain. . . . Defeat of the French, by the British, near Tournay. . . . Loss of the Austrians at Courtray. . . . Grand attack of the allies on the French posts. . . . Defeat of the former near Turcoign. . . . Subsequent successes of the French, which lead to the total reduction of the Netherlands. . . . Application of many members of the Germanic body for peace. . . . Successes of the British arms by sea. . . . Annexation of Corsica to the British arms. . . . Successes in the West Indies. . . . State of France. . . . Overthrow of the Robespierrian tyranny.

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THE British parliament renewed its deliberations on the 21st of January 1794. The king's speech recommended vigour in the prosecution of the war ; no hopes, or even wishes of accommodation were expressed, nor were the addresses of either house, conceived in a more pacific strain. In the upper house, Lord Lansdowne was supported by only eight votes, in proposing to address his majesty to attempt negotiations for peace. In the lower house, the motions of the minority for similar purposes, were successively negatived. In stating the arguments of both parties, on the subject of the war, the repetition of the names of speakers would be a personal, rather than political narrative. Nor is a minute detail of their speeches of greater importance, as they only conveyed, in a different form, the arguments so frequently repeated in preceding debates. That the government of France was still hostile, intractable,

and such as precluded negotiation, was the favourite apology of the ministers friends for persevering in the war. The oppression of such a government, they asserted, must speedily work its own cure, and, collaterally with the war, accomplish the views of the allies. It would drive the French people to despair, and it would exhaust the energies of France by excessive exertion. When France should be delivered from its yoke, when a more moral government should reinstate good faith and moderation in that nation, then, and not till then, would it be safe to repose trust in their treaties, or practicable to obtain them.

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The atrocities of the French, (it was repeated by opposition) were neither the true causes of the war, nor sufficient excuses for its continuance. Nations and their governments, they argued, made treaties, and kept their faith, not from motives of morality, but for self-preservation. Did we assert that the French would not come to negotiations? It was prejudging their intentions, for we had not tried them. Was it assumed that France would not abide by treaties, because she was hostile and ambitious? She had been hostile and ambitious before, and yet she had kept faith in her contracts. Our object in the war was security; but what, it was asked, could be understood of an object so vague and undefined? Every former war had some definite object, by which security might be hoped for or attained. But in the present war, we depended for the attainment of our hopes upon a change in the government of our enemies—a change which, by force of arms, it was plainly impossible to effect—a change which depended on France herself to accomplish. Did we hope to place a king upon the throne of France? No, ministers durst not even avow the design. Did we trust for the sport of accident to produce a counter-revolution? Then

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we declared ourselves embarked in a war, which might endure as long as France had existence.

But the resources of France, it was said, were tottering in their last decline. Our financiers had predicted the instant decay of their credit. To this treacherous hope, which events have so completely falsified, the most important part of Mr. Fox's speech on the address, at opening the session, was directed. The French, it had been said, had no commerce and no money, but uncredited assignats to provide for their future campaigns. But a nation, said Mr. Fox, may be so situated, it may have its pride and its powers so unusually excited, as to set at defiance the common rules of calculation. This was the case of France, a nation so powerful by nature, and so fertile in invention, that she could rely on these resources as almost inexhaustible. Their enthusiasm was a native light and heat to the discovery and invention of resources. Nations, with little or no money, had often overwhelmed their richer neighbours. The Tartars and Scythians had neither money nor assignats; yet they overthrew the Roman empire; as Rome, in its comparative poverty, had overcome Carthage.

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Though, with scarce a hope of success, the minority renewed their efforts against the continuance of the war: the marquis of Lansdowne resumed the subject in the house of peers, and displayed the numerous and cogent reasons that should induce us to terminate a contest, so very fruitless in the past, and so utterly hopeless for the future. 'France (said his lordship) has shewn herself, and has been pronounced by the most consummate masters in the art of war, to be invulnerable. However divided by intestine faction, she comes out against her enemy one and indivisible. She has made her whole dominions a military school, where every mind of her new generation is fired with the mili-

tary passion. The incongruous host with whom we are now leagued against France, exhibits a very different aspect. Not enthusiastic in a common cause, but captiously attached to their individual interests, interests which are equally at variance with each other. Austria is ambitious, and Prussia is jealous of Austria; they have no cementing principle of union, but in some plan of partition, as that of Poland, hostile to the happiness and interests of Europe. Spain is exhausted of her resources, and unable to support her paper credit. Holland, once the seat of credit, can hardly raise one million at double the usual interest. Russia, alone of the confederates, is strong and able, but what reason have we to expect her promises to be realized? Peace, it is pretended, is not to be concluded with such men as the present rulers of France; but the same plea was made for protracting the war with America, and our final conduct demonstrated on what falsehood the pretence was founded.' With regard to that indemnity for the past, which, it was said, was a *sine qua non*, to be looked for in making a peace, his lordship exhorted parliament to reflect, that the detriment occasioned by one year's stagnation of British industry and capital, was much more serious than the loss of a sorry island, or a settlement, which we might receive for a compensation.

The treaties of Britain with her different allies, were subjected to the notice of parliament; and underwent from one side of the house a variety of censures. The first, and most important was the Prussian treaty; several circumstances had already warned the public, that real enmity between France and the Prussian monarch was at an end. Among others, the meeting and negociations of commissioners from each of these powers at Frankfort, who came with all the formality, and conducted

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affairs, with all the secrecy, of ambassadors, gave intimation of something more serious than a pretended exchange of prisoners being on the anvil. On the Prussian side of the negociation, General Kalkreuth was employed, a man deepest in the confidence of his sovereign. It was generally believed in Britain, that as Prussia had begun the war from a hope of dismembering France, she would immediately recede from it when she saw that design impracticable. The court of Berlin acted on this occasion, with its characteristical policy; before it ventured to declare its intentions to abandon the coalition, it applied to the diet of Ratisbon for a part of the expences that would be incurred for the defence of Germany. In default of the Germanic diet, Great Britain appeared to be the only quarter left from which a pecuniary aid could be expected. To enforce the necessity of complying with this request, the Prussian monarch made an open declaration to the princes of Germany engaged in the confederacy, that he found himself under the necessity of seceding from it. The reasons assigned, were the unconquerable resources of the French, and the exhausted state of his own. Mr. Pitt, on the 30th of April, entered on the subject of the Prussian alliance, of the inadequate finances of that power, and the necessity for throwing in a British subsidy to purchase the use of Prussian soldiers in the present contest, (at a price which he described as inferior to what we paid for any other subsidiary troops). He moved that £2,500,000 should be voted to enable the king to fulfil his engagements with Prussia. Mr. Fox proposed reducing the sum to one million and a half. He reprobated prodigality towards an ally so faithless as the king of Prussia. We had taken up arms (he asserted), as the accessories of that prince; but Frederick had artfully made us principals in the

quarrel, and now extorted from us the price of our imprudence in standing at the head of the alliance, by obliging us to be also the paymasters of the whole. Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by a majority of 101.

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Thus at the moment of his retiring from a principal to a subsidiary share in the war, the king of Prussia was entitled, by a vote of the British parliament, to receive no less a sum than £2,500,000: in consideration of this, he engaged to furnish the combined armies with 60,000 men; but this engagement, in the eye of impartial politicians, was rendered almost nugatory by one conditional clause, that the troops were to be commanded solely by a general appointed by the king of Prussia himself. Thus, it exclusively depended upon him to regulate the motion of these troops, which at his uncontroled option were to be made useful or not. This treaty was finally concluded and signed at the Hague, by the ministers of Great Britain and Holland, the latter power agreeing to supply £400,000 of the expence.

In the midst of such expensive preparations on the continent, a very serious quarrel threatened to aggravate the distresses of the country from another quarter. After the breaking out of the war, it had been judged a proper step by government to detain all the corn cargoes of American vessels in our harbours, and to appropriate them to the public use, on paying a reasonable price to the owners. In the month of November following, an order was issued for seizing all American vessels carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies. More than 600 American vessels were consequently siezed. The enforcing of this order, the seizure of some forts on the boundaries of Canada, which had been ceded to America by the peace of 1783, and the substance of certain

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conferences, which Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada, was known to maintain with the Indian chiefs, who were least friendly to the United states, raised a violent ferment in the minds of the American multitude, who were generally inspired with a political dislike to the English, since the commencement of the war. The American government laid an embargo on the British ships in their harbours for thirty days; beyond this step they did not retaliate, nor yield to harsher measures, in compliance with the angry turbulence of the public. Mr. John Jay, the chief justice of the United states, repaired to England in the summer of 1794, and complained, in the name of America, of the injuries we have mentioned, as well as of the frequent violence done to American seamen, who were pressed on pretence of being English. The answer of the British minister fortunately produced conciliation.

The accustomed subject of the slave trade was resumed during the present session. As the house had already shewn a disposition to authorize its gradual abolition, Mr. Wilberforce urged them to commence, by abolishing that part of the trade which supplied the islands and territories of foreigners with slaves. But in every motion respecting this abominable traffic, the decision of parliament may be already anticipated to be *rejection*.

The result of some trials for sedition in Scotland, had interested the public mind, more from the publicity of the offences and the severity of the punishment, than the individual importance of the offenders. Messrs. Muir and Fysche Palmer, the former an advocate at the Scottish bar, the latter an Unitarian preacher, had been sentenced during the preceding year for sedition, by the high court of justiciary in Scotland, to transportation to Botany bay. Soon after, several delegates of a seditious assembly, assuming the name of the British convention,

were sentenced by the same court, and underwent the same punishment. The necessity of restraining the licentiousness of such men, and intimidating their obscure adherents by an exemplary punishment, was universally admitted; but the severity of having doomed them to transportation, was regarded by many as a stretch of legal authority on the part of the Scottish judges. If this opinion be just, it must particularly apply to the case of Muir, whose guilt does not appear, from the severest strictures on his conduct, to have called for a sentence, little short in severity of the last rigour of the law. The case of these unfortunate men was warmly espoused by the minority in both houses of parliament. Mr. Adams gave notice, in the house of commons, of his intention to propose some alteration in the criminal law of Scotland; particularly to procure the facility of appeal, from the decisions of the justiciary court. Mr. Dundas, and the lord advocate, strenuously resisted the proposal, and insisted that the English laws were not sufficiently severe, in the punishment of sedition, nor at all applicable with propriety to the cases of the Scottish conspirators; on the rejection of the minority motions, Mr. Pitt introduced a bill, which put an end to all discussion on the subject; a bill which declared that the criminal code respecting sedition, was unexceptionable in its present state, and ought to suffer no alteration.

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There were at this time, two great political societies in England, the one styled the Society for constitutional information; the other, which was the more numerous, the Corresponding society. The avowed object of both, was a reform in parliamentary representation; but far deeper and more dangerous designs were ascribed to the latter, which admitted the lowest classes of the people. The charge might be justly applicable

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By keeping a watchful eye over those meetings, it was not difficult for government, to establish proofs of their licentious language ; and by an exaggerated interpretation of their views, to infer, with some plausibility, the existence of a conspiracy, for throwing the nation into bloodshed and confusion. The most obnoxious circumstance in their conduct, was the connection they maintained with the Scottish convention, and their known intention to summon a meeting in England, for the same lawless designs. After the trial and condemnation of the leaders of the Scottish convention, it was thought expedient to arrest the principal members of the London corresponding society ; and, to impress the public with a magnificent idea of the danger, they were committed to the Tower, not for humble sedition, but for high treason.

On the 21st of May, the introduction of a message from the crown by Mr. Dundas, describing to the commons the alarming danger of treasonable societies, and of conspiracies against the reign of order and government, gave occasion to Mr. Pitt to propose a preventive remedy for the case, which was, to suspend the habeas corpus act. The necessity of so strong a measure, Mr. Pitt illustrated by the papers of the obnoxious societies, which, he had laid before a committee of the commons, and had been made the subject of a formal report. The committee gave it as their opinion, that a plan had been formed, and was in forwardness, to assemble a convention, of which the evident object was, to oppose and supersede the authority of parliament. The minister proposed accordingly, to arm the executive power with sufficient energy, to prevent the execution of such an attempt. The report of the committee, Mr. Pitt

added, made it appear, that arms had been actually procured and distributed by those societies. The minister's motion was ably seconded by Mr. Burke, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Wyndham.

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Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and other leaders of the opposition, deprecated the adoption of this imperious measure, which was only, (if ever) excusable in cases of the utmost peril and necessity. What was there, they asked, in the plan of a convention, so deeply treasonable? Conventions never, until this present period, had been called unconstitutional. The convention proposed by reforming societies, might be in itself unworthy to be encouraged, but it would be dangerous for a house of commons, the immediate guardians of the rights of their fellow subjects, to declare it illegal. To pretend alarm at the designs of the convention, (they said), was mere affectation. Were such a meeting to pretend resistance to government, their efforts would be rather objects of derision than of dread. As to the report of the manufacturing and distribution of arms, the minority, with great justice observed, that if the real and sincere object of these politicians, (speaking of them as a society), had been to procure reformation by force of arms, something like an adequate store of weapons would have been found in their possession. All the boasted inquisition of government, by means of espionage, and by making the spies themselves proposers of sanguinary¹ projects, had been to produce eighteen pike heads, ten battle axes, and twenty sword blades; an armory prepared for encountering and destroying the British government. Such an in-

¹ It appeared evidently, on the trial of Watt, who was executed at Edinburgh, that he had started the proposal of bloodshed, and drawn a weak and wrongheaded associate, Downie, into it, with no other

view, than to be able to divulge a more important plot to the lord advocate; that no mention of arms would have been otherwise made, even in that seditious society.

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significant discovery, evidently shewed, that scarce more than one despicable individual, had been actively concerned in the insurrectional views of the reforming societies. The avowed and open purpose of the corresponding society, was parliamentary reform; the very same object for which Mr. Pitt had associated with some present reformers, at a recent period of his life. Imprudent, and even seditious language, might have been held in these meetings; if so, the laws were adequate to punish sedition; but to suspend the act, by which Englishmen held security for their lives and liberties, was to wound, perhaps mortally, the vital principle of the constitution. The issue of a long and warm debate, was the third reading of the bill, and a promissory address to the crown, that vigorous measures should be adopted for resisting the growth of treason.

Some time after the decision of the bill, followed the interesting trials of the arrested. These were, — Thomas Hardy, secretary to the corresponding society; the celebrated John Horne Tooke; J. A. Bonney, Stuart Kydd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardell, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, R. Hodson, John Baxter, and John Martin. The first person tried was Mr. Hardie. His trial began with a long statement of nine overt acts of treason. The speeches of Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, in his defence, were considered as the highest specimens of professional knowledge and eloquence. The public was loud in congratulating the forcible and effective manner in which they silenced every attempt to establish the fatal doctrine of *constructive treason*. Hardy's trial lasted for eight days, during which, the anxiety of the public was wrought to a pitch far above the consequence of the individual. A principle of public justice was at stake, and

never was the joy of a community more openly expressed, than when the jury acquitted him. Had the crime of constructive treason led Hardy to the scaffold, a precedent would have been established, of deadly import to the existence of British liberty. Even they who had been most alarmed by rumours of the vast strength of the seditious party, were now gratified by the discovery, that its power and means to effect the purposes imputed to it, were too inconsiderable to excite any reasonable apprehensions.

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The successes of the French arms at the close of 1793, as well as during the course of the succeeding year, had obliterated the lofty ideas once cherished by the coalition. Defence, much more than conquest, became the object of the most sensible of the allied nations; and the ruling powers of Britain, instead of announcing triumphs to the public, were now obliged to prepare them for the eventual prospect of a French invasion. On the 6th of May, Mr. Pitt made a motion for augmenting the militia; and to this he added another important proposal, which was, to levy a volunteer force of horse and foot in every county, for securing the internal peace, and aiding the defence of the island against external invasion.

Previous to the mention of this latter proposal in parliament, the minister circulated a recommendation of these volunteer associations to the lieutenants of the different counties, which, in effect, amounted to a requisition; as the subscriptions were immediately filled up by all the dependants of government, and no choice was left to the inhabitants, but to enrol themselves at the orders of the lord-lieutenant, or be held out as marked and disaffected individuals.² The procedure of mi-

² Notice was publicly given in the papers, that those who did not comply with this direction, would be considered as *enemies* to government.

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nisters, (even this length in the business), without the sanction of parliament, was condemned by the opposition of the house, as a breach of the constitution; since the levying of every aid to government, was the express and sacred trust of the legislature. The ministry pleaded precedents of similiar levies during former wars, in particular, during the American war, when a vote of the house of commons had put their legality beyond all question. Mr. Fox insisted, that the precedent alluded to, was totally irrelevant. The contributions during the American war were truly voluntary, as no official authority had prompted them; but in the present case, it was plain, that the executive power had demanded pecuniary assistance from the people, without the intervention of parliament, which, if established as a precedent, would go to annihilate the highest privilege of the national representation. All the motions of opposition on this head, were unsuccessful.

The militia and volunteer bills were followed by another, for permitting the French emigrants to be embodied in his majesty's service, and to receive commissions from our government, after taking the oath of allegiance. The number of those foreigners, whom ministers proposed to permit being quartered in England, was at first unlimited. It may be noticed as an unaccustomed success of the minister's opponents, that Mr. Sheridan obtained a vote from the house, that their number, suffered to serve in England, should not exceed five thousand.

The indefatigable, though small minority, still persisted in exhorting to open a negociation, and attempt the restoration of peace. On the 30th of May, the duke of Bedford proposed a series of resolutions in the peers, for this purpose. After a retrospect of the chief events which had led to the beginning and continuance of the war, he called

on the house to the domestic and foreign situation of affairs, and to consider, what hopes we could indulge of compelling France to submit to our terms. The first ostensible motive of the war, had been to assert the right of our allies to the navigation of the Scheldt, and to protect them from a French invasion. These ends were once accomplished; but, instead of proposing peace in the moment of success, we prolonged the contest. What was now the object of the war? A better government in France. ‘Let us look back,’ (said the noble speaker), ‘to the history of the French revolution, and we shall find, that its worst excesses, its bitterest evils, have sprung from that very interference of foreign powers, which was meant to dictate a government to that nation. It was the fury roused in France by the manifestoes of tyrannical invaders, which chiefly contributed to fan the fire of republicanism, and to consume the last remnants of its monarchy. Our alliances are weakening day by day, or rather converting into burdens on our finances. Russia has only promised. Prussia, that led us into the war, will only act as an auxiliary at the price of an enormous subsidy. Spain, Portugal, and Sardinia, have done nothing; and Austria, though the most deeply interested in the contest, is fast approaching to a situation, in which she will require the support of our subsidies.’ As to the necessity of supporting a war for the sake of repelling French principles from the country, the duke regarded the argument as so gross and false a libel on the sense and loyalty of Englishmen, as to merit no serious refutation. The answers of administration were still founded on the impossibility of negotiating with such a government as that of France, and the hope of farther events in the war being more auspicious to the coalition. The pacific motions of the min-

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ority, continued rather to record, than to influence the complexion of parliamentary opinion.

The supplies for the present year were very great and expensive. Eighty-five thousand seamen, and an hundred and seventy-five thousand landmen were voted. Besides the usual ways and means, there was a loan of eleven millions. The new taxes were imposed on British and foreign spirits, on bricks and tiles, slates, crown and plate glass, on papers, and on the licences of attorneys.

In the summer, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and America, tending powerfully to promote the political amity, and commercial benefit of both countries. Several changes were made in the administration, making room for those whigs, who had seceded from Mr. Fox at the commencement of the war. Lord Fitzwilliam was made viceroy of Ireland, the duke of Portland third secretary of state, Mr. Windham secretary at war, and earl Spencer first lord of the admiralty.

On the 21st of July both houses of parliament were prorogued.

As the campaign of 1793, however prosperous in its commencement, had terminated inauspiciously for the allies, the courts of London and Vienna adopted every measure that could give energy to their operations in the opening campaign. Colonel Mack, an officer high in the emperor's confidence, came to England to concert along with the British ministry a plan of united operations; and the emperor to obviate all disputes among the allies about precedency in command, appeared in the Netherlands at the head of his own troops.

The armies of the allies were thus computed:—Prince Cobourg's force, 140,000; the army of the duke of York, 40,000; army of the Dutch, 20,000; Austrian army on the Rhine, 60,000; the Prussian army, 64,000; the army of the em-

pire, 20,000; the army of Condé, 12,000. In all, 356,000. The republican armies had to oppose to these,—the army of the north, 220,000; the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, in number 280,000; of the Alps, amounting to 60,000; of the eastern Pyrenees, to 80,000; of the south, 60,000; of the west, 80,000. In all, 780,000 men. On the side of the allies there was a high state of discipline, and the inspiring presence of an Imperial leader to promise union and success to their arms, and to counterbalance inferior numbers. The French had no apparent disadvantage to weaken the effectiveness of their innumerable hosts, but a want of those materials of warfare, from which the dominion of Britain over the ocean, and the hostility of surrounding nations necessarily cut them off, and a scarcity of fire arms for such a levy as modern Europe had never seen collected. For the supply of arms to the combatants, all the forges in France were instantly set to work, all the precious metals that could be found in churches and cathedrals were confiscated for the funds of the republic, while the bells of the same places were melted down into cannon. The military council, under the direction of Carnot, chalked out the mighty plans of a campaign, extending from the German sea to the Mediterranean; and, to use the words of their countrymen, organized victory. The balloon was used to reconnoitre whole provinces and armies of the enemy, to count their numbers and watch their motions. The telegraph communicated orders and information with the rapidity of light. Experimental philosophy was put in requisition to replenish magazines, and to temper the edge of the sword. Nor did the gentler arts of music and poetry altogether abandon this scene of ferocity; but assuming an aspect like the times to which

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they ministered, produced some of those war songs of liberty which accompanied the march of the republicans, and were chanted in the very moment of battle.

The Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians, to the number of 187,000, were reviewed by the emperor on the heights of Cateau, on the 16th of April. On the following day the combined army, dividing into eight columns, attacked the French before Landrecies, who were strongly posted to resist the siege. Two of these columns were commanded by the duke of York and Sir William Erskine, and one of them by the emperor in person. The action was continued over an immense extent of ground. It was long and severely contested. At last the bravery of the allies prevailed, and the important posts before Landrecies were carried. But so signal an advantage did not prevent the French from returning, with their usual impetuosity, and attacking next day the hereditary prince of Orange, who stood his ground, however, at the head of the Dutch troops so firmly, as to drive them back. Three days after they assaulted the outposts of Prince Cobourg; and by the aid of Sir Robert Lowrie's brigade of British cavalry, were forced to a similar retreat.

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Exasperated at these failures, they were gathering in great force near Cambray, when the duke of York anticipated their designs; and on the 24th put a large body of them to the route. In a renewed encounter the next day, they again left the field to the British. In both battles they were computed to have lost 3000 men, and 30 pieces of cannon. The division of the emperor repulsed them in a similar assault; but here the tide of victory was again turned. Pichgru fell upon Clairfait at his posts of Moneron, on

the 29th of the same month, and after a day of much bloodshed, the Austrians were overwhelmed. This defeat was immediately followed by the loss of Courtray and Menin.

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During these transactions in the west, Jourdan had gained a still more signal victory over Beaulieu, in the duchy of Luxemburg, in a battle which lasted two entire days. The news of this victory had just arrived, to animate the emulation of Pichigrü, when his army, to the number of 30,000, bore down upon the duke of York at Tournay, with the evident design of turning his wings, and by breaking the line of the allies to involve the British between two fires. The steadiness of the British once more frustrated their attempt, and drove them back with the loss of 3000 men. A more unfortunate conflict took place at Courtray, in which the Austrians, under Clairfait, could not resist the enemy's numbers and enthusiasm, but were driven in such confusion that it was with difficulty they saved Ghent, Brussels, and Ostend, from falling immediately into the hands of the conquerors.

Flushed by these successes, the French ventured across the Sambre, and obliged General Kautitz to retreat; but in a few days the Austrians rallied, and gained a memorable victory on the 16th of May, by which the enemy were again pursued across, and hopes arose that the fate of the campaign might be favourably decided by a general attack upon all their posts in the Netherlands. But what had befallen the French at the opening of the campaign, now happened to the allies. The plan they had formed for the execution of their designs was betrayed to the French; and by that treachery completely frustrated.

During the night of the 16th of May, the allies advanced in five divisions to attack the republican

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posts on the banks of the Mayne. Two divisions were to force a passage over the river; but on arriving at their destination were so overwhelmed with fatigue that they could merely cross the river, without being able to advance forward. Another division found the enemy so well prepared that they made a rapid retreat, without risking an engagement.

The two divisions, headed by General Otto and the duke of York, were successful in carrying the posts which were assigned to them; but the success of the day was on the whole insufficient for the allies; and the next their defeat was complete. The duke of York and General Otto's corps, attacked by numbers immensely superior to their own, with difficulty were saved from total slaughter or capture. His royal highness was on the point of being taken prisoner. The troops of Cobourg and the Emperor shared the same fate. The precise loss of the allies in the battle which was fought near Turcoign was never satisfactorily ascertained; but it must have been very great. The British troops alone lost 1000.

In consequence of the battle of Turcoign, Pichgru became again the assailant; and pouring his prodigious numbers on the allies, to the amount (it was computed) of 200,000 men, determined to possess himself of Tournay. The attempt was made; and the neighbourhood of Tournay witnessed a fresh and general combat on the 22^d of May. On this occasion the bravery of the allies repelled the attack. The British troops, particularly Fox's brigade, signalized their gallantry, by carrying the village of Pontechin from the republicans at the point of the bayonet. The battle of Tournay cost the French no less than 10,000 men. After this important battle, the enemy twice forced the passage of the Sambre, and were

twice defeated in pitched battles within the space of a fortnight, first by Prince Kaunitz, and afterwards by the hereditary prince of Orange. But undismayed by these defeats, they crossed the river a third time before the middle of June, with fresh reinforcements, and storming the Austrian camp at Bretignies, prepared to besiege that city.

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During these severe contests the Robespierrian tyranny in France was at its darkest pitch. The 26th of May was signalized by that savage decree, by which the convention ordered no quarter to be given to English or Hanoverian soldiers. The duke of York's address to his troops, on this occasion, was worthy of British humanity. The French themselves had too much prudence, and we may believe, for the credit of human nature, too much humanity, to obey the order.

In maritime Flanders, Clairfait sustained a defeat from Pichigru; and Ypres surrendered to Moreau, who had but lately left the profession of a lawyer for the army, and shewed the earnest of his future glory at the first outset of his military career. General Jourdain having captured the garrison of Charleroi, and joining the rest of his forces to the besieging army, advanced to Fleurs, where in one pitched battle he decided the fate of the Netherlands. The battle lasted from morning till sunset. At night the combined armies fell back on Marbois and Nivelles, with an intent, if possible, to cover Namur. In consequence of their defeat the allies were forced to abandon all their strongest positions. Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, and finally Namur, were left without protection. The British army participated in the general loss and embarrassment of the vanquished: they were so inclosed that all communication with Ostend was cut off. In this emergency, the earl of Moira was requested by ministry, on learning

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the perilous fate of the duke of York, to repair with several regiments, then lying in Southampton, and cut open a communication with his royal highness. Led by this gallant nobleman, a little army of the English penetrated from the coast of maritime Flanders, as far as the main army of their countrymen. The duke of York, however, found it necessary to retreat across the Meuse, and withdraw into Holland. Prince Cobourg still endeavouring to protect the Netherlands after the battle of Fleurs, engaged the enemy once more at Mons, where he found himself unable to resist their reiterated attacks, and was obliged to abandon that place; and again at Soignes, when in spite of his numerous artillery, the French rushed in with fixed bayonets, carried his entrenchments, and completely routed the Austrians. The French entered Brussels on the 9th of July; and it was now evident that the Low countries were for ever lost to the house of Austria.

Jourdain having been victorious on the Sambre, as Pichigru was upon the Scheldt, the French determined to recover all the frontier towns lately belonging to France. General Sherer appeared before Landrecies, and reduced it to the necessity of surrendering on the 15th of July. Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Conde, surrendered in the course of the succeeding month. The booty obtained in the two last places was very valuable; but the victories obtained by the republicans were disgraced by the indiscriminate massacre, in cold blood, of all the emigrants who were found.

General Clairfait being once more overpowered in a pitched battle on the 15th of September, was driven before the troops of General Kleber out of Louvain. At the commencement of October the Austrians were driven across the Rhine, and their conquerors were put in possession of Ilver,

Malmedy, and Spa. In a short time the allies had no other place on the left bank of the Rhine than Mentz.

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Pichigru pursuing the duke of York into Holland, came up with the advanced guards of the British troops on the banks of the Dommel. An action was thus commenced at Boxtel, by the event of which the French were enabled to cross the river. General Abercrombie in vain attempted with the reserve to recover the possession of its banks. Increasing in numbers after every defeat, the French continued to gain the amount of 80,000 men; while the army of his royal highness suffered a diminution at every step. This portion of the allied troops accordingly retreated across the Maese, leaving Bois-le-duc, Bergen-op-zoom, and Breda, without a protecting army. The first of these places was invested during the month of September. As the country had been inundated, and the flood greatly increased by the rains, it was a matter of astonishment even to the captors, that it consented to capitulate on the 10th of the following month. His royal highness awaiting the invaders, occupied a strong position in the neighbourhood of Pufflech, to which point the French bore down upon him in four columns, and after driving in his advanced posts, and severely engaging the main army, obliged him to retire across the Waal. Venloo was the next place of importance that attracted the operations of the French: it capitulated to a small army under General Laurent, on 28th of October. Maestricht surrendered to General Kleber within seven days. The duke of York co-operating with the besieged garrison of Nimeguen, enabled them to resist until the English were obliged to abandon all connection with that place, and leave only their piquets behind them. Notwithstanding that the rigour of the win-

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ter season was now commenced, preparations were made by the French to push their victories during the winter.

The victories of the French on the Rhine, though the numbers of the combatants were fewer, were equally fatal with those in Holland and Flanders. Field-marshal Mollendorf, the successor of the duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussians, had indeed some temporary successes, and drove the enemy behind the Lauter; but a few weeks had not elapsed, when the whole posts of the allies were assaulted with greater numbers and fresh enthusiasm. By the battle of Edickhoffin, and the subsequent encounters that followed close upon that action, an extent of territory, sixty miles in length, was abandoned to the conquerors, and the ancient jealousies between the vanquished revived with increased ardour. By this series of victories, the French were enabled to seize on Treves. The Palatinate too was over-run, rather than conquered, during the autumnal season; and all the ripe fruits of the harvest confiscated for the use of the republican armies. The members of the Germanic body seemed now to be anxiously bent on a peace. The elector palatine, part of whose dominions were in possession of the enemy, expressed his wishes on the subject, in an official declaration. The elector of Mentz proposed to ask the mediation of Sweden, as a guarantee to the treaty of Wesphalia: the ministers of Treves, Cologne, and Bavaria, acceded to a negociation. Frederick William, as elector of Brandenburg, testified his approbation of the measure; and the emperor himself did not openly oppose it.

While fortune thus favoured the enemy by land, it was reserved for the British navy to vindicate its glory on the other element. On the 2^d of May,

Lord Howe set sail with the Channel fleet from S^t. Helens, and after a cruize of twenty-seven days, descried the grand fleet of France, which had put to sea ten days before, under vice-admiral Villaret Joyeuse, with orders from the republic to protect their expected supplies from America, even at the risk of a battle. On the 28th at eight in the morning, the hostile fleets descried each other. Admiral Pasley was detached to attack the rear of the enemy, and a conflict ensued, in which three of our line was engaged with their rearmost ships, but without producing a capture on either side. Next day, at nearly the same hour, while the French again appeared to windward, Lord Howe gave orders for passing their line to gain the weather gage; but failing in the attempt, he gallantly broke through their line, and obtained his object. The French admiral again tacked by signal, and a distant and indecisive cannonade was for some time maintained. A thick fog, during the night and the following day, prevented the immediate renewal of the action. On the dawn of the 1st of June, the French displayed their whole line ranged in order of battle to leeward, and seemed to provoke the contest. They numbered twenty-seven ships of the line, and ten corvettes and frigates; while the force of lord Howe amounted to twenty-five ships of the line, and thirteen inferior vessels. At the first sight of the enemy, a signal from the admiral's ship gave orders for the crews of all the fleet to go to breakfast, and in half an hour more, the signal for close action was suspended from the Royal Charlotte. By ten o'clock in the morning, the commander had been brought in his own ship along side of the French admiral, and while the other captains of our fleet either penetrated the enemy's line and got to leeward, or took advantageous positions to windward, a close and terrible action commenced.

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The superiority of the English seamen, however, soon became so evident, that in fifty minutes from the opening of the action in the centre, Villaret-Joyeuse crowded all his canvass for flight, and was followed by every vessel of his line that was not completely dismasted. Two eighty, and five seventy-four gun ships remained in the power of the victors, but one of the latter went down soon after she was taken possession of. The loss of the French was estimated at 3000 killed and wounded. Our own fell short of 1000. Lord Howe returned with his prizes, to receive the well merited applauses of his country, which was amply expressed to all the distinguished officers of the fleet; while the French nation, hearing no accounts of the action except through the turgid falsehoods of Barrere, who announced it as a triumph over the navy of England, had at least to congratulate themselves on one salutary effect of their resistance, which was, the salvation of a fleet of merchantment, 160 in number, estimated at the value of millions, and arriving at a period when the famine of a desolated country called for instant supplies. Their grand fleet, however, did not venture to furnish Barrere with another subject of triumph, but permitted Lord Howe to cruize in defiance around their coasts, and instead of making captures, they lost five additional ships of the line.

April 23.

A short time before the memorable 1st of June, Sir John Borlase Warren had signalized himself by the defeat of a small squadron in an engagement off Guernsey, in which four sail were captured after two hours close fighting, and some hours of pursuit. Towards the end of summer he pursued five others off Scilly, and driving them under the batteries of Gamelle rocks, would have proceeded to burn them; but, with a generosity worthy of his courage, abstained from the last rigours of war

against an unfortunate enemy, whose wounded could not have been saved, had he set their vessels on fire. Several combats of single ships displayed during the campaign, the same superiority of our seamen, in a most illustrious light. Of these the action of Captain Nagle of the Artois with the Revolutionaire, and others, might be mentioned. The loss of the Alexander, of seventy-four guns, was an unfortunate event, but did not tarnish the reputation of the British arms, though the unusual spectacle of such a prize, was resounded through France as an immortal achievement. This vessel, which had parted from the division of admiral Bligh, and could not rejoin it, was attacked off Brest by three French seventy-fours, whom she engaged, and resisted for two hours, and when her lower masts were on the point of going by the board, reluctantly struck to this irresistible disparity.

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The ascendancy of our navy in the Mediterranean, pointed out the annexation of Corsica as a practicable achievement, which might in some degree console us for the loss of Toulon. The attachment of Paoli to our cause, was a circumstance peculiarly favourable to the design. Lord Hood accordingly sailed on the 24th of January from the bay of Hieres, with a fleet of sixty sail, a considerable force of his majesty's troops, and the fugitive royalists of Toulon. The capture of an island strongly fortified by nature and art, and in which a strong proportion of the inhabitants were attached to the French, was not accomplished without serious difficulty and delay. It occupied the exertions of our troops from their first attempts on the tower of Mortella in the month of February, till the capture of Calvi, the capital, which held out till August. The different forts and batteries of Fornelli, Fiorenzo, and Bastia, stood severe and re-

peated attacks of the invaders, and it was not till the united talents of a Nelson, a Moore, and a Stuart, had been signalized in this scene of warfare, that the invasion was crowned with success. Calvi stood a siege of fifty-one days. On the surrender of the island, a general consulta was assembled at Corte, and Paoli was elected president of the representatives. The union of Corsica with the British crown was voted by their native parliament, and a constitution, containing many valuable privileges to the inhabitants, was offered in return on the part of the British sovereign by the viceroy, Sir Gilbert Elliot, (now Lord Minto).

Though the attempt of our arms on Martinico had failed during the former year, the plan of reducing the French West Indies was not abandoned. An army of 500 men, commanded by Sir Charles Grey, protected by the fleet of Sir John Jarvis, sailing for the West in the end of 1793, reduced Martinique, after a gallant resistance under the generalissimo of the French in those quarters, Rochambeau. The English soon after made themselves masters of S^t. Lucia and Guadaloupe, with its dependencies, the Saints, Marie Galante, and Desiderade.

March 25.

In the midst of this successful career, our troops were afflicted by the dreadful visitation of the yellow fever. It was during the prevalence of this epidemic distemper, that a small armament of 2000 men, commanded by Victor Hugues, escaped from Brest, and landing in Guadaloupe, immediately overpowered the debilitated and sickly garrison in the fort of Grande Terre. The British general, by collecting reinforcements from the other islands, endeavoured to retrieve this loss, but the ranks of every regiment were so thinned by sickness, the wants of so many islands, and the waste of so sickly a campaign were to be supplied, that this was no

easy task. A respectable force being at last collected and landed, drove the invading enemy from some commanding heights that lay between the shore and the fort; but the pursuers were on the same day, attacked by a mixed and immense multitude of blacks, whites, and men of colour, and were compelled to have recourse to the bayonet, before they could repress the ardour of their assaults, and restrain them for a while within their fortifications. When the setting in of the rains was about to terminate the season for military operations, the British commander made a last effort to expel the French by a nocturnal attack; but from a variety of unfortunate accidents, the attempts of our men, though made with their usual gallantry, were completely frustrated. In various encounters, no less than 500 were killed or wounded on this confined scene of warfare. The British general at last retired from Martinico, leaving all the force that could be spared for maintaining the posts which still remained in our possession. This force soon reduced by mortality to 150 privates fit for duty, yielded to a vast disparity of numbers, and the whole island fell again into the hands of the republicans.

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From S^t. Vincents, the seat of the Caribbs, the passion for liberty and equality was communicated to the mulattoes and negroes in Martinique, S^t. Lucie, and the Grenades; and a spirit of anarchy threatened every part of the West Indies. Martinique alone escaped the devastation of the insurgents, through the vigour of the regulars and colonists. The contagion of revolutionary principles spread to Dominica, but was repelled, though not without a long struggle, and the destruction of much property. In Jamaica, the Maroons inhabiting the interior mountains of the island, commenced a war of unexampled barbarity; but, by the

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vigilant policy of Lord Balcarras, and the military skill of General Walpole, they were at last surrounded in the woods and fortresses, and reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion.

The return of victory to the standard of the republic, did not, however, abate the rigours of its revolutionary government, nor abate the jealousy of the reign of terror. On the contrary, the existence of two factions among its chiefs, gave symptoms of disquietude, and foreboded new executions. Danton had returned from his retreat, where he had sought in vain for calm and security. Every thing in the continued system of terror, was adverse to his views, and the purposes he had meant to serve by his former atrocities. His revolutionary creed was far outrun by what was now transacted; for though he would have stopt at no crime that was necessary, or even useful to a revolution, yet, to prolong them beyond what was useful, and to become the slave of atrocity without ever enjoying it, excited his indignation and contempt. On his return, he found his friends the cordeliers, though in general the most devoted that ever followed a guilty leader, either thrown into consternation, or abated in their fidelity. Billaud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, S^c. Just, and Couthon, were his declared enemies; yet, their avowed hatred was less to be dreaded, than the feigned friendship of Robespierre. In some of their interviews, Danton ventured to express his dislike to the protracted system of bloodshed: Robespierre pretended to feel an equal resentment to the system. My popularity, said Robespierre, is immense, but my power is nothing: all massacres are attached to my name, that I may be the more exposed to assassination. The jacobins honour me, but it is the obscene Hebert whom they follow. I am obliged to disguise my indignation, and only impart it in

confidence to you. Our united efforts might yet break this odious yoke. All the present anarchy has its origin in the revolutionary laws of which those men direct the execution. Let us take measures for obtaining the guidance of those laws, but let us be careful not to take a step beyond what our own security prescribes.

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It was by these overtures that Robespierre subjugated Danton to his interests, and afterwards left him to his destruction. During the present interview, there is reason to believe that he was sincere, at least in his wish, to coalesce with Danton.

The first measure on which they agreed, was, to choose a committee of clemency. It may well paint to the conception, what were the miseries and debasement of France at this period, when Robespierre was beset with the idea of *clemency*; a clemency, which not his heart, but his policy, dictated. He stammered out this word from the tribune of the convention, but it was only to retract it the following day.

Among the young men who were followers of Danton, Camille Desmoulines had been long distinguished for the ferocious gaiety with which he had served the popular cause; yet, by a contradiction worthy of the times, this cordelier became at last a combatant and martyr in the cause of humanity. His conversion was attributed to the influence of a beautiful woman, to whom he formed an attachment, and who would only consent to make him happy, on condition of his abjuring the cause of cruelty. He soon became, by his writings and public speeches, a severe scourge to the infamous followers of Hebert. Robespierre himself for a while appeared to favour this advocate for the abolition of the reign of terror; but seeing the majority of the jacobins enraged at Desmoulines, he had not courage to persevere. He publicly avowed his

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horror at the innovating principles of the old cordelier, (so Camille Desmoulines was designed), and made an apology for the word clemency, which had so lately escaped his lips. At a subsequent meeting with Danton, he parted from the latter dissatisfied, and finally made up his resolution to detach himself equally from the party of the cordeliers, over whom Danton and Camille presided, as from their antagonists, the followers of Hebert. We have seen enough of Robespierre, to understand, that his alienation from a party, and devoting them to destruction, were at all times concomitant resolutions.

It would be an abuse of charity, to ascribe one honourable motive to such a tyrant for the execution of any of his victims, yet it seemed as if heaven had made him on this occasion, the minister of its vengeance. The party of Hebert, of Chaumette, and Anacharsis Cloots, if they could not exceed Robespierre in their love of blood, were more than his rivals in outraging public decency. It was at their instance that even the vilest period in human history was scandalized by the memorable fête of blasphemy in Paris. The name of reason was profanely invoked by those pontiffs of atheism. An altar was erected, and an emblem of prostituted reason was raised to the view of the multitude, in the person of a naked girl of the opera, who probably had never played the part of a goddess with so bad a grace. The ceremony was concluded with songs and dances, by groupes of drunken Parisians, and women of the town. But the indecency of the scene was not confined to the lower orders. Several commissaries of the convention assisted at the fête. The convention itself, men who called themselves the representatives of France, applauded the ceremony, and ordained its annual renewal; and the archbishop of Paris, Gobet,

with many of his dignified clergy, publicly renounced christianity.

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We can scarce forbear for a moment to applaud Robespierre himself, when we find that he called aloud for the punishment of the framers of this fête. When Hebert and Chaumette entered the club of the cordeliers with their followers, intoxicated like themselves by their habitual orgies, and with daggers in their hands, he ordered them to be arrested like common brigands and sent to execution. For the fate of such men there can be no regret, except in thinking that they polluted the same scaffolds where the blood of so many martyrs to liberty had been shed. There perished Anacharsis Cloots, an atrocious fool, who had designed himself the orator of the human race, and whose motto was atheism, liberty, and Septemberization. The last dreadful word was added to the vocabulary of the jacobins by his invention.

This victory, however, alarmed even the party who had carried it. The joy with which the people welcomed those victims to the place of execution, the hootings and execrations which followed them to death, and particularly the delirious happiness which the people shewed in tormenting Hebert, by applying to him the little pleasantries with which he had usually spoken of the guillotine, seemed to forwarn the tyrants, of the similar emotions with which the people might one day contemplate their own.

The fear of more respectable rivals succeeded to their triumph over the atheists, and no time was left to Danton, and Camille Desmoulines, to congratulate themselves on having contributed to the fall of Hebert. In the night of the 10th and 11th Germinal,³ (for the new style was now begun),

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they were arrested, and after a trial in which they were not heard in their own defence, were conducted to execution. The people beheld their death with different emotions from what they had expressed at the appearance of Hebert and his group. They beheld in Danton, it is true, one of the primary demons of their revolution; but they recognized in him also, the recent convert to moderation, from whose repentance their deliverance had promised to spring. Horrible, indeed, were the times when Danton was the martyr of humanity. In his last moments he is said to have uttered these prophetic words, '*I lead Robespierre to the scaffold.*' The confidential intercourse of the tyrant had revealed to his rival most of the animosities which prevailed in the very knot of his colleagues, and he had betrayed his terrors as well as his hatreds. The period from the death of Danton, to the fulfilment of his prediction, presents such a picture of horrors, that the mind is disposed to fly hastily over their perusal, in its impatience to reach the day of retribution. The intervening period, however, though short in itself, appears like the moments of agony of intolerable duration; nor is it perhaps a duty to pass over such a period in silence, fraught as it is with the most terrible instruction which ever history afforded for the warning of mankind. A French narrator of those events, who was a long time a prisoner in the Conciergerie, gives us the following sketch of the scenes of which he was an eye witness. At first, (says he), they bundled about fifteen victims in the cart, which travelled to the guillotine; by and by they heaped thirty on the same vehicle, and finally eighty. Just before the death of Robespierre, every thing had been disposed for sending 150 at a time to execution. At the place of punishment, they had already dug an

immense aqueduct, which was to carry away the blood at the place of S^t. Antoine. I have seen, says the same witness, forty-five magistrates of the parliament of Paris, and thirty-three of the parliament of Toulouse, going to death with the same air with which they had formerly paraded to public ceremonies. I have seen thirty farmers-generals, marching with the same calm and steady step; and twenty-five of the first merchants of Sedan, deploring on their way to death only the fate of 10,000 working people whom they had left without bread. Of the nature of those public trials, we may form some estimation, from the crime alleged against the farmers-general, which was that of putting water among some stores of tobacco. In the number of victims for this imputed offence, was the immortal Lavosier.

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Among the magistrates who were immolated, was the great and virtuous Malsherbes. He was siezed in the rural retreat to which he had retired from the miseries of his country, along with his daughter and his little grand-children. When he was brought to Paris, and conducted into the common hall of the prison, where all the prisoners were assembled, they were struck with astonishment, and all rose respectfully to support his steps as he approached: he was shewn to the only seat which the room contained. Malsherbes looked round, and said with a smile,—the arm chair is due to age, I am not sure of my title to it, I see another old man who must take it before me. He was condemned to death with his whole family.

The deaths of Madame Elizabeth, of Marshal Luckner, of General Biron, and other characters who were the ornaments of the age, were nearly contemporary. But the sight of such enormities, while it sunk the great mass of society

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into mute consternation, could not guide even the despair of the virtuous to a proper object. Individuals, weary of their lives, devoted themselves to death along with their dearest friends. The same exertion of courage might have saved their country. Men sought for death under the hands of those butchers, as if it had been a virtue to die tamely by such hands; and threw away on the scaffold, a life which could at the worst have been forfeited, perhaps only endangered, by attempting to rally the fallen friends of humanity. It seemed as if the very heroism of the sufferers had fortified the insensibility of the spectators. Among the vast number who suffered, there were but a few instances of pusillanimity in the hour of suffering. The famous Madame Dubarry was one of those few: she uttered the most piercing cries on the way to execution. The multitude at first expressed contempt for her weakness, but it was observed, that they came away from the scene of her death with a feeling of compassion which they had scarcely ever discovered before.

Collot D'Herbois was now returned from Lyons, where his victims, and not his cruelty, were exhausted. His popularity among the jacobins was become immense. Such was the sincerity of their attachment, that when an assassin, prompted either by indignation at the crimes of Collot, or by personal hatred, attempted to stab him, a fanatical blacksmith, who was near, threw his body before the pistol to protect him, and deservedly received the shot which his patron unfortunately escaped. The attempt only served to rivet the popularity of the monster, and for two months the opening of every sitting of the convention was presented with a bulletin of his health.

Robespierre, while he trembled for assassination in earnest, envied his rival the public con-

gratulations of an escape, was resolving to enjoy them without danger, caused a young woman, of 19 years of age, to be arrested and executed, against whom there were no proofs of any such intention. Her name was Cecilia Renaud; she had called at his house, and desired to see him: when interrogated as to the motives of her visit, she could make no other answer, than that she had been curious to see if a tyrant was made like other men. No arms had been found on her, nothing indicated the assassin; the simplicity of her age and character appeared to confirm her own assertion, that curiosity alone had brought her. Her arrestation was made the pretext for a hundred others, who were sent to death, as her pretended accomplices. But the daily and numerous executions, fell far short of quenching the thirst of blood, with which the committee of public safety were inspired: they commanded Fouquier Thionville, who was their organ of execution, into their presence, and upbraided him for his slowness, in increasing the list of the condemned. The number was ordered to be raised to 150 per day. In returning from this dreadful sitting, Fouquier Thionville, the very partizan of those wretches, afterwards acknowledged, upon his trial, that his mind was so seized with horror, that in looking at the Seine he thought he saw it rolling with blood.³

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During the dreadful year of 1794, the following picture of the Parisian prisons is given from the words of an eye witness:—Since the months of March and April of the year 1793, every day had been marked by new sufferings among the prisoners. The property of the suspected were put in a state of sequestration; they were pillaged of all their gold, silver, and assignats; and every possible insult accompanied the search. Their most necessary moveables were inter-

dicted, on pretence of being dangerous arms, and they were made to eat at a common table, the frugality of which was the least inconvenience. Every hour of the night their sleep was broken by the turnkeys, who pretended suspicion for the sake of exercising barbarity. Those scourges of their existence were still light compared to the deep distrust of each other, which they had too much reason to cherish. Even among those miserable captives there were spies and inform-

When we speak of rivals in the popularity of Robespierre, we are not however to imagine that

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ers; men shut up for the same causes, persecuted by the same enemies, who infamously redeemed their lives, by devoting every day numbers of their fellow prisoners to death, by the information they afforded. 'In the middle of the night a frightful disturbance would shake the prison. From the bottom of the court the keepers of the revolutionary tribunal then called out, in succession, with voices that redoubled their terror, with intervals that prolonged their agony, the condemned sufferers of to-morrow. If one name had been omitted, the dreadful calling was recommenced—but the most evident mistake of a name did not alter its doom. Next day the informers attended their victims to the revolutionary tribunal, where they hardened their hearts and their countenances, to support each of the accusations with concerted imposture; and sentence and death were inevitable.

Such was the picture of the interior of the prisons of the capital; the rest of Paris offered scenes no less deplorable. Long before daylight, the streets were filled with a multitude of miserable women and children, who were crowding with distressful cries around the doors of the different dealers in provisions. The law of the maximum had reduced Paris to the similitude of a city wasted by a long siege. The shop-keepers dreaded a sale like a pillage; the fear of death alone forced them to it. The country people brought their stores to the market with fear and trembling. When they appeared, the throng and the bustle in the public places grew still more alarming. No more was an elegant carriage or a sumptuous equipage to be seen. The quarters once inhabited by the favourites of fortune, and of the court were deserted. Over all their houses, the inscription of the words 'national property,' pointed

out the habitations of the emigrants, and of the condemned. Other inscriptions presented a meaning yet more direct and dreadful: such as, 'liberty, equality, fraternity, or death;' others, 'death to tyrants and their accomplices'—always death. If the house happened to be inhabited, a long writing expressed the name, the age, and the profession, of all its possessors.

The citizens walked the streets, dreading to meet or recognize each other; even friends trembled at the sight of friends, as at the aspect of an enemy, and the more timorous shunned every face, lest it should be a suppliant coming to seek an asylum under their roof. No one could appear but in the most uncouth disguise. Few would have refused the sacrifice of their property, and property as well as life would have been betrayed, if the exterior of the citizen differed in the least from that of the members of the revolutionary committee, which was a long beard, a black wig, and mustachioes, which gave the face an air of ferocity. The same disgusting cynicism prevailed in the general tone and conversation, which banished or outraged all the modesty of the other sex, and tainted the simplicity even of childhood. If sometimes you saw a false image of gaiety in the appearance of a groupe, on approaching them, you might easily see that it was only created by the ferocious sally of some of the satellites of terror among a trembling audience. There were public amusements, it is true, but such amusements! The masterpieces of the French stage had been early banished by Jacobinism. The triumph of the Mountain, or the death of Marat, were the new spectacles, which disgusted and tired by their dullness, even the wretches who had come to the play-house for entertainment, after spending the day in massacre. During one hour of

the devotion of his followers, was yet materially weakened. Nothing could prove more distinctly, his confidence in the hearts of the great bulk of the Jacobins, whose propensities must have naturally leant to atheism, than his venturing to blame, and even chastise, the blasphemous Hebert. Whatever were the sentiments of Robespierre, he paid external homage to the faith of deism. Had his genius equalled his views; had his power continued, he would have founded a new religion in France on the ruins of Christianity, (which he thought was now approaching to its fall), a religion of which deism was to have been the essence; but which he meant to have corroborated, by some pretended revelations from heaven, through the reveries of his most fanatical apostles. But the dreams and predictions of those obscure agents, were quickly silenced by the influence of his atheistical rivals. Catharine Theos, and an old Chartreuse, of the name of Gerle, who had uttered some mystical ravings of the new creed, were dispatched to the Guillotine, on pretence of being conspirators; and Robespierre, though he secretly favoured them, durst not protect them. In this decadence of his power, he thought of rallying the deistical Jacobins by a solemn ceremony of their re-

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the day, the silence of Paris was interrupted, and a crowd was seen hastening to a particular spot, while another shunned it with equal precipitation; this was the time when some sixty victims were travelling to execution. A dismal calm succeeded at night to the melancholy occupations of the day. Each one retired to his home; but home was not even then an asylum; the sound of a hammer, or a signal heard in the street, or the stopping of a carriage, was sufficient to strike alarm to the heart. Families shut themselves up to shed their tears; every moment imagining that their

fatal separation was near. Indeed, the constant protraction of such fears and agonies, made them wish for, and even envy the lot of the arrested.

From the gulf of affliction, it was almost impossible to escape: the barriers were open to those who threw themselves into these horrors, but locked against those who thought to escape them; and nothing was so dangerous as demanding passports, for it was the revolutionary committee who granted them, and the commune of Paris who revised them.

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ligion; he instituted a solemn fête in honour of the deity; the convention, within a few weeks after they had disowned the Supreme Being, passed a decree by which his name was to be again recognized. The same infamous persons who had danced before the altars of atheism, the same abandoned groupes, who usually followed carts to the guillotine insulting the condemned, were the priestesses of the new worship. An emblem of atheism was publicly burnt, Robespierre presided and preached at the ceremony, his monotonous sermon concluded with these words: 'Let this day be sacred to peace and to happiness, and to morrow' (added he) '*we shall resume our labours, we shall strike with new vengeance at the enemies of our country.*' It is hard to say, whether the worship, or the blasphemy of such men, was the more atrocious outrage on public decency.

This fête, however absurd and odious, was signalized by the first words of boldness which had ever been uttered to Robespierre, since his ascendant had been complete. One of the deputies, Lecointre of Versailles, said to him, in the midst of the ceremony, 'Robespierre, I love thy religion, but I hate thyself.' The agitation which Robespierre betrayed during that whole day, was visible on his horrible features, in the midst of all his efforts to assume an aspect of dignity. A few days after, the same intrepid individual, along with Ruamps and Tallien, spoke in the convention with symptoms of boldness, that denoted the return of confidence to a portion of the convention. A decree of accusation, it is true, was obtained against them; but the quarrels of their common enemies in the committee of public safety, prevented their commitment or execution.

To the divisions in the Jacobin cabinet, their country and human nature at last owed its deliver-

ance. Billaud Varennes and Collot were destined to perform a task, which France had not courage to attempt. In their difference with Robespierre, they at last gained a majority in the committee of public safety, in which only two of his fellow monsters, Couthon and S^t. Just, preserved any attachment to him. For three weeks before the important day of the 28th of July, he had absented himself from their meetings.

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The commune of Paris were still, however, his firm friends; the devotion of the revolutionary committees to his person, was proportioned to their atrocity; and his faithful Henriot had still at his devotion all the armed populace, the Jacobin militia of Paris. He was now, for the first time, in his political career, alone at the head of a conspiracy; his means were still prodigious; and with these he meditated an universal massacre of his enemies, which, had it taken place, would have left his party to stand like the tree of Java, in the solitude of desolation. The outlines of that intended proscription have been given by a Parisian journalist, who pretends to vouch for their authenticity, when he calculated the intended victims at a million. Such an estimate supposes, however, that his agents were, at this period, taking measures for a general extermination in the provinces. There are no documents however to prove that his intentions went beyond Paris. Had his day of vengeance indeed arrived in the capital, where alone it was important to strike, his friend Fouquier Thionville, had he survived, might have seen the Seine, not in imagination, but in good earnest, converted to a river of blood.

But the conceptions of Robespierre fell far beneath his powers. It appears that, at this period, his courage, though not his cruelty, was exhausted; and he sought a refuge from the horrors of

his apprehension, in new, though infamous pleasures, which were strangers to his constitution, but to which the intolerable tortures of his mind drove him, as if by destiny, that his remaining resolution might be enervated. This man, whose heart had never received a tender impression from the influence of woman, abandoned himself, in his best days, to debauchery. In the park of a house, whose proprietor he sent to the scaffold, he used to risk himself amidst a group of ferocious and abandoned females, where he sought relief in pleasures and intoxication, but still haunted by his horrors. The frightful and diseased little Couthon also kept his company; and he tried, too, to be a debauchee. Roberspierre, however, affected in public that austerity which he had so often and so successfully opposed to the intemperance of his rivals. He lived with a joiner, with whose daughter he had some sort of connection: the family had adopted his sanguinary taste, and the father was a member of the horrible tribunal. Of the troubles which surrounded Roberspierre in this asylum, the papers which were found in it after his death, sufficiently inform us. He received a number of letters, in which the most extravagant adoration was lavished upon him; but others contained menaces and imprecations, which must have frozen his blood. Among others, a letter was found, which contained these terrible words: ‘ This hand, which traces thy sentence; this hand, which thine embarrassed eyes search in vain to discover; this hand, which presses thine with horror, shall pierce thine inhuman heart. Every day I am with thee; I see thee every day; and every hour my lifted arm seeks for thy breast. Oh, most accursed of men, live yet a little while to think of me. Sleep to dream of me, that my remembrance and thine affright may be the first preparation of thy punishment.’

Adieu. This very day, in looking in thy face, I shall enjoy thy terror.'

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The universal massacre of his enemies was to have been made at a fête, at which the whole convention was to have assisted. Henriot was ready. The execution of this plot would have perhaps been sure, if the assassin-orator had not yielded to his desire of appearing at the tribune of the convention, and there proclaiming the discords which divided the committee of public safety. In the meantime, a deep conspiracy was preparing among the few energetic members of the convention whom the reign of terror had spared; but their meetings were held with such caution, that they could not be arrested.

On the 8th Thermidor (July 26), Robespierre came to the assembly, and, fatally for himself, revealed the plot which was formed against him; but, instead of striking a blow on his enemies, he only warned them that it was to be struck. It appeared by his discourse, that the committees of public safety and of general safety, were to be his ostensible and first victims. The great mass of the assembly knowing that the prescription would not stop here, supported the cause of those bodies, odious as they were. But a momentary appearance of support to the tyrant divided the unanimity of the majority. The wreck of the Girondists, disdaining to make a choice of masters, refused their support to those committees, and though the sitting was broken up without any resolution that fulfilled the wishes of Robespierre, the contest seemed yet to hang, by thier indecision, in a perilous state of suspence.

But the friends of Danton, during the night, knocked at the doors of the Girondists, and conjured them to make a common cause with them, and assist them in seizing Robespierre the follow-

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ing day in the convention. That night Robespierre repaired also to his friends, and revealed to them all the symptoms of disaster which the day's debate had discovered. The men of blood recognized their chief, and pressed around him. Yet, in the midst of their acclamations and their homage, his heart could not banish its frightful presages. I am prepared (said the monster, almost in tears), I am prepared to drink the cup of Socrates. Then I will drink it along with thee, said the painter David, who is still permitted to exist in Paris. A thousand voices cried out, the enemies of Robespierre are the enemies of their country; let them be named, and they shall cease to live. The table of proscriptions were opened and filled up. On the 27th of July, Robespierre entered the assembly, where his voice and countenance had so lately struck terror; the paleness of his aspect betrayed his emotion. A sullen murmur pursued him wherever he approached to take his seat; and, like Catiline, he was obliged to sit alone. S^t. Just mounted the tribune, and began to defend the discourse which Robespierre had yesterday uttered; but he was cut short by Tallien, who cried out with fury, that the convention could no longer listen to the prohibitions of hypocrites and cut-throats; that the moment of their union, their strength, and their liberty, was arrived. Then turning to Robespierre, 'Tyrant,' said he, 'will you pretend to conceal your intentions against these representatives of the nation. Yesterday, did I not witness them at the meeting of the jacobins? did I not hear them devoted to the knives of these assassins? At this moment the infamous Henriot is collecting them; they are marching against us; but we shall anticipate them. The vengeance of thy country and the human race is roused against thee, and it shall be fulfilled.' An

universal shout of the assembly followed those words. Robespierre attempted in vain to speak ; his voice was drowned in the incessant cries of ' down with the tyrant.' Tallien proceeded to swear, that if the assembly should not be faithful to its own deliverance, he had a poniard ready to dispatch the tyrant. He drew the poniard. He demanded that the sitting should be permanent, and that Henriot, the commander of the armed force, should be seized, with all his staff. A single deputy, called Lebas, attempted to defend him ; he was hurled down from the tribune as often as he attempted to mount it. Robespierre raised cries of rage ; he turned in vain to the galleries, though they had been filled by his chosen brigands ; the brigands were panic-struck ; he ran to the chair of the president, who drowned his voice with the sound of his bell ; in his last despair, he flew to the benches of the Girondists ; the Girondists pushed him back, crying, ' wretch, be gone from the seats where Vergniaud and Condorcet sat.' A decree of accusation, after much agitation, was passed against him, in which his brother, at his own request, was included ; it included also Lebas, and Couthon, and S^t. Just. The two last sat confounded during the tumult, and seemed by their looks to ask for pardon, like the vilest criminals.

These guilty members were immediately consigned to the committee of public safety, and by them were ordered to the prison of the Luxembourg, where a new turn of affairs was near deciding the fortune of the day in their favour. The jailor would not admit them ; the commune of Paris, he said, had ordered him to admit of none who should be arrested by the convention ; another tumult ensued. The jacobins assembled, and rescued the arrested, whom they conducted in triumph before the commune. Henriot, the general of the jacobin

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militia, was at the same time arrested by order of the committees; his comrades Fleuriot, Payar, and Coffinhal, in a few hours, had rallied his cannoneers, to prepare to attack the convention. The fauxbourgs were also alarmed; the house of the commune was made the repository of arms. Every thing was prepared to unite, in another insurrection, all the massacres of the 10th of August, and the triumphs of the 2^d of June. Such were the execrable hopes of the commune. But the convention, which had risen, resumed its sitting at six in the evening. Tallien, Freron, Barras, and Legendre, after the assembly had taken an oath either to conquer or die in the present struggle, proposed, and it was passed, that Robespierre and his associates should be outlawed. Barras was appointed to head the military force; and he swore to return victorious. He was attended by several commissaries, who were charged with the duty of arming the sections, and who certainly acquitted themselves with merit.

The beat of the generale summoned the citizens of Paris to the aid of the convention, while the commune rang the tocsin as a signal for the jacobins; but for a while the ordinary agents of popular tumults were not to be found. Paris, depopulated and dispirited, seemed better fitted to furnish a field for the combatants, than combatants to engage. At the approach of night, however, when the events of the day were better known, numbers of the proscribed, roused by the first ray of hope that broke upon their situation, sallied out from their concealed retreats, and by their exhortations enlisted several sections for the convention. As the night advanced, Barras found himself at the head of several battalions, and wisely determining to strike the first blow, proposed marching against the jacobins. The battalions, who, to the honour

of the poorer classes in Paris, were generally composed of that order, shewed the greatest alacrity to advance, and the march was begun.

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We may well ask how the commune and Robespierre employed themselves during this interval? Providentially the head of this insurrection knew not how to conduct it. He had no counsel to offer; no resolution to follow; no signal to give; and when the commune talked of marching against the convention, he betrayed all the cowardice of his character in his refusal. The other jacobin chiefs were divided among themselves. Henriot had so intoxicated himself, that his very boldness became unsafe. Coffinhal attempted a revolutionary trick, which had the opposite effect of what he intended. He read, in contempt, the decree of the convention which had outlawed the commune, and also the citizens who attended its galleries. The galleries were emptied in an instant.

Barras was now arrived with his battalions, whom he had disposed so judiciously as to shut up all the issues of the place. The night concealed the smallness of his numbers. The victory was not even disputed. Of so many assassins, not one sought the honour of dying in battle; nor did the dastard Robespierre appear amidst his banditti.

The commune laid down their arms. All was ignominy in the last moments of those fiends who had terrified the world. Robespierre shot himself with a pistol, which broke his jaw without killing him. St. Just implored of Lebas to put him to death. 'Coward,' said Lebas, 'imitate me;' and put a pistol to his forehead, which blew out his brains. Couthon was dragged from beneath a table, with a knife in his hand, which he had put to his heart, but had not resolution to drive home. Robespierre the younger had thrown himself from a casement, and was taken up expiring, but not

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dead. Coffinhall, enraged at the blunders and drunkenness of Henriot, had thrown him from a window. He was brought for condemnation with the remains of life more hideous than death. All the prisoners were arrested and brought to the committees. Their business now was, to prolong and aggravate the martyrdom of Robespierre. A thousand maledictions, which he could yet hear, were showered on his last moments. A workman approached the table on which he was laid, and after gazing at the miserable spectacle, emphatically said, 'Yes! there is a God.'

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Meeting of the British parliament in December 1794. . . . Animadversions on the address by Lord Guildford in the house of peers. . . . Motion for peace by Mr. Wilberforce in the house of commons. . . . Renewal of the suspension of the habeas corpus act. . . . Loan to the emperor of Germany. . . . Supplies, and ways and means, for the year 1795. . . . Motion for abolishing the slave trade. . . . Conclusion of Hastings' trial. . . . New regulations in the militia. . . . Allowance of bread and meat to the army. . . . Business of the prince of Wales's settlement. . . . Affairs of Ireland. . . . Recal of Lord Fitzwilliam.

IT was in the midst of the triumphs of France over all her enemies, and while the potentates of Europe were beginning to hesitate concerning the measures to be pursued, that the parliament of Great Britain again opened. The speech from the throne exhorted a vigorous continuation of the war, and predicted the rapid decline of the resources of our enemies. Holland, it was observed, in the retrospect of late events, had been so terrified by impending dangers, as to seek a negotiation for peace; but peace with such an enemy was not to be expected, and every attempt to obtain it on the part of this country, would be only productive of disgrace and disappointment. The acquisition of Corsica; the treaty of amity with America; and the intended marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with the princess of Brunswick, constituted the chief topics of congratulatory information in the royal speech.¹

¹ His royal highness espoused the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick. The marriage was solemnized on the 8th of April, in the chapel royal, 1795.

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Lord Guildford distinguished himself in the house of peers, by opposing the answer of parliament to a speech which betokened the continuance of war for indefinite objects, and for an interminable period. 'The impolicy of the war,' said his lordship, 'was announced at its commencement; during its continuance, it has verified every prediction of those who disapproved of it; as it proceeds, it will accumulate calamities. Our engagements to our allies were framed for the purposes of ambition: in the disappointment of that ambition, we have been ourselves the severest sufferers, if we except the unfortunate country of Holland, which we forced into a war, and thereby devoted it to destruction. Two campaigns have now been fought, after our boastful declaration that France was to be conquered. It was foretold to his majesty's ministers that France could not be conquered. Behold the verification of that assertion. Let ministers remember their presumptuous promises; let the country judge how these promises have been falsified? What do they now tell us? They declare that new efforts are preparing; that France, which has baffled the confederacy, will speedily fall before it. Is the credulity of Englishmen again to be duped? Yes, it will assuredly be abused by these new calculations respecting the fortune of the war. The friends of peace will still labour under the obloquy of disaffection, because they have the boldness to speak this truth, that France is invulnerable; and when ministers shall again be disgraced in their prediction, the only melancholy consolation that will be left, will be to remind them how falsely they have promised, and how fatally for England they have persisted in ruinous war.

'But France, we are told, is suffering more than ourselves. Is this to be the comfort of his majesty's subjects; is this to be the pretext for aggra-

vating their distresses, that our enemies suffer still more than ourselves? But without considering the impolicy,' continued his lordship, 'let us pass to the conduct of the war, and the history of hostilities will evince, that ministers have been equally unskilful and improvident in their military operations, as in the framing of treaties. Their foreign politics have been marked by inconsiderate prodigality, and their domestic proceedings by unconstitutional rigour. Immense subsidies have been trusted to the king of Prussia, which he has employed to the destruction of an unoffending people, to the partition of Poland; he has bestowed the resources of England on an act which deserves the execration of the human race. Instead of wasting the wealth and the blood of our country on a fruitless object, if the war can be said to have any object, let us exhort his majesty to make the earliest efforts for peace; let us abjure interference in the government of a country in which we have no right to interfere, and let not the vain pretext of an intractable enemy be pleaded against the interests of humanity, while it is obvious to the whole world, that other nations can uphold with France the accustomed relations of peace and neutrality.'

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Among the abettors of the war, Lord Mulgrave, in his support of ministers, adduced a variety of historical passages to prove, that the French had often commenced their wars like the present, with astonishing successes, and concluded them with signal defeats. Louis XIV was an instance of this in the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century; he began by victories, but the allies were not dispirited, and his fortune was finally changed to the deepest humiliation. 'In the memory of living witnesses,' said his lordship, 'the French also opened their career with triumph, and fell into disgrace. Witness the war of 1755. It would be

unmanly, therefore, as well as unreasonable, to give way to despondency, and proclaim our enemies irresistible. In seconding the arguments of the same side, Lord Mansfield re-echoed the long accustomed prophecy of the ruin of the French finances. ‘The expenditure of France,’ he observed, ‘in the last campaign, had amounted to £144,000,000 sterling. The assignats, in actual circulation, were £240,000,000, and the quantity of forged assignats was beyond calculation; their value was thence depreciated, and reduced to almost nothing.’ The address was as usual carried without amendment.

The debate on the same subject in the commons, was marked by the secession of several members from the support of the ministers on the necessity of continuance of the war, who had hitherto considered it as unavoidable. Of these the humane and independent Wilberforce was the first to announce his opinion. He objected to the address, as tending to pledge the house to prolong hostilities till a counter-revolution should be effected in France. The alterations in that country induced him to believe, that the people were more moderate than before. Jacobinism had been suppressed. The government, as well as the people, seemed to have relaxed their ferocity, and no moment could be more auspicious for working similar sentiments of forbearance towards their external enemies. If a counter-revolution is still expected, it ought to be remembered, (continued Mr. Wilberforce), that six years have now elapsed since the first revolution, during which time, the young generation have received a deep tinge of revolutionary principles, and the aged, who opposed it, have been defeated and are fast decaying. He concluded by moving a negotiation for peace; which, if it should succeed, would restore immemorable blessings, and

even if it miscarried, would at least shew the people of England, that the fault of war did not rest on our side, and attach them unanimously to the support of the contest, by demonstrating the justice of our cause.

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In answering the pacific proposal, some shade of difference was observable in the declarations of ministers, respecting the precise objects of the war. Mr. Windham directly justified our interference in the affairs of France, on the principles of the law of nations, as expounded by the greatest masters of the law of nations.² The revolution, he asserted, was as criminal in its principles, as in its progress. Its abettors had avowed not only the practice, but inculcated and preached the propagation of principles subversive of human happiness: it was the interest of the whole world to oppose the revolution, as they would crush a conflagration, or extirpate a plague. He deprecated the opening of a treaty, as leading to an infectious contact with France, which would introduce her contagious principles, and with them, all her attendant horrors and calamities into England. We were not reduced to the disgrace of asking for peace. Our burdens were yet tolerable, and it was the duty of the country to maintain at least as much perseverance in a good cause, as France had maintained in a cause of crimes and aggression.

Mr. Pitt, with more sobriety, disclaimed the counter-revolution of France as the express object of the war. He did not assert, that the idea of peace was inadmissible till such an event should be accomplished, but he acknowledged his firm persuasion, that no permanent peace would be established till royal government was re-established. He resisted the motion for peace. The coalition, (said Mr. Pitt), if once dissolved, will not be easily renewed, and we shall

² From Vattel, in particular.

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then be left alone to contend against France. Is it probable, that if we should abandon the contest, the French will alter their present system? Will they disband their immense armies? Will not their government find it necessary to give them employment, and what other employment could be found than to complete the ruin of the royal party, which still is in sufficient force to afford us a powerful co-operation. Could the Low countries, (he asked), be surrendered to France consistently with our safety? Should the French West-India islands be restored to them, would not those which have placed themselves under our protection be ruined, while our own, by the contagion of revolutionary principles, would be thrown into confusion? The real losses of the French, (said Mr. Pitt), far exceed those of the coalition, while the resources of the latter are greatly superior. The supplies of the French arise from extortion and robbery; their funds are the fruit of the system of terror,—a system, which, from its nature, cannot be lasting. France has expended since the revolution, no less than £320,000,000 sterling. Her paper money has hitherto supported this gigantic expenditure, but that credit is now at an end, and by the very debates of the convention it may be seen, that they dare not venture on farther emissions of assignats.

Mr. Fox replied to the minister's speech. Had the minister, (he observed), avowed, with candour, that his design was to destroy the French government, he well knew that he could not have been so numerously supported; but his determination to procure approvers of his plan, had led him to disguise it. In spite of all disguise, however, it was evident from the confession of his coadjutors, that the war was waged against the revolution. And what was the consequence? a series of the most astonishing successes on the part of the enemy,

and of the saddest disasters on the part of the coalition. He might be reproached for this favourable representation of the exploits of an ancient and inveterate foe, but as folly, not fortune, had been the cause of our disaster, he felt himself obliged to speak truths, however disagreeable. If other nations could behold the revolution without going to war with France, why could not we also? Denmark, Sweden, and North America had stood aloof, and we might have done the same. It was asked, if England could with honour submit to treat with France? 'In what,' (said Mr. Fox), 'will this submission consist? In no more than allowing the French to have a bad government. Has the government of France been better for a century past? Have we not tamely submitted, not merely to be at peace with, but to be the allies of those powers who had accomplished the infamous partition of Poland. Can we without disgracing ourselves, (it is said), submit to sue for peace to the French? I would answer this question by another. Are nations at war bound in honour to exterminate each other; for such must be the issue of one, if neither were to request a peace? The royalists have been mentioned as standing in the way of a negociation, through our engagements to them; but surely the nation is not to be sacrificed to the rash promises of a minister. Experience has shewn how far we can depend on the promises of our allies, who are gradually deserting the cause into which they have drawn us. Prussia has forsaken the coalition, and so probably will Austria in a convenient season. The French finances are said to be exhausted; but this assertion has been repeatedly made, and as often belied by the events of each succeeding year.' Mr. Fox concluded by supporting the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, which, after a strenuous debate, in which

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the numbers of the minority rose somewhat above their usual level, was rejected.

On the 5th of January, the discussion of the suspension of the habeas corpus act was resumed by Mr. Sheridan. The preamble to that suspension stated, that a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy existed in the country; but the verdict of a court of justice, Mr. Sheridan asserted, had shewn this conspiracy to be a mere fabrication of ministers, who had exercised an illegal influence over the grand jury that found the indictment against the parties accused. The accused had undergone the strictest trial, and no pains had been spared to criminate them. £8000 had been paid to the crown lawyers, and no less than 200 witnesses had been procured against one culprit alone, at a vast expence. He ridiculed the epithet of formidable, as applied to the supposed conspiracy. Its strength consisted of an arsenal fitted with one pike, and nine rusty muskets, and an exchequer containing nine pounds and one bad shilling. These were the ways and means by which the conspirators proposed to over-turn the government of Great Britain. The suspension of the habeas corpus act, was in fact the suspension of the British constitution. Nothing less than imminent as well as evident danger, could sanction such a measure. ‘But ministers,’ said Mr. Sheridan, ‘now act on the most questionable of all information, that of spies, a species of ignominious agents, more numerous, and more employed and relied upon at present, than at any former period. The people at large have been charged with a seditious disposition, but the fact is, that they are discontented at the measures of administration, and are apt to express their sentiments without disguise. The best method to prevent the complaints of the public, would

be to alter the system of measures, not the constitution of the country.'

Mr. Windham replied with great warmth. He imputed the favourable verdict in the late trials, to the ignorance and incapacity of the jury to discern the true state of the case before them. He asserted that the real object of the conspiracy, was to overturn the constitution, and that the principles imported from France, would produce the worst effects, unless the strength of the laws were increased in proportion to the malignity of the evil, which we were called to repress.

Mr. Adair, in supporting the suspension, called the house to remember, if the determination of a jury were never to be called in question, on what feeble ground the liberty of British subjects would stand. Parliament, (he said), was clearly entitled to investigate the conduct of juries, otherwise there would be no redress against the corruption of either juries or of judges. On this maxim, he justified all freedom of discussion respecting the late trials, the issue of which, though in favour of the accused, had by no fixed rule established their innocence. The suspicions entertained against them, had not been cleared up to their advantage. In one particular case, the jury had hesitated two hours. Would the judge, he asked, or would the grand jury have countenanced the accusation, unless it had appeared to be well founded. But the transactions of the societies, (he said), sufficiently proved their treasonable intentions. The general statement of a conspiracy was undeniable. The same circumstances on which the suspension act was grounded in the preceding year, still existed, and no valid motive could be alleged for its repeal.

Mr. Fox rose to answer Mr. Adair. He demanded on what argument the repeal of the habeas corpus act could be founded, when the argument

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for its suspension in the former year, had been legally disproved? The decision of a jury, though revisable by parliament, could not, consistently with reason and equity, be questioned, without the most evident necessity. In the present cases, no acquittal had taken place, till after the strictest and severest trial. In that of Hardy, had a conspiracy been proved, that man must unavoidably have been condemned, as he was privy to all the transactions of the parties accused. His discharge was therefore a proof, that no conspiracy existed. Such being the fact, what was to justify suspending the liberty of Englishmen. The house ought to reflect, that they were now sitting as a jury on the palladium of British freedom. To say that a suspension of the habeas corpus would obviate the necessity for bringing people to trial, was precisely the argument urged in defence of the lettres de cachet under the old government of France, by which an innocent man might remain in a dungeon for years, or for life. He concluded by reproaching ministers for charging opposition with promoting discontents, in the the same manner as they had accused the dissenters of being bad subjects, and encouraged an ignorant and bigotted populace to treat them with barbarity. The debate closed by a decision of the house against the repeal, and within a fortnight after, the renewal of the suspension was formally voted.

The preparations for the ensuing campaign, came early in the session under the consideration of parliament. An important addition to the burdens of the nation, was anticipated in the aid which would be required for the house of Austria, already impoverished as well as disappointed in the war. The emperor had declared his wishes to make the most vigorous efforts against the enemy, but intimated the necessity of a loan of £4,000,000, to be secured on the revenues of his hereditary do-

minions. Through this accommodation, he proposed bringing 200,000 men into the field. On the communication of a message to this effect from his majesty to the house of commons, Mr. Pitt entered into a minute explanation of the conditions proposed by the Austrian cabinet, and moved that they should be complied with. Mr. Fox, in replying to the minister's speech, advised a subsidy rather than a loan, since we could, if occasions warranted, stop the payment of the former, but not of the latter, however much emergencies might require it. The subjects of the emperor, he understood, were desirous of peace, and their sovereign might find it necessary or convenient to gratify their wishes. The payment of a subsidy might, in that event be stopped, but not the payment of a loan. After a considerable debate, in which the opponents of ministry animadverted on the issue of the Prussian subsidy, and the caution which, by misapplication of that money, we should learn in voting supplies to the foreign belligerents; their objections were over-ruled. A similar proposition on the part of ministers, having passed in the peers, a convention was entered into between his majesty and the emperor of Germany, by which the extent of the loan was increased beyond the sum demanded by Austria, and a force proportionable to that increase stipulated to be raised by his imperial majesty. For the present, £4,600,000 was guaranteed by the British parliament.

A statement of the warlike force that would be requisite for the service of 1795, was produced in the house of commons on the 23^d of February. It amounted to 100,000 seamen, 120,000 regulars for the guards and garrisons of the kingdom, 56,000 militia, and 40,000 men employed partly in Ireland, partly in the West Indies and the plantations, exclusive of fencibles and volunteers, and of en-

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bodied French emigrants. The sums required to maintain this force, together with the extraordinaries of the army, were calculated at £16,027,000, of which £6,315,500 were appropriated to the navy, £2,777,000 to the army, £2,564,000 to the forces in Ireland and the plantations. To the militia and fencibles £1,607,000, to foreign troops in British pay nearly £1,000,000, to the regimented emigrants £427,000. To the army extraordinaries £2,664,000. To the ordnance £2,322,000. The treaty to the king of Sardinia, miscellaneous services, and other articles, made the total sums amount to £27,540,000. The ways and means consisting of the land and malt-tax, consolidated fund, India company and exchequer bills, and the loan of £18,000,000, came nearly £400,000 short of the supplies. But the taxes proposed by the minister to be raised on foreign and British spirits, tea, coffee, foreign grocery, fruit, timber, writs and affidavits, abridging the privilege of franking, and the hair powder licence, were calculated at £1,640,000, a sum that would more than cover the deficiency.

The immensity of the sums levied in Great Britain for the service of the current year, was an object of astonishment to all Europe; they amounted, including the interest of the national debt, to £40,000,000 sterling. Neither the annual revenues of Ireland, nor of the East nor West Indies, entered into this account, and they were computed at £12,000,000 more.

Wilberforce, indefatigable in the great object of his parliamentary efforts, renewed his proposition for the final abolition of the slave-trade. After reminding the house of their formal resolution, in the session of 1792, that the traffic should be declared unlawful after the month of January 1796, he recapitulated the motives of this resolution, the

barbarities practised in obtaining and transporting slaves, and the loss of our seamen in a climate as dreadful as the crimes of which it was the scene, His arguments were supported and illustrated by the highest authority in the house. Mr. Fox animadverted severely on the delays that interposed between the wishes of humanity and the proscription of this inhuman commerce, if it was lawful to disgrace the name of commerce by applying it to such atrocities. With equal ardour, Mr. Pitt called on the house for immediate abolition. But arguments of policy, and expressions of humane feelings, had ceased to impress the public mind with their former effects, even though falling from so respectable a height of political influence and oratorical ability. The house of commons attended to Mr. Pitt's exhortations on this subject, with an apathy very different from the feelings with which that minister was accustomed to electrify the marshalled majority of his hearers, when he dwelt on the horrors of French atheism, or the dangers of a British reform. On dividing the house, a majority of 17 decided against the abolition.

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The trial of Mr. Hastings, so remarkable for its importance, the talents of its conductors, and the length of its duration, was this year brought to a conclusion. During every session, for seven years past, the commons had prosecuted the impeachment. The defence which Mr. Hastings drew up, and presented to the lords assembled in Westminster hall, was able and eloquent, and made a deep impression in his favour.

He complained, in the bitterest terms, that in his life's decline, and with many warnings of its approaching close, he had been kept for nearly ten years in a state of suspense and anxiety, and held out to his country, by the enmity of his false accusers, as a delinquent covered with the crimes

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of murder, peculation, and rape. While his fortune suffered nearly to its ruin by this delay, his cause had been also injured; for he had lost, during the tardy process, by death or dispersion, many of the leading witnesses, whom he meant to have called in for his justification. In answer to the general charge of depopulating India, violating treaties, oppressing the natives, wasting the company's treasure, and disobeying the company's orders, he produced the proofs of an increased revenue; of multiplied population; of the attachment of the natives to his government and person; and the approbation and thanks of his countrymen in India, whose fortunes were embarked in its prosperity. The deposition of Cheyt Sing, he justified by that prince being a vassal who held his territory from the company, not as an independent prince, as the managers of his impeachment had alleged. 'The requisition of £60,000 from Cheyt Sing,' he said, 'was just; it was also necessary, when the very existence of the company was at stake; nor could it be called oppressive, upon a prince who, in his flight into voluntary exile, loaded his elephants with gold and jewels, and still left treasuries behind him. The prince was treated with lenity in his fallen circumstances; had he been guilty of the same rebellion in England, he would have been hanged, drawn, and quartered. The evidence,' he said, 'would prove, in answer to another charge, that although he had pressed the nabob to resume the money from his mother the princess, he had done it with no circumstances of the cruelty ascribed to him, and his avarice only went to the nabob's resumption of property, which was clearly his legal right, from an unjust and avaricious mother.'

His acceptance of presents, he justified, on the custom immemorial in the east, of the visitor giv-

ing presents to the visited, and on those presents he received being antecedent to the prohibition. On the numerous and intricate accusations of forming improper contracts, and the corrupt delegation of agency, Mr. Hastings produced a series of letters, witnesses in his defence, and supported their evidence with strong and appropriate reasoning. In concluding, he dwelt with a justifiable severity on the gross inconsistency of his majesty's ministers, who had voted to impeach him for making a pecuniary arrangement in India, which still subsists, which they have ordered to be a permanent source of revenue, and for which, as the money is paid with the punctuality of a dividend at the bank, the Indian minister takes credit every year, as a regular subsidy.

‘ In a war,’ said Mr. Hastings, ‘ which originated in yourselves, or others, not in me; in a war, maintained against all the powers of India, aided by France and Holland, without a shilling from Britain, without taxing, like the English minister, posterity for the relief of the present generation, I saved your empire in the east, while, after doubling the national debt, he lost your empire in the west. Others fought your battles, and by their skill and courage, triumphed over your enemies; but it was I that sent them properly equipped into the field, and enabled them, by exertions at my own risk, to maintain their superiority. The plan of deriving a revenue from opium, which yields £120,000 per annum, was mine; and, since my colleagues refused to be responsible, I alone ran the hazard. The duty upon salt, amounting yearly to £800,000, you owe to me. To me you owe the system of military defence, and of finance, in Oude and in Benares, and all the institutions of civil and criminal jurisprudence in Bengal, Benares, and their immediate dependencies.

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To me you owe the 138 lacks, drawn without oppression from Oude, and the 70 lacks, collected with equal ease in Benares. In a season of dreadful famine, which had visited India for three successive years, I stopped its approach to the British territories, and by adequate regulations, prevented the danger of its return. I raised the annual income of the provinces from £3,000,000 to £5,000,000 sterling, the growth, not of temporary and forced exaction, but of an easy and permanent unoppressive collection. I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, meditated disgrace, and a life of impeachment. The prisoner was honourably acquitted of every branch, of every charge, distinctly and severally.

As the nature of the war on our side, from being offensive, was likely to become defensive, its conductors grew more anxious about the internal preparations of the country. Mr. Windham, on the 6th of March, moved for a committee to prepare an estimate of the additional allowances intended for the subaltern officers of the militia on the return of peace. He grounded his motion on the necessity for having expert subalterns in that service; an object not to be attained without adequate encouragement. By the present measure, a description of men would be retained, whose knowledge of discipline would render the militia as useful as the regulars. The motion, though opposed by one side of the house, as tending to increase the patronage and influence of the crown, and place the whole military strength of the kingdom at its devotion, was carried by the usual majority. A bill, soon after, was passed, authorizing the addition of artillery to all the militia regiments. An affair of more particular importance was, about the same time, under the consideration of the commons. An extra allowance for bread and meat

had been made, in the month of April, to the army, without the sanction of parliament. Considering the high price of provisions, and the scanty pay of the army, the humanity of the measure was indisputable; but the method of carrying it into execution was violently reprobated by the generality of people. By virtue of an order from the war-office, countersigned by the secretary of that department, an immense sum of money for this purpose was now to be levied upon the nation. The minority in parliament demanded an explanation of this slight on the legislature, since it was clear, that while parliament was sitting, no lawful addition could be made to the pay of the army; and this could be regarded in no other light than an addition to their pay. The measure, they contended, was arbitrary and unconstitutional, a violation of the rights of parliament, and tending to alienate the attachment of the army from the parliament to the crown. Parliament, it was said, could refuse assent to pass this additional bounty; but what must be the consequence—the hatred, perhaps the violence, of an enraged and disappointed military. The debate was ended by Sir William Pulteney's moving for the previous question, which was carried by 67 votes against 23.

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During the same month, in which the nuptials of his royal highness the prince of Wales were celebrated; a message from his majesty was laid before the house, recommending the settlement of an income on the prince, and stating the necessity of relieving him from his present difficulties, and of making such arrangements with respect to his domestic expences, as should obviate all embarrassments in future. After some agitation of the question, an act was passed which established the annual revenue of the prince at £120,000, exclusive of the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, April 27.

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which was estimated at £13,000. Of this income £73,000 was appropriated to the gradual discharge of his royal highness's debts, under the direction of commissioners appointed by parliament.

On the 11th of June, a petition was presented to parliament by Lord Sheffield, in favour of the merchants engaged in the trade to Granada and S^t. Vincent. It stated, that in consequence of the troubles and devastations in those two islands, the individuals concerned with their property were reduced to the greatest difficulties and distresses, and disabled from maintaining their commercial credit, unless they were favoured with some timely assistance from government. His lordship enforced the propriety of their petition, by the salutary effects of the relief afforded to the merchants of London, and other commercial cities two years before. Agreeably to the petition, the sum of a million and a half was granted to the merchants who had solicited it.

The affairs of Ireland formed by far the most important subject that came before the session. If this populous and fertile portion of the empire, has shared in the progressive blessings of civilization, which distinguished a great part of the present century; it has been doomed no less severely to experience the evils which have embittered the close of the age. Amidst the dangers which threatened Britain during the American war, the ministry had been induced, or rather compelled, to permit the whole Irish nation to take up arms; and the people emboldened by feeling their own importance on this trying occasion, and throwing aside all religious animosities, had united in claims of national independence and equality with the other subjects of their sovereign. This resolution was partly carried into execution, and during some

years the controul of the British administration over Ireland, remained indefinite and precarious. But the difference of creed between catholic and protestant, gradually diminishing the cordiality of their late union; the latter naturally turned to Britain for support, and by their shew of attachment enjoyed a partiality to the prejudice of their more numerous, but, politically speaking, less important opponents.

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During the progress, however, of those opinions, which in their general scope were hostile to principles of religious exclusion, the presbyterian protestants of Ireland assuming a similarity of sentiments with their brethren, the protestant dissenters of England insensibly reunited themselves with the cause of the catholics, and though their antipathy to the catholics was religiously stronger than to the creed of the church of England, yet the influence of political over religious prepossessions was so much felt, that the majority of them were more averse to the practical usurpations of the established English church, than to the hated dogmas of popery.

It is well known how large a proportion of the population of Ireland must be formed, by adding one half of the protestant to the whole of the catholic persuasion; on a general calculation the dissenters and catholics when united, were not less than seven eighths of the whole members of Ireland.

While such was the state of public opinion, and while the support of the English church, by enforcing the tax of tithes was not maintained without frequent and bloody resistance on the part of the catholics; the parties of the Irish parliament maintained two opposite opinions on the propriety of the system, which should be maintained for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. The oppo-

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nents of ministry, the party which assumed the title, and by their refusal of office were in many instances entitled to the name of independent, fearful of the consequences which might ensue from this hostile disposition, in so vast a majority of the inhabitants, thought it prudent to conciliate the people by concessions, and redress of grievances. The ruling party held it dangerous to comply with any popular demands, which if once indulged, might become exorbitant.

The repulse of the patriotic party in the Irish parliament, deeply exasperated the catholics. They met over the whole kingdom, and addressed the sovereign himself, for redress of grievances and legal oppressions; and in that style which results from deep feeling of injury, and with more than ordinary determination to have their claims redressed, they petitioned for a participation in all the rights of their fellow citizens.

This was an application of the most serious nature. A total compliance or rejection were fraught with equal peril. The British ministry were desirous to oblige one party without offending the other. But the catholics, numerous and determined, were become so formidable that it did not appear safe to refuse the petition, which they were convinced was founded in equity. The Irish legislature on the other hand, composed entirely of protestants, were by a great majority zealous in opposing demands, that would place their antagonists on a parity with themselves. Nor was it at the same time, either the interest or the wish of ministry to weaken that protestant interest in Ireland, on which it had been accustomed to rely. To retain therefore, as far as possible the attachment of both parties, they granted to the catholics a part, but not the whole of the concessions which were demanded: the validity of marriages with protestants,

the right of taking apprentices, of keeping schools, and of pleading at the bar; with other privileges which had been hitherto withheld, were fully established.

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When the restrictions so many years imposed on the Roman catholics, and of which they had so bitterly complained, are considered, these will appear valuable concessions; but the hopes of total emancipation had been so sanguinely cherished, that these grants met with a cold reception. The murmurs and complaints that now prevailed, both among the catholics and dissenters, excited the most serious alarms in England. The secret connections existing between many of the Irish and French revolutionists were justly dreaded, and it was not doubted that they would exert every effort to create insurrection.

In this critical juncture, Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed to the government of Ireland. His inclination to healing measures, rendered this appointment peculiarly acceptable to the Irish, and he was received with universal satisfaction. The Irish parliament met on the 22^d of January 1795, and unanimously voted him the most favourable addresses, and agreed to the most ample supplies which had ever been granted in that kingdom.

Lord Fitzwilliam soon perceived, that he would find it impracticable to defer deciding on the demands of the catholics, without the utmost danger. To conciliate the favour of the party, he employed in his transactions with its leading members, a statesman, in whom the catholics universally confided, the celebrated Grattan. At the instance of this gentleman, and with the acknowledged confidence of the lord lieutenant, a bill for the farther relief of the catholics was introduced into the Irish parliament, and the house permitted its being drawn

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up by the accustomed advocates of catholic rights, Messrs. Grattan, Ponsonby, and Knox, with little opposition. The utmost joy was diffused through the catholic body in Ireland, on the prospect of this enlarged toleration, and the strongest effusions of loyalty prevailed.

But the wide-spread satisfaction was quickly damped, by the intelligence which arrived two days after this favourable reception of Mr. Grattan's motion, that the British ministry avowed themselves averse to the measure. Lord Fitzwilliam was said to have declared on this occasion, that the retracting an assent so formally given, would raise a flame of rebellion which it would require torrents of blood to extinguish, and that he would rather retire, than be answerable for the consequences. Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, and Lord Cambden appointed to the viceroyalty. When Earl Fitzwilliam accepted the viceroyalty, as he afterwards declared, he had been authorised to complete the catholic emancipation. As a step towards the completion of this object, he had found it necessary to dismiss from official situations, some of those partizans of the anti-catholic interest, who were most inimical to the scheme. Mr. Beresford and his political friends were, therefore, left in the unofficial minority. Indignant at their dismissal, Mr. Beresford repaired to London, and immediately after his conferences with the British cabinet, a new system was adopted. As Lord Fitzwilliam refused to change his arrangements, his recal took place. On the day of his lordship's departure, the shops of Dublin were shut, and the whole city put on mourning.

Indignation at the conduct of the British ministers broke out in the language of almost every individual of the Irish, except among her legislators,

who carried an address of approbation for the rejection of that very bill, which they had lately voted with almost unanimous enthusiasm.

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On the return of Lord Fitzwilliam to England, the subject of his recal was taken up with great warmth by the friends of his lordship, and the usual opponents of ministry. In the house of commons, Mr. Jekyl supported his motion for an inquiry into the conduct of ministers on this subject, by a very spirited speech. He reminded the minister of his solemn promise, that whenever the period for investigation arrived, he would undertake to prove, that no blame was imputable to the ministers of this country. He vindicated the conduct of Lord Fitzwilliam, from his letters. According to these, he had acted in strict conformity to his instructions, which went to the emancipation of the catholics, a condition, without which his lordship would not have undertaken the commission granted to him. But the fact, (he said), was, that the interests of a particular party, the interests of the Beresfords. were to be preferred to those of the British empire. Their dismissal from office was the real ground of dissension, and the business of catholic emancipation was the mere pretence. It was absurd, he said, to mention the oaths taken by his majesty, as obstacles to such a measure, since in Canada and Corsica, the catholic religion was settled without violation of the royal oath.

Mr. Pitt stated in answer, that no communication of the correspondence between Lord Fitzwilliam and the ministry, could be permitted without the king's assent, and that ministers were officially bound to the strictest secrecy in all cases of this nature. He could not, for this reason, enter into any verbal explanation of the business in question, and neither could admit nor deny the

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facts and inferences alleged. The king, he said, had clearly the right to nominate and dismiss ministers, without assigning his motives, except only in cases of an extraordinary nature. He deprecated the discussion of subjects now before the Irish parliament, as a violation of the independence of that body, and exhorted the house to leave the settlement of affairs in that nation, to its own representatives, who were best qualified to decide upon its most important concerns.

The cold, circumspect, and unsatisfactory answer of the minister, was strongly contrasted with the reply of Mr. Grey, whose speech gave a deep interest to the debate. He contended, in the strongest terms, for the propriety of an inquiry in a case wherein the highest interests of the British and Irish nations were equally involved. The people of both countries were sensible, he said, of its importance, and it ill became ministers, to attempt the concealment of matters, which ought to be held out to public consideration in the face of day. Both the English and the Irish had a right to know whether the Irish catholics were to be made free, or continue to be deprived of their rights. We had excited the liveliest hopes of a total emancipation from all those restraints, which the dispositions of catholic to protestant had formerly rendered necessary; and now, when on the point of extinguishing all religious feuds, and terminating all differences, a sudden check was given to those pleasing expectations. The man selected to put the finishing hand to those arrangements, was recalled in the midst of his exertions, and censured, as if he had been committing an act of disloyalty to his own country. Was this conduct to be borne by England, whose honour was pledged, and whose interest was bound to satisfy the just demands of Ireland? 'A pretence is set up,' said

Mr. Grey in conclusion, 'that the independence of the Irish parliament would be violated by this country's interference, in the settlement of the affairs of Ireland. But who does not see the futility of this pretence, and who does not know that the deliberations on this side of the water, have an irresistible influence over the other? The question before us is clear and unequivocal; the catholics have been promised emancipation from their present disqualifications, and our business is to know what ministers propose, either by a delay or refusal of this concession.'

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Ministers continued to plead the impropriety of entering on a business of so much delicacy, in the present critical state of affairs. They got rid of the importunate interrogations of their adversaries, by a majority of votes for the order of the day.

The session was concluded on the 27th of June, by a speech from his majesty, from which the exertion of fresh efforts in the war, appeared to be the resolution of the cabinet.

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View of French affairs. . . . Origin of the party who assume the name of Thermidorians. . . . Courage and zeal of the Thermidorians in behalf of humanity. . . . Punishment of many of the agents of the late tyranny. . . . Recal of the proscribed Girondists. . . . Resolution of the convention to frame a new constitution. . . . Decree which establishes the continuance of two thirds of their own number to form a part in the new legislature. . . . Discontents, and insurrection, and defeat of the sections. . . . Moderation of the victorious party. . . . The convention announces its own dissolution. . . . Institution of the new government of the directory. . . . Acknowledgement of the republic by the king of Prussia and other powers. . . . Invasion of Holland. . . . Retreat of the British army to Bremen. . . . Campaign on the Rhine. . . . Campaign in Italy. . . . Expedition to the bay of Quiberon. . . . Capture of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope by the British. . . . Capture of St. Lucia by the French. . . . Captures by the British navy.

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THE blessed day which consigned Robespierre to the scaffold, was hailed by all France with an exultation of joy, that contributed not a little to render the victory of the patriotic party more complete. The Thermidorians, (for so the party were now called, consisting of the wreck of the factions of Danton and Gironde,) adopted a new appellation from this honourable era, and were deservedly regarded as the deliverers of their country. At the name of Danton, at the recollection too of much of the conduct of the Girondists, we may well be astonished to find those who had participated in their crimes, thus regenerate their political natures, and plead the cause of the state pri-

soners, as well as invoke justice on the heads of the mountain, although many of that faction had assisted them in the overthrow of Robespierre. Yet so it was. In the annals of human repentance, a more striking event is not recorded than the change of Legendre. This man, who had been not only the proselyte, but the bigot of jacobinism, and who had partaken in a thousand crimes, seemed to resume a tenfold energy in the cause of virtue. Alone and fearless, he entered the hall of the jacobins, on the day of the 9th Thermidor, ere the victory was yet scarce decided; he was surrounded by his proscribers, and his life was in imminent danger; but his courage triumphed over every obstacle. At the moment when they had strength, numbers, and no small inclination to tear him in pieces, he contemptuously commanded them to shut up their assembly. They obeyed him, and Legendre brought the keys of their hall in triumph to the convention. That infamous haunt was again opened, but the convention, aided by the young men of Paris, who collected in battalions to their aid, dispersed them, never more to reassemble.

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The courage and zeal of the Thermidorians were now exerted in favour of the victims of the late tyranny, who still languished in confinement, and who were held in arrest, through the influence of Barrere, Collot, and the remnant of the mountain. The entry of Legendre into the committee of general safety, was an epoch of deliverance. He visited the prisoners incessantly; he heard individually their wrongs and their histories, and he restored them to their houses. He, Bourdon de L'Oise, Revere, Freron, Merlin of Thionville, André Dumont, and some others, emptied the prisons of Paris. A dreadful expression had

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become proverbial during the Robespierrian tyranny, when the tyrants used to say, we must get rid of the prisoners. The Thermidorians adopted the phrase, and realised it in a different sense.

As soon as the Thermidorians saw the majority of the convention on their side, they obtained the appointment of commissaries, who went into each of the departments, to repair the devastations of their predecessors, and recal some of them to atone for their barbarities. Carrier, who had desolated La Vendee, was the first who was called to trial, and, certainly, the vengeance of the human race could not begin with a better choice. He was condemned, along with two of his associates, after a recital of crimes upon his trial, which the mind shudders to recal. The punishment of Joseph le Bon succeeded, but at too late a period; and in the meantime, the execution of the late accuser Fouquier Thionville, with other fifteen of the most execrable of the revolutionary tribunal, concluded the triumph of the law. To equal the examples of justice, with the atrocities which had been committed, was not possible, nor if it had, would it have been politic; there are outrages on human nature, too great for human nature to avenge; and it was wisely judged, that the people had been sufficiently inured to the sight of blood, without making it more familiar to their eyes, even by legal executions. Another motive intervened to screen the fallen terrorists, the unwillingness of many leaders of the Thermidorians, to develop too minutely the series of events in which some of the Dantonists had been too much implicated. Let it not be imagined, however, that the people in the provinces were universally sparing of their late oppressors. In many places, retaliations took place too just to be re-

gretted, but which it were needless to give in detail.¹

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During these events, the jacobins in Paris were not passive. On the 1st of April, they made a tumultuous and general rising, but were dispersed by the battalion of young men, whom the Thermidorians attached to their cause, with rapidity and without bloodshed. Assembling in greater numbers, determination, and concert, they made their way on the 20th of May into the hall of the convention, and demanding, with loud cries, bread and the convention of 1793, they forced the assembly to break up, after barbarously murdering a deputy at the foot of the president's² chair. The greater part of the members retired; only such remained, as were either forced by their pusillanimity, or attached to the cause of terror. By this barbarous remnant of the legislature, every thing was decreed which the brigands required. Night, however, diminished the number of the insurgents, while the Thermidorians and the committees of government, who had retired to a neighbouring building, called around them a determined band of the young and patriotic Parisians. At eleven at night, Legendre, after repulsing several attempts on his post, sallied out of the committees, at the head of a troop of his volunteers, armed with sabres and pistols. The insurgents fled from

¹ Three other illustrious offenders were added during the year to those righteous examples. By a decree of the convention, Collot D'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, were transported to Guiana; the former died in that inhospitable climate, after having in vain attempted to inspire the negroes of Cayenne with a portion of his revolutionary fury. Barrere had been included in the same decree, but obtained a respite, and after-

wards a reprieve from his sentence. The shame and remorse which followed him, were believed to have severely punished the cowardice and atrocity of his conduct, though they made but a small atonement in the sight of impartial justice.

² The president, Boissy, kept his place for a long time with signal intrepidity, till the whole assembly was dispersed.

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their charge, or surrendered their arms, and the infamous minority, who had disgraced the government by voting at the call of insurgents, were put under arrest.

Amid this ascendancy of the convention, it cannot be denied, that they shewed an infidelity to their own interests, which, if the most perverse policy dictated, it is yet far from excusing. How far the Thermidorians may be included in this blame, does not appear; the majority of the convention, though attached to that party, did not partake of their resolute character, and probably were the cause of the inconsistency to which we allude. On the very day after this trial, the convention admitted another armed deputation of the seditious to attend at their bar, and compromised both their own truth and dignity, by making them equivocal promises. The volunteers of order, (so we may call those patriots, who had faced every danger to secure the reign of the convention), were scandalized at this concession. They beheld in the convention, a body who dreaded the anarchists, but who, without courage to support their victory, seemed more anxious to submit to be arbiters between them and the jacobins. This sinister policy of the convention brought them into new dangers, and soon convinced them that the jacobins must be subdued, or suffered again to predominate. On the 3^d of the same month, the rebels, emboldened by their late admission, had not quitted their arms, and when the assassin who had killed Ferraud at the foot of the president's chair, was led to execution, a band of them sallied out of the faubourgs of S^t. Antoine, and released him. The convention foresaw a new attack, and assumed resolution to anticipate it. Thirty thousand men were convoked, and the faubourg of S^t. Antoine surrendered their arms, along with some of the leaders of their late insur-

section. By this surrender the jacobins lost their last citadel.

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After these disturbances, the hopes and expectations of France were intently fixed on the new employment of the convention, which, after many inadequate attempts in finance, and much ostentation, but insufficient reform of the evils occasioned by the reign of terror, began to devote itself to the task of giving a new constitution. The plan of a constitution, which was presented by Boissy in the name of the committee, charged with this labour, was adopted with much deference, and adopted in all its parts.

The constituent assembly had wished to give hereditary power and unity to the executive department, but they had committed a fatal error in refusing to endow it with force. The new constitution divided it, and made it elective; but at least endowed it with activity. The constituent assembly had left to the king some slight honours, which appeared but the wreck of his former greatness, but it had obliged him to purchase them by continual sacrifices. The new constitution had for its head, five magistrates, under the name of directors, to whom the executive power was consigned, with more authority than show. The representatives of the nation were divided into two councils; that of the ancients confirmed or rejected the acts of the council of five hundred. The system of election was established on nearly the same basis with that of the constitution of 1791. The judicial power was to reside in the judges of the departments, chosen by the electoral assemblies, with a tribunal of appeal chosen by the same body for the whole nation. The directory might invite the legislative body to take a subject into consideration, but could not dictate any matter of discussion, except of peace or war. Nei-

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ther could they, like our own executive, prorogue or assemble the legislature at their pleasure.

If the new constitution did not receive the vain adoration which had been lavished upon the frail productions of former legislators, it was at least received without condemnation or disdain. Even those who had most disapproved of a republic of 25,000,000 of people, welcomed it as a nearer approach to the establishment of a regular government.

But the public unanimity seemed to be broken at one blow, when it was learnt, that the convention itself had resolved to preside over the first trial of the new constitution. On the 5th and 13th Fructidor, (22^d and 30th August), two decrees were past, by which it was declared, that two thirds of the present members of the convention were to form a part of the new legislature. The most violent opposition arose from without to these decrees.

On the 4th of October, by six in the morning, the cry to arms resounded over all Paris. Seven or eight hours passed in a state of uncertainty and inaction. The troops of the insurgent sections took their posts at random, and though they were possessed of several public places, and even of the public treasury, yet those places were respected. The convention had bounded its line of defence by the passages which lead to the palace of the Thuilleries; they had, besides, posted some battalions at the Pont National and the Pont Neuf. A column of 4 or 5000 of the sectionaries presented themselves before the latter bridge, on which General Carteur drew back his conventionists along with the artillery. At two in the afternoon, the confusion began to be extreme. The committee of the section of Le Pelletier were earnest for an attack. The conventionists were on their part, equally de-

terminated to deliver the legislature from its present blockade. At a quarter past four, a musket was fired from the windows of a restorateur, where several deputies of the convention dined, and a battle immediately commenced in front of the church of S'. Roch, which was occupied by the sectionaries, and from which they discharged their musketry on their antagonists in the adjacent street. But the discharge of some grape shot among the sectionaries, soon spread disorder in their ranks, and their remaining posts were carried by the bayonet.

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Two other actions took place at the same time in the streets of Echelle and S'. Nicholas, which the artillery of the convention decided with the same promptitude. The sectionaries, a third time ventured to face their antagonists, by advancing towards the post which defended the Pont National, and stood two discharges of the artillery, but the third dispersed them. Victory declared for the convention at seven o'clock in the evening. Among the military men who distinguished themselves on this day in the cause of the convention, was the same commander Bonaparte, who, at the distance of three years, was destined to overthrow the constitution which he now contributed to establish. The convention behaved with laudable moderation after their victory, and left the barriers open for three days, to those who had to apprehend their vengeance. Of those who fled in their first fear, many returned, and none were disturbed except two, who were condemned on a fair trial, and more from their own imprudent avowals, than from the rigid scrutiny of evidence against them. On the 26th of October, an amnesty was proclaimed of all past revolutionary offences, robbery and assassination excepted, and the national conventional pronounced its own dissolution.

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By the terms of the new constitution, the directory was to be partially renewed by the election of a new member every year. None of the members who thus retired, could be re-elected till after a lapse of five years. In the election of the directory, the council of five hundred was to make, by secret scrutiny, a list of ten persons, from which the senate, by secret scrutiny, was to select one. Rewbel, Barras, Reviellierre Lepaux, Le Tourneur, and Carnot, were nominated to the new executive.

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In the midst of the political events which preceded this pacific term of the revolution, the republic had assumed, in its military efforts, the most imposing attitude. The brilliant successes of 1794 had rendered most of the neighbouring powers eager to acknowledge her new government, and some of them even to court her alliance. The Grand Duke of Tuscany himself, the brother of the emperor, was the first to propose an amity. He had been eager from the beginning to preserve neutrality, but the menaces of the combined powers had induced him to dismiss the French ambassador. At the beginning of this war, however, he re-established the neutrality of Tuscany, and revoked all his acts of adherence to the coalition.

April 5.

The king of Prussia soon after recognized the republic, and after a negociation with the committee of public safety, concluded a treaty by means of his minister the Baron Hardenberg, with Barthelemi, the French ambassador at Basle. The mediation of Prussia also procured an opportunity for the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel to retire from the war, and the latter prince not only agreed that the French should still occupy one of his fortresses, but stipulated, neither to prolong nor renew his subsidiary treaties with the court of Great Britain. The momentous disasters which at a lat-

ter period of the present year, induced Spain also to change her side in the war, were already fast approaching to a crisis. Nor were the neutral powers backward in acknowledging a government so capable of enforcing respect. The regent of Sweden sent an ambassador to compliment the convention in name of his nephew. Gustavus Adolphus, IVth king of Sweden, had long received pecuniary assistance from the monarchs of France, and the successor of that prince, who was to have headed the armies of the first coalition, did not disdain to stipulate for a subsidy from the new commonwealth. Amidst these unpromising circumstances, the efforts of Austria, supported by the subsidies of England alone, seemed to present a new era in the war.

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Encouraged by their recent successes, the French government resolved to pursue the advantages held out to them by the situation of that country which was nearest to their new conquests. Immediately after the capture of Nimeguen, it appeared by the motions of the French generals, that the invasion of Holland would be no longer delayed, than till the means for attempting it were put in train. The remains of the allied army were in no condition to form any obstacle. The British troops now stationed at Arnheim and its vicinity, were, from incessant fatigue, the inclemency of the season, and the difficulty of procuring supplies, in the most deplorable condition, and almost in want of every necessary. The French took this opportunity to attempt the passage of the Waal, but they were repulsed by the British troops in some places, and by the Germans in others.

At the beginning of December, during the setting in of the hard frost, which marked the close of 1794, and beginning of 1795, the French con-

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ceived the design of waiting till the rivers were sufficiently frozen, to bear the passage of their armies. Fatally for the allies, the Maese and the Waal were, by the 27th of December, become bridges of ice, over which the invaders transported their armies and artillery, along an extent of forty miles. The allied armies, enfeebled by sickness and destitution, could afford no effectual resistance. The French carried all the posts on the isle of Bommel, and forced the lines of Breda, making 1600 prisoners, and taking 120 pieces of cannon. They were now masters of the north side of the Waal, and menaced the towns of Coolenberg and Gorcum, neither of which was able to stand an attack.

To preserve these places, and to compel the enemy to recross the Waal, about 8000 of the British troops marched against them on the 30th of December, under the command of General Dundas. The French were posted at Thuyl; the passage that led to the river was flanked by the batteries of the isle of Bommel, and their position was very strong. All these obstacles yielded to the bravery of our troops; the superior hordes of the republicans were forced to recross the Waal. But this advantage, while it signalized the valour, could not retrieve the fortune of our countrymen. Returning with fresh numbers, the enemy soon became irresistible.

The French were in the meantime active in reducing all the places of strength on the borders of the United provinces. Among these, the small but strong fortress of Grave was the most distinguished for its resistance, under an intrepid officer of the name of Bons, but at last was compelled to surrender.

The departure of the duke of York for England about the beginning of December, seemed to

be a signal that the British despaired of preserving Holland. While it damped the small remaining spirit of the stadtholder's party, it proportionably emboldened the republican faction, who met everywhere in clubs and societies, and by all their language and proceedings, demonstrated their impatience to welcome their fraternising invaders.

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On the 4th of July 1795, some regiments of Pichegru's proceeded to the spot so lately distinguished by the victory of a handful of British, and recovered the passage of the Waal without molestation. It was indeed necessary for the allies to secure an expeditious retreat, for the numbers of Pichegru's army were already quadruple of their own. On the 6th of January, the remains of the British army retired towards the Leck. As soon as this was perceived by the French, they advanced in considerable force, and pressed our troops so closely, that a desperate engagement ensued. The combatants were alternately repulsed, and returned to the charge four several times. The French at last gave way, but their numbers prevented pursuit. The British availing themselves of a temporary success, continued their retreat. They were allowed, however, no respite. General Walmoden, on whom the command of the British and their subsidiaries now devolved, was posted between Arnheim and Nemiguen, at the defile of the Grab, in the province of Utrecht, the place where lines had been constructed in 1745-6, for protecting the provinces of Utrecht and Holland. Hoping to make a capture of the whole army, Pichegru, at the head of more than 70,000 men, attacked them on all sides. After such resistance as their inferiority permitted, they retired, but with so considerable a loss of their camp equipage, that they were compelled to take shelter in open sheds, from the excessive severity of the weather.

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Another attack was made by Pichegru four days after, on some posts that had been taken to secure the retreat of the British troops. These maintained their ground till night, when they retired unpursued. But courage and conduct could little avail against such dreadful superiority of numbers. Our troops had at once to resist a successful enemy in the French, and concealed enemies in every town and village through which they passed. The generality of the Dutch regarding England as the cause of the war, looked on our countrymen with abhorrence; and though they committed no direct hostilities, took every occasion to aggravate their distresses. While the stadtholder issued proclamations for the people to rise in a mass, the inhabitants answered him with the bitterest reproaches, and publicly reviled him as the tool of the British government, and the betrayer of the Dutch nation.

To the shattered remains of the British army, thus surrounded by open and secret enemies, retreat itself was not practicable without enduring the extremity of human suffering, and exerting incredible fortitude. Numbers were frozen to death, or perished through want, during a march of several weeks. On the 16th of January, they retreated to Deventer. That day was memorable for the sufferings of our countrymen. The recitals of it which have been published, exhibit a picture of human misery scarcely equalled even in the annals of war.³

³ From the simple, but interesting journal of this retreat, preserved by a corporal in the Coldstream guards, a periodical work has judiciously selected the following passage, to exhibit what the British endured at this period.—

January 16th. We marched at the appointed hour, and after a very tedious journey, about three o'clock in the afternoon reached an immense desert called the Wolaw;

when, instead of having gained a resting place for the night, as we expected, we were informed that we had fifteen miles farther to go.

Upon this information, many began to march, dejected, and not without reason; for several of us, besides suffering the severity of the weather, and fatigue of the march, had neither eat nor drank any thing, except water, that day.

For

Another column of the British had evacuated Utrecht on the evening of the 15th of January, di-

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For the first three or four miles, such a dismal prospect appeared, as none of us was ever witness to before. A bare sandy desert, with a tuft of withered grass, or solitary shrub here and there. The wind was excessively high, and drifted the snow and sand so strong, that we could hardly wrestle against it; the frost was so intense, that the water which came from our eyes, freezing as it fell, hung in icicles to our eye-lashes; and our breath freezing as soon as emitted, lodged in heaps of ice about our faces, and on the blankets or coats that were wrapped round our heads. Night fast approaching, a great number both of men and women began to linger behind. Their spirits being quite exhausted, and without hopes of reaching their destination; and if they once lost sight of the column of march, though but a few minutes, it being dark, and no track to follow, there was no chance of finding it again. In this state, numbers were induced to sit down, or creep under the shelter of bushes, where, weary, spiritless, and without hope, a few moments consigned them to sleep; but, alas! whoever slept awaked no more; their blood was almost instantly congealed, or if they opened their eyes, it was only to be sensible of their last agonies. Others, sensible of the danger of sitting down, but having lost the column, wandered up and down the pathless waste, surrounded by darkness and despair, till they sunk down among the drifting snow, never to rise again.

About half past ten o'clock at night, we reached Brickborge, when, to add to our misfortunes, we could hardly find room to shelter ourselves from the weather, every house being already filled with the Hessian infantry, who are in no respect friendly to the English. In several houses, they positively refused us entrance, and in every one

refused us admittance to the fire. At the same time, they posted sentinels by the cellar doors, to prevent the inhabitants from selling us any liquors. Even their commanding officer, pushed, with his own hand, a number of our men, neck and heels, out of his quarters. Thus we were situated, till partly by force, and partly by stealth, we crept where we could, glad to obtain the shelter of a house at any rate.

January 17. We halted this day, and in the morning waggons were sent out with a number of men, to search for those who were left behind. A great number were found near the route of the column, but a great number who had straggled farther off, were never heard of. In one place, seven men, one woman, and a child, were found dead; in another, a man, a woman, and two children; in another, a man, a woman, and one child. An unhappy woman being taken with labour, she, with her husband and infant, were all found lifeless. One or two men were found alive; but their hands and feet were frozen to such a degree, as to be dropping off by the wrists and ancles.

Perhaps never did a British army experience such distress, as ours does at this time. Not a village or house but what bears witness of our misery, in containing some dead, and others dying. Some are daily found who have crawled into houses singly; other houses contain five, six, or seven together; some dead, others dying, or unable to walk; and as for those that are able, it is no easy matter for them to find their way; for the country is one continued desert, without roads, and every tract filled up with the drifting and falling snow. Add to this, the inhabitants are our most inveterate enemies, and where opportunity occurs, will rather murder a poor distressed Englishman, than direct him

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recting its march to Zutphen. The French took immediate possession of Utrecht and Rotterdam, two of the most important places in the Seven provinces.

Delivered from the English, as the Dutch now affected to consider themselves, they gave a loose to their rage against the stadtholder. The prince found it necessary for the personal safety of himself, and his son, the hereditary prince of Orange, to embark in an open boat at Schaveling, and arrived the next day at Harwich. His guards at the Hague with difficulty protected him from the fury of the populace. On the 20th of January, Pichegru made his entry into Amsterdam, at the head of 5,000 men, and was received with the loudest acclamations. The freedom and independency of the United provinces were immediately proclaimed, and a provincial government appointed by a general assembly of the citizens. The same disposition in favour of France, was displayed by the other provinces and cities of Holland. Haarlem and Leyden first followed the example of Amsterdam. The province of Zealand, with the whole fleet that lay in its harbour, hoisted the tri-colour; and the fortress of Bergenopzoom, with William-stadt and Breda, yielded on no other conditions, than a promise that religious and civil liberty should be enjoyed; that their country should not be governed by the French; and that the French paper currency should not be forced into circulation. On the 27th of February, an assembly was held of the provisional representatives of the people of Holland, of which Peter Paulas, an able and ancient partisan of the republican party, was declared president. The stadtholder was formally deposed,

him the right way, several instances of which have already occurred. It is reported, that in the different columns of the army, 700 are missing since we left the river Leck — *Journal of the campaign in 1793-94-95, by Robert Brown, corporal in the Goldstream regiment.*

and the new constitution of Holland organized. As an earnest, however, of the future benefits of their French deliverers, the first act of the Dutch assembly, was to levy, at the instance of France, a *free gift* of £1,400,000, for the use of the French army.⁴

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On reaching Deventer, the British army had expected a short respite, after so many dreadful distresses. By courage and perseverance, they conveyed safely to this place all their ammunition and military stores. But diminishing in health and numbers, they could carry them no farther, and were obliged to destroy them, to prevent their falling into the hands of the French. They were obliged to quit Deventer two days after their arrival. Fifty thousand French were in full pursuit of them. Yet, against this immense superiority, they made a stand once more, and fighting at every step, though their march was frequently amidst ice or snow, mud or water, sometimes reaching their middle, arrived at the river Vecht. They crossed the Vecht on the 10th of February, and on the 12th crossed the river Ems at Rheine. On this day, a body of the French came up with them, and another engagement ensued, in which the steadiness of our troops made an effectual resistance. Resuming their march with little interruption, they arrived at length in the country of Bremen, about the close of March. Here they were joined by

⁴ Well might the convention glory in the situation of France at this time. A list of conquests was printed and hung up in the hall of the convention, enumerating the victories of the republic. Their conquests were, the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; the Seven United provinces; the bishoprics of Liege, Worms, and Spiers; the electorates of Treves, Cologne, and Mentz; the duchy of Deux Ponts; the Palatinate; the duchies

of Juliers and Cleves. In the south of France, their conquests were the duchy of Savoy, with the principalities of Nice and Monaco in Italy; the provinces of Biscay and Catalonia in Spain. The population of all these countries was estimated at 13,000,000. In the space of seventeen months they had won twenty-seven battles, and been victorious in 121 actions of lesser note. They had taken 116 strong cities and fortified places.

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other divisions of the army. That which was under Lord Cathcart had encountered their full share of hardship in reaching the main body. The French had kept continually on their rear, and not a day had passed without skirmishing. The country was hostile to them all the way. The city of Groningen had shut its gates against them.

Thus assailed by every hostility of climate, of treachery, and of superior numbers, had our countrymen traversed, or rather fought their way through the provinces of Utrecht, Guelderland, Overyssal, and Groningen. The trial of their fortitude had lasted two months, and deservedly commanded the admiration even of their enemies.

The reception of these brave men by the hospitable people of Bremen, ought to be remembered by Englishmen with gratitude. It formed a welcome contrast to the savage, yet cowardly hostility of the Dutch.⁵

Never did France commence a campaign more auspiciously than that of the present year. She had eight victorious armies on foot in the dominions of the coalesced powers. Pichegru, now become the terror of the Low countries, command-

⁵ A letter from a British officer from this place, gives a pleasing picture of this conclusion of their sufferings.—

It is something like a dream, (says he); or fairy vision, and we could hardly give credit to our senses. We who had lately been so buffeted about by fortune, driven like vagabonds over all the wilds of Holland, and who in our greatest extremities, when we asked for any thing to refresh ourselves, with the money in our hands, were only answered with a shrug of the shoulders, 'nothing for the Englishmen.' Now to be seated in the most elegant apartments; servants

attending, ready to anticipate every wish; beds of the softest down to repose upon, without being disturbed in the morning with the thundering of cannon, or the usual alarms of war—It seemed like sudden enchantment, but it proved real: for the inhabitants used us like part of their own family or children, who had been long absent, and omitted nothing that could contribute to either our ease or pleasure. The greatest part of our soldiers left Bremen with much regret. A great number of the people accompanied us out of town, and shewed every possible respect.

ed in Belgium and Holland; Jourdan, his assessor in conquest, stretched along the Maese, and Moreau towards the Rhine. Scherer and Marceau occupied the frontiers of Spain; Kellerman was posted on the Alps; and Canclava and Hoche on the coasts of the Channel and the bay of Biscay.

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During the conquest of Holland, the French armies on the Rhine were preparing to besiege Mentz, the only place of importance belonging to the empire on the left bank of the Rhine. They hoped, by this achievement, before the setting in of winter, to have their arms at liberty for those vast schemes of conquest which they meditated in Germany. Induced by these views, they turned their arms against Manheim, as a previous step to the reduction of Mentz; and the former city surrendered to them, after a short siege, on the 24th December 1794. Impatient to become masters of Mentz, with the same promptitude, they made three assaults on the fortress of Zahlback in its neighbourhood, but were repulsed. This check retarded their operations for a considerable time.

In the meantime, the secession of Prussia, the inactivity of the German princes in the common defence of the empire, and the treaty which was negotiating with Spain, facilitated the progress of the French in the Netherlands. On that side, they opened the campaign, by pressing the siege, or rather blockade, of Luxemburg. General Binder, the governor, was at the head of a strong body of no less than 10,000 men; but the certainty that no succours could approach, induced the governor to surrender. He was permitted to retire into Germany with his garrison, on condition of not serving against France until regularly exchanged. The reduction of Luxemburg by the French happened on the 7th of June. Nothing

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seemed wanting to complete the success of France, but the recovery of Mentz. The blockade of this place was accordingly their first operation on the frontiers of Germany. Its defence had been formerly intrusted to the house of Brandenburg, but had now devolved on the emperor, who selected Marshal Clairfait as the most able officer to whom the conduct of this important business could be intrusted. This general, who, at the latter end of the last campaign, had been driven across the Rhine, being now placed at the head of the Austrian army, as well as that of the empire, returned to the charge, and, nothing dismayed by his recent defeats, attacked and defeated the French, who were posted on the heights of Mornbach; after which, he occupied that advantageous position with his own forces.

Notwithstanding this success, Germany was soon after menaced with a new invasion, and Mentz with a new siege, by two of the greatest commanders in the French service. It was not till the month of August, that the French determined effectually to open the campaign of 1795, upon the Rhine. They began by an attack on Dusseldorf in such force, that the Austrians were obliged to abandon that city, and retire to a large body that lay entrenched on the river Lahn. Jourdan, who had effected this passage of the Rhine, struck the Austrians with so much terror, that they fell back without hazarding an action. The successes of Pichegru had made the French at this period masters of Manheim. By this position on the right bank of the Rhine, they possessed all the space of country between the two imperial armies of Clairfait on the north, and Wurmser on the south of the Mayne. The blockade of Mentz was renewed with redoubled vigour. The dispirited Austrians

seemed ready to give way in every quarter, while the French became so confident, that they were with difficulty restrained under discipline.

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General Wurmser was, in the meantime, advancing to the recovery of Manheim. Pichegru, in order to intercept his junction with Clairfait, who was on his march to join Wurmser, and retiring before Jourdan, posted a large division of his army in the midway between them. This division fell impetuously on the imperialists, and put them to the route. But the spirit of plunder was so prevalent among the French, that as soon as they had dispersed this portion of Wurmser's army, they scattered themselves in all directions. The peasantry, whom they oppressed with depredation, gave notice to the Austrians of their disorder, and took them so completely by surprise, that they were driven back with much slaughter, to take shelter under the fortress of Manheim.

This unexpected reverse completely changed the fortune of a campaign, which had begun so auspiciously for France. Clairfait having received new reinforcements, advanced against Jourdan, and falling on his rear, captured a large part of his battering artillery, which had been destined against Mentz. The projects of the French on the right banks of the Rhine were now entirely defeated. Jourdan was unable to continue the siege of Mentz, and retreated across the Maine. He retired to Dusseldorf, harassed and pressed by Clairfait at every step. So strongly was the tide of success reversed against the French, that their army which had crossed the Rhine at Manheim under Pichegru, was obliged to recross the Rhine. The garrison of Mentz was reinforced by large divisions of the emperor's troops; while others made good their passage over the Rhine, to compel the French to

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raise its siege. The intention of Pichegru had been to put the French into such a posture, as should repel the attacks which he saw were meditated by his victorious enemies. But before he could form his preparations, the besiegers of Mentz were defeated: their artillery was taken, and they were driven from every post. Jourdan could no longer act defensively on the Rhine, having lost his best troops, and a large train of artillery. Clairfait, leaving some divisions of his forces to guard the country he had recovered, crossed the Rhine, and formed a junction with Wurmser. They retook the Palatinate, and most of the countries between the Rhine and the Moselle. Jourdan, alarmed at their progress, collected all the troops that were stationed in the proximity of the Rhine, and by forced marches, having effected a junction with Pichegru, checked the rapid career of the Austrians.

They could not, however, preserve Manheim, which was reduced about the end of October, and the garrison, of 8,000 republicans, were made prisoners of war. The successes of the Austrians emboldened them to form the project of penetrating as far as Luxemburg. They made preparations to this intent; and a large division of their best troops were provided with all the requisites for such an attempt; but the resistance of the French, and the condition of the garrison, rendered their views abortive. Pichegru and Jourdan, after receiving necessary reinforcements, marched to encounter the triumphant army. The former, after carrying the town of Krutznach by storm twice in one day, was at length driven from the place by a renewed onset of the imperialists. His colleague was soon after repulsed in an attack upon Kaiserslautern, in which he lost 2,000 men. At length, the severity of the season, and an unexpected armistice of three

months, put an end to the campaign, after restoring success to the arms of Austria, beyond the hopes of the most sanguine friends of her cause.

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The campaign in Italy commenced late in the year, but did not finally produce any important conquests on either side. By the peace with Spain, the republicans, under Kellerman, were enabled to extend themselves from the lake of Geneva, to the county of Nice. The French strengthened themselves at Dego, while the Austrians entrenched themselves at Borghetta and Albenza. The neutrality of Genoa was, during this contest, respected by neither party, but occasionally violated by both. By two defeats which the Austrians received after the renewal of hostilities in October, the first at Loana, and the second at Garesco, the Austro-Sardinian army was obliged to retire towards Acqui; on which the French took possession of Pietra Loano, Finale, and Vado, and captured immense magazines of the imperialists at Savona. The barriers of the Appenines were thus thrown open to the invaders; but the triumphs of Scherer's army introduced depredation and anarchy, and this disorganization prematurely checked the farther progress of the French. The successes of the emperor at the same period, enabled him to detach 25,000 men to Italy, who fortified a position on the back of the Appenines; and the court of Sardinia reinforced its own army, by sending 6,000 troops to General Colli. The rigour of the season obliged the allies at this period to desist from hostilities, and remain on the defensive.

One of the blessings of the Thermidorean revolution to the republic, had been the restoration of peace with the insurgent Vendéans and Chouans. By a treaty signed at Joulnaye, liberty of conscience, the restoration of their priests to patrimonial property, immunity from public burdens beyond a

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fixed and certain extent, indemnity for their losses in the civil war, and a total amnesty of past hostilities, were granted to the latter, on the condition of acknowledging the republic, and pledging themselves to abstain from insurrection. But the peace which had diffused such joy, soon proved hollow and delusive. The government, on pretence of bad faith in the royalists, refused to ratify the indemnities they had promised, and orders were even issued to arrest some of the leaders.

A correspondence with England was speedily established by the malcontents. About the close of May, the Chouans rose in arms to the amount of 6,000 men, and invested Grandchamp, but were soon again overpowered by the national troops. In the meantime, an armament was preparing in England to second a general insurrection. It sailed in the beginning of June to the southern coast of Brittany, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, and proceeded to the bay of Quiberon. Here a body of about 300 men effected a landing, and dispersed a small band of republicans, who made a show of opposing them. They then besieged and captured a fort garrisoned by 600 men, and prepared to march farther into the country. They were joined by considerable numbers, to whom arms were given, and the oath of loyalty administered. To sound the dispositions of the people in the more inland districts, and to reconnoitre the republican forces, the count D'Hervilly, a nobleman long distinguished in the cause of his dethroned sovereign, put himself at the head of several thousand Chouans, and marched some distance into the interior; but his troops, at the sight of the republicans, behaving with extreme cowardice, he was obliged to retire, and throw up entrenchments on the peninsula of Quiberon.

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To improve the advantage thus obtained, the

republican generals raised three redoubts, which guarded the passage to the main land. The British troops, the emigrant corps that had been formed in England, and the Chouans that had joined them, amounted altogether to 10,000 or 12,000 men. Five thousand of them were selected to attack these redoubts: but their attempt was completely foiled, and had not some British ships in the harbour interposed their fire, their retreat would have brought the enemy to the very entrenchments of the peninsula. Discord among the leaders, and desertion among the troops, prevailed most fatally from this period, and began to augur the issue of the expedition.

General Hoche, who commanded the republicans, availing himself of much information which these desertions afforded him, formed too successful a plan for the surprising and storming of the emigrant camp. The night of the 20th of July favoured his purpose, being dark and tempestuous. He had obtained the watch-word; his soldiers entered the fort undiscovered; while the gunners were asleep, he extinguished their matches, and seized their powder, with the lantern that was to be hoisted as a signal.

At day-break, the English vessels beheld the tri-coloured flag flying on the ramparts of Fort Penthièvre; yet, by some fatality, several hours elapsed, during which the other columns of the republicans were hastening down to the bay, before intelligence of their danger was given to the camp at Kousten. A number of the Chouans, and some of the Vendean leaders, had sufficient warning of their danger, to escape on board the decks of the English. Of the emigrants in the camp, by far the greater part immediately declared their attachment to the republic, and were received as deserters. A young nobleman, whose life had been amiable for every virtue, and whose death was

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signalized by intrepidity, the gallant count Sombreuil, conducted the defence of the entrenched camp, apparently more from anxiety to give time for escape to the women and children of the royalists, who were fast hurrying on board the fleet, than from any hope of ultimate success in his own behalf. A few hundreds remained with him to the last extremity; the rest deserted by whole regiments. The defence of this forlorn body was so resolute, that Hoche agreed to receive them as prisoners of war, and spare them, if the convention would sanction their pardon. They surrendered; but the clemency expressed by Hoche was not realized. The booty that fell into the hands of the victors was prodigious. Seventy thousand muskets, and all the artillery landed from the fleet, were captured in Fort Penthièvre.

The British squadron effected no other service on the coast of France, than reducing and fortifying L'Isle de Dieu; an acquisition which, small as it was, contributed to keep the contiguous coast in alarm, and obliged the republicans to draw large forces of troops for its security.

The declaration of the Dutch republic in favour of France, was regarded by our government as a fair justification for ordering reprisals to be made on the ships, goods, and subjects of the new republic, and preparations were made to sieze its factories and colonies in every quarter of the globe. An expedition under Admiral Rainier and Colonel Stuart, sailed from Madras about the end of July, and arrived at the island of Ceylon on the 2^d of the following month. The debarkation occupied about ten days. The principal fort of the island, called Trincomale, was approached and assaulted by the English batteries, with little resistance on the part of the garrison, who, in 23 days from the landing, capitulated as prisoners of war. The forts of Os-

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tenburgh, and others of less importance, surrendered on the same terms, during the month of September; and these acquisitions were soon followed by the capture of Manar, Malacca, Cochin, and all the other settlements of the Dutch on the continent of India. During the same months, the British arms were employed with equal success, in depriving Holland of a flourishing colony, superior in extent to any other of her possessions. On the Cape of Good Hope, an armament commanded by Sir George Keith Elphinstone, and General Sir Alured Clarke, effected a partial landing on the 14th of July, at a place called Simons-town. A body of the British troops having advanced to drive the Dutch from an advantageous position, were, for a while, exposed in a critical situation, from the inability of the fleet to keep its station on the stormy surges of Table bay, and the absence of the main body under Sir Alured Clarke, who were not yet debarked. But the appearance of the fleet put a stop to this embarrassment, and on the landing of the whole of Clarke's force, the Dutch governor Sluysken, surrendered both the castle and the Cape.

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In the West-Indies, the capture of Pigeon island, by Victor Hughes, rendered S'. Lucia no longer tenable; it was accordingly determined to evacuate it, which was happily effected without any loss, by Captain Barret of the Experiment.

If the last year had been illustrious to England for the triumphs of her fleets, the present was distinguished by the same heroism in her mariners, who were only prevented from obtaining victories, by the reluctance of the enemy to risk engagements. On receiving intelligence of a French squadron of fifteen sail of the line having sailed from Toulon, Vice-admiral Hotham, with a nearly

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equal force,⁶ left Leghorn in pursuit of them. On the 14th of March, the fleet being descried to windward, Captain (the late Lord Nelson) succeeded with his own ship, the *Agamemnon*, and a frigate, in raking, and almost destroying one of the French line of battle, till he was compelled, by the appearance of superior force, to retire. In attempting, however, to relieve their distressed ship, a partial action was brought on between the hostile fleets, which terminated in the capture of two line of battle ships of the French, the *Ca Ira* and the *Censeur*, the one an 80, and the other a 70 gun ship. About the middle of July, the French fleet having been again espied to the number of 17 sail of the line, another attempt was made by the British admiral to bring them to action, which the enemy seemed as unwilling as before to hazard. One ship alone, the *Alcide*, fell into the hands of the pursuers; the rest of the fleet took refuge in Frejus bay, and eluded all farther chase.

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A small detachment of the Channel fleet, evinced, in the course of this summer, a similar superiority over the French, both in seamanship and resolution. Vice-admiral Cornwallis, with four seventy-four's and two frigates, having fallen in with thirteen line of battle ships, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter, near the Penmarks, an attempt was made by the enemy to cut off one of the British vessels; on which the whole British squadron bore up for her support. The superior fleet drew off, and, before sunset, tacked and stood away. A portion of the same fleet were soon after perceived by Lord Bridport off Port L'Orient. The British admiral, having two 100 gun ships, three of 98, one of 80, and four of 74, dispatched some of his fastest

⁶ He had fourteen sail of the line, fourteen frigates, and four armed vessels.

sailing vessels in full pursuit. Early next morning, the headmost ships came up with the enemy, and, after an action of three hours, the Alexander, Formidable, and Tigre, three of the enemy's line, surrendered, although the action was fought in the face of hostile batteries, and before a strong naval port.

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In the naval campaign of the present year, Britain lost only four ships of war. The French lost about fifty armed vessels of all descriptions; of these, seven were ships of the line from 98 to 74 guns, and other seven from 44 to 30.

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State of the public mind at the close of 1795. . . . Indignity offered to his majesty. . . . Bills for the suppression of treason and sedition. . . . Parliamentary debates. . . . Motion for peace. . . . Campaigns of 1796 in Italy and Germany. . . . Attempted descent of the French on Ireland. . . . Naval engagements. . . . Mission of Lord Malmsbury to Paris.

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A WAR, which had now been waged for four years, with no definite object in view, was become exceedingly unpopular. The barren laurels of a few victories at sea, did not compensate for half its disasters. On the Continent, we had no hope, in future, but to fight through the medium of allies, if allies they deserved to be called, whom we paid as mercenaries, for fighting on their own frontiers. Our troops in the West Indies had been sent out, to the number of 50,000, regiment after regiment, to serve for fuel to the pestilence. The addition of £100,000,000 to the national debt, ensured no light addition to the pressure of existing taxes. To this unhappy contest, a gloomy aversion had visibly grown up in the minds of many friends to their country, who neither loved the principles of the French, nor would have shrunk from any expence in a just and necessary warfare. For some time, the dread of being numbered in the class of the disaffected, restrained the censure of many well meaning, but indecisive characters. Unwilling to countenance factious men, who censured the war from suspected principles, they waited silently to see the event of its farther progress; but the war, in its progress, grew not more au-

spicious; it fulfilled no prophecies of its abettors; it brought no solid benefit but to the French nation, which, in spite of all calculations against it, grew neither bankrupt nor debilitated, but rose, after defeats, to new strength and exertions.

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Censures of this nature were not confined to the mere leaders or followers of a faction; they were loud and serious. The city of London led the way in petitioning the legislature to open a negotiation for peace; and in the common-hall, the votes for that petition were 4000 to 100 against it. Other addresses, in a similar style, were sent from the principal cities in the kingdom. The angry fermentation appeared to pervade the whole mass of the people. The associations for the purpose of parliamentary reform, were at this period uncommonly bold and licentious. That which was held near Copenhagen-house, in the neighbourhood of Islington, was the most remarkable; its numbers were computed at 50,000. To the agitation occasioned by political dispute, another evil was super-added of still more alarming consequence. A scarcity prevailed throughout the kingdom; and such was the state of the poor, that some wretched individuals had died of hunger. The discontented attributed this evil to the war; and the sufferers were prepared for the commission of those excesses to which men are prone when they find themselves aggrieved, and imagine they are punishing the authors of their grievances. The state of the nation, from these circumstances, appeared so critical, that it was judged necessary to call parliament together at an earlier period than usual. It met on the 29th of October, a day remarkable for the disagreeable events that attended it. In the park, through which his majesty had to pass to the house of lords, there was an unusual concourse of people. The state-coach was beset by persons demanding

peace, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. Some voices were heard exclaiming, 'no king;' and stones were thrown at the carriage as it drew near to the Horse-guards. These outrages were repeated on the king's return from the house; and his majesty narrowly escaped the fury of the populace in his way back from S^t. James's palace to Buckingham house. All reasonable men were deeply affected at this outrage. It was a brutal ebullition of popular rage, and tended only to justify such restrictive measures as would abridge the liberties of the loyal subject.

So great was the alarm and indignation created by this event, that as soon as the king had finished his speech, and left the house of peers, the house was cleared of all strangers, and a consultation held by the lords to decide on what measures should be taken on so extraordinary an occasion. It was resolved to offer an address to his majesty, and to hold a conference with the commons, inviting their concurrence in the same expression of loyalty. A conference was accordingly held, and an address, suitable to the occasion, was unanimously presented.

But the loyalty of ministers did not stop at a declaration of their abhorrence of the late enormities. The spirit which had dictated these excesses, appeared to the ruling party to call for such an extension of the treason and sedition laws as should prevent the possibility of their recurrence. This memorable era in the restrictions of British liberty, was accordingly distinguished by the passing of two bills, which, to mark the odium annexed to them, were afterwards named the Pitt and Grenville acts.

The first of these bills was brought forward by Lord Grenville in the house of lords, on the 6th of November 1795. His lordship introduced the

measure, by explicitly attributing the recent insults offered to the sovereign, to the licentious language held in the popular meetings assembled professedly for reform. To those assemblies, or to individuals more or less connected with them, he imputed the design of subverting the constitution. Their measures, it is true, were not mature: but they were fast approaching to maturity. In the meantime, the laws against treason, which might be sufficient to meet them in open rebellion, were not exactly applicable to their present insidious and indirect attacks on the constitution. While men were in fact committing treason, the laws against treason did not meet their case. The intention of the present bill was, by recurring to precedents of similar cases in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II, to denounce the pains of death, not only on such as should conspire to raise rebellion, but on such also as should be guilty of speeches or publications tending to the destruction of the constitution. The enlargement of the treason law formed the first branch of the bill; the second part regarded sedition, to which severe degrees of punishment were affixed, extending even to transportation for seven years, at the discretion of the judge.

The peers of the minority made a strenuous, though unsuccessful resistance to this momentous innovation in the laws. ‘The late treatment of his majesty,’ the duke of Bedford observed, ‘ought to excite the abhorrence of every man of honour and loyalty; but the bill before the house did not tend to procure more safety to the person of the sovereign than the laws already existing. There was no sufficient proof that the outrages which had been committed were in the least connected with the meetings to which they were attributed; and though ministers declared themselves convinced of this connection, yet no proof had been adduced to

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support the assertion. When the habeas corpus act was suspended, a select committee was appointed to investigate the necessity of such a measure, and the proceedings on that occasion gave them, at least, an appearance of deliberation; but the present measure required certainly much more consideration. It was not the temporary suspension of an act; it was enacting a positive law, which militated against the principles of the constitution. The pretence of the bill was the security of the king's person; but were the laws in being deficient for that purpose?' The duke then adverted to the times from which ministers had borrowed their precedents, the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II. 'It was an insult,' he said, 'to the understandings of Englishmen, to speak of such times as models fit to be copied; but even these precedents would not justify the present measure. The laws enacted in Queen Elizabeth's reign were directed against the bulls issued by the pope; and those that passed under Charles II, passed immediately after the restoration, when it was thought indispensable to protect him, by the strongest fences, against the fanatics of the time.'

On the same day that Lord Grenville's proposition prevailed in the upper house, a bill to root up the chief cause of disaffection, by restraining seditious meetings of the people, was introduced by Mr. Pitt. 'The pretence of popular meetings, in the present day,' Mr. Pitt observed, 'was to petition the legislature for redress of rights, while their veritable object was to promulgate opinions subversive of every regular government. A precise and acknowledged power was wanted in the magistrate to disperse such meetings as threatened disorders. This power,' Mr. Pitt acknowledged, 'ought not to extend to meetings held for lawful purposes, but only to authorize him to watch over

the proceedings of any large assembly, whatever might be the object of those who composed it. For this purpose, notice should be given to the magistrate previously to any intended meeting: he should be empowered to be present, and if it appeared of a seditious tendency, to seize the guilty on the spot: to obstruct him should be made felony; and if the meeting did not disperse at his command, the penalties provided by the riot-act should be inflicted on the refractory.' For one peculiar description of seditious meetings, a special remedy was provided in the bill, viz. for those assemblages where political lectures were delivered by men notoriously disaffected to government.

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After the first reading of the motion, Mr. Fox took the lead in opposing it, and delivered himself in a speech of uncommon ardour and strength of reasoning. 'An attempt has been made,' said that speaker, 'to found the necessity of the bill on the proceedings of certain popular assemblies, who, as ministers contend, are striking at the existence of parliament itself. If such be the case, are not those who broach such doctrines amenable to the law, and liable to condign punishment. There is no evidence that the late outrages originated in such meetings. Proclamations are no evidence; they were the fabrication of ministers. The people,' he continued, 'have an unalienable right to deliberate on their grievances, and to demand redress from the legislature; but by this bill they are forbidden to exercise their rights without the attendance of a magistrate, and a previous notice of their intention being given. He is empowered to arrest any one present whom he may please to call seditious, and even to dissolve the meeting at his own pleasure. Say, then, at once, that a free constitution is no longer suitable to us. Conduct yourselves, at once, as the senators of Denmark did.

Lay down your freedom, and acknowledge and accept of despotism ; but do not mock the understandings and the feelings of mankind by telling them that you are free ’

Among the supporters of the measure, Sir William Pulteney admonished its opposers to consider the danger of uninformed multitudes assembling for political purposes, and their tendency to be deluded by inflammatory speeches. ‘ Times and circumstances,’ he said, ‘ called for regulations opposite to the dispositions of men at different periods. The temper of the present times was marked by temerity ; and proceedings bordering on sedition ought to be checked, that the crime should be rather prevented than punished. While the press, which is the strongest pillar of liberty, remained unshaken, the true fabric of the constitution would be protected, instead of being injured, by the present bill.’

Mr. Windham spoke warmly for the bill, as the only remedy that remained in the actual circumstances of the nation, against the efforts of its enemies abroad and at home. ‘ It was absurd,’ he said, ‘ to affect ignorance of the designs in agitation at the meetings of the common people, and of the societies that pretended to have no object but peace and reform.’ The bill he allowed to be of a nature hitherto unknown, and new to the ideas of the people of this country ; but extraordinary cases required extraordinary remedies. Such was the rage that actuated the enemies to government, that they had circulated opinions and sentiments unequivocally tending to affect the king’s life. Did ever a rational government suffer individuals of this character to assemble and consult together in the face of day ?

Mr. Grey spoke in reply to Mr. Windham. He called on the house to remember how often

ministers had exulted, that democratic principles had been extinguished by their vigilance. If those principles were not extinguished, ministers had been deceived, or had endeavoured to deceive the public. If they were extinguished, the present bill arose from other motives; and those motives could be no other than to silence the complaints of a people indignant at a war, which had either impracticable objects, or was, at least in their hands, incapable of being guided to any good end.

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On the 27th of November, the house went into a committee on the bill, when Mr. Fox, and all the other members of opposition, (Mr. Sheridan excepted), left the house. Mr. Sheridan declared that he did not remain for the sake of proposing any alterations in the bill; 'to do justice to the public,' he said, 'it ought to be negatived in every part.' The propriety of their secession was justified by the minority, as a measure due to their own dignity, and to the interests of the public. It was useless, they declared, to continue in a parliament so devoted to the minister, that they would sacrifice every right and liberty of the subject at his command. It was humiliating, they said, to bear witness to the confirmed despotism of ministerial votes. It was useless, to defend those popular interests which depended not on reason and justice, but on the will of an all-powerful cabinet; and it was necessary, to leave the minister and his friends to themselves, that the nation might be impressed with a due sense of its condition. The majority of the adherents of opposition throughout the kingdom, did not probably coincide in the justice of these reasons for so unusual a step as retiring from their duties as legislators. The bill respecting seditious meetings was carried through the house without any opposition, and with no other modi-

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fications than its supporters thought necessary, to render it less odious to the people. On reading the third clause, against the meeting of more than fifty persons, it was proposed by the solicitor-general, that if twelve of them should remain together one hour after being ordered to be dispersed, they should be declared worthy of death, without benefit of clergy. An amendment was moved; but the severity of the solicitor-general prevailed. The duration of the bill was voted to be for three years. The bill for the security of the king's person, which had originated in the peers, passed the lower house, in all its clauses, on its third reading, on the 10th of December,

Never was a law enacted by the British legislature received by the nation with such evident marks of disapprobation as the above bills. During their progress through parliament, the meetings which were held to petition against them, were composed, not of the ordinary votaries of reform, but of nearly the whole independent population of the country. The whig club presented a spirited remonstrance to both houses on this occasion. The livery of London, the electors of Westminster, and the freeholders of Middlesex, sent petitions of the same nature, and were followed by a number of counties, and by almost every town of note throughout the kingdom. The agents of ministry, with all their influence, exerted to procure petitions of an opposite tendency, and after procuring the signatures of all the officers of the customs, the excise-men, the military-men, and even the children at school belonging to their dependents, could not muster above 30,000 petitioners. The petitions against the bills were computed at 400,000 signatures.

Amidst parliamentary and popular agitations,

the houses were not unmindful of the critical state of the country, owing to the scarcity of corn which had prevailed for some time.

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It appeared, from the information laid before the committee of inquiry into this subject, that, with the exception of wheat, the harvest had been very productive; and that, by mixing flour of different grains, good bread might be made; a measure the more indispensable, that, from a variety of causes, no sufficient supplies of corn could be expected from abroad. A bounty of 20s. was however agreed to, for every quarter of wheat imported from the Mediterranean, until the importation should amount to 300,000 quarters; a bounty of 15s. a quarter upon that from America, till it should amount to 500,000; and 5s. a quarter on Indian corn, till it amounted also to 500,000.

To these consultations succeeded others respecting the maintenance of the fleets and armies. On the 4th of November 1796, Lord Arden moved that 110,000 seamen, including 18,000 marines, should be voted for the sea-service of the year 1796; and Mr. Wyndham, that 207,000 men should be employed for the land-service. On the 7th of December, Mr. Pitt laid before the house an estimate of the expences of the approaching year. They amounted to £27,500,000, including a loan of £18,000,000.

The interest of the loan amounted to £1,112,000, for the payment of which Mr. Pitt proposed the following taxes: two per cent. on all legacies, above a certain sum, to the first collaterals; three per cent. on legacies to first cousins; four per cent. to those to second cousins; and six per cent. on those to remoter relations and strangers. From this tax, deducting the standing tax upon legacies, £250,000 would remain. He next proposed ten per cent. on the already assessed taxes, which would

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produce £140,000 : £1 on every horse kept for pleasure, which would yield £116,000 ; and 2s. on every horse kept for the purposes of labour, which he computed at £100,000 ; an additional tax on tobacco would produce £170,000 ; another on printed linens £135,000 ; a duty on salt £30,000 ; and the reduction of the drawback on sugar £180,000. The total of these various sums would amount to £1,127,000, which was more than sufficient for the proposed interest. These taxes were not voted without severe opposition ; that upon tobacco was represented as bearing too heavily upon the lower classes. Through General Tarleton's interference, the soldiers on board were allowed to be supplied with it duty free. The horse tax was also taken off those who were employed in the yeomanry cavalry ; and people holding farms of £70, or freeholds of £30 a year, were also exempted from it. The tax on printed cottons was entirely given up ; and the tax on collateral successions to real estates, appeared so obnoxious to the house of commons, that Mr. Pitt found himself under the necessity of totally relinquishing it.

The supplies of the year did not pass without giving rise to a variety of acrimonious strictures, by the opponents of ministry, on the foreign and domestic regulation of affairs.¹ Among others, the erection of barracks was decried as a measure at once expensive and unconstitutional. In moving for a committee to inquire into the expenditure in this department, General Smith affirmed, that they had already cost £1,400,000 ; that the patronage accruing to mi-

¹ *Vide* a motion by Mr. Grey for an inquiry into the state of the nation, on the 10th of March ; by Mr. Sheridan for an inquiry into the causes of the mortality in the West Indies, on the 21st of April ; and by Mr. Grey, for an impeachment of ministers, on the 24th of April.

nisters from the appointment of offices in the management of the barracks, was a formidable acquisition to their influence; that the number of barracks already constructed far exceeded what was sufficient for containing the army in its peace establishment; that no necessity existed for providing quarters for such a military force, unless it was meant for the unconstitutional purpose that it should be permanent; or (to use their own expression) that ministers were determined to exert a vigour beyond the law. It was argued by the same speakers, that the system of barracks tended to create, in the standing army, a spirit highly dangerous to the liberties of the subject. The constitution of England rested on the mixture of citizens with soldiers in all the habits and occurrences of life; to divide them would be to render them distinct classes of people, and consequently inimical to each other. It was true, that barracks had been before erected in England, but they were few and inconsiderable; not constructed as now, with the manifest intention of secluding the soldier from the citizen, and cutting off, as far as in ministers lay, all sympathy and common intercourse between them.

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These assertions were represented by Mr. Pitt as totally unfounded. ‘The system of barracks,’ he said, ‘was neither new nor unconstitutional; it was of long standing, and of late enlarged only on the principle of giving comfortable accommodation to the troops, and relieving the people from the inconvenience of giving them quarters. Soldiers would be better quartered, and at a smaller expence, and without confining them from society in any cases but those of confusion and tumult.’

The first announce of a pacific disposition, on the part of the British ministry, since the commencement of a war which was now in its fourth

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year, forms a distinguishing feature in the events of the session. As early as the opening of the session, his majesty's speech had breathed a hope that the struggle of parties, which was yet undecided, might ultimately lead the people of France to a state of mind more consistent with the tranquillity of Europe. The intention of opposition to move for pacific arrangements was necessarily foreseen, and had been indeed announced early in the session by Mr. Grey. By the issue of the last campaign, France, though not humbled, had at least been checked. This partial return of fortune to the standard of the allies, was not indeed sufficient to flush the expectations of the public that farther triumphs were to be won; but it was enough to offer a gleam of hope that peace might be more easily obtained. Ministers could also now, with less appearance of inconsistency, talk of peace with the French government, since it had materially changed its aspect of horror and inhumanity. At all events, whether sincere expectations of peace were cherished by our cabinet or not, it seemed better that the popularity of proposing such a measure should originate with themselves, than continue with their parliamentary opponents.

On the 8th of December, a message was delivered from the king to the house of commons, informing them of his majesty's disposition to enter into a negotiation for peace with the present government of France. Mr. Pitt therefore moved for an address, expressing the readiness of the house to concur in such a measure.

Far from being satisfied with this declaration of pacific measures, the members of opposition decried it as an evasive manner of thwarting their own serious propositions to that effect. Mr. Fox severely reprehended ministry for pretending that, till now, the government of France was incapable

of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with other nations. France had maintained those relations successively with every power with which she had treated. He ridiculed the supposition that the French were more deserving of confidence on account of their new constitution. Their principles were still the same, though they had adopted another mode of ruling. But though neither their principles, nor their antecedent government, ought to have been made the pretext for war, he thought it was time now to end the war on any conditions not derogatory to the dignity of this country.

On the 15th of February, Mr. Grey introduced the motion for peace already promised. ‘The country,’ he said, ‘had been taught, by the late language of ministers, to look for pacific negotiations, instead of which nothing was yet heard of but renewed preparations for war. Was this the time,’ he demanded, ‘for renewing our compacts with allies, whose views had no unity of object, and whose faith had been so repeatedly falsified; and to pledge ourselves for the whole weight of expence in a war for the sole interest of others? The system with which we had commenced, of coercing France to change her government, must undeniably be abandoned. Ministers had long felt in secret the consciousness of this necessity, whatever they might avow. The French, it was now acknowledged, were in a situation to be treated with. Why, therefore, did we stand aloof? He would accordingly move for an address to the king, requesting his majesty to make pacific proposals to the executive government of France.’

Mr. Pitt replied, ‘that the situation of affairs was such, that it could be no humiliation to this country to be the first in proffering peace; but the timing and conducting of a negotiation belonged solely to ministers. If ministers were deemed un-

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worthy of such a trust, their opponents,' he said, 'ought to petition for their removal; but while they continued in office, they alone could be the proper agents in such a transaction. They ought, on this principle, to act unitedly, not only among themselves, but with the allies of the country, to whom no cause should be given to suspect us of duplicity, and of not acting in the sincerest conjunction with them. If the allies remained entire, so powerful a confederacy could not fail to procure at last an advantageous peace; but this desirable object depended in no small degree, for its speedy consummation, on the moderation of the enemy. All had been done that was consistent with our honour and interest to bring the enemy to this issue; but neither of these could be sacrificed. Considering the temper of that enemy, and how much they were influenced by the pressure of circumstances, to give up their inordinate pretensions, peace would probably depend on the difficulty they would find to prosecute the war; and the prospect of it might not of course be so near as was either wished or expected.' Mr. Grey's motion was negatived.

The present year was distinguished by the novel and extraordinary circumstance of two budgets and two loans in the same session. Mr. Pitt apologized for the unprecedented nature of the measure, by informing the house that it was in some respects rather a substitution of other taxes for those which had been relinquished, than an imposition of new ones. For the withdrawn-tax on calicoes, he proposed two others, equal together in their product; a tax upon dogs, and another on hats. He proposed also to raise £600,000, by a tax of £20 on every ton of wine. The total of the sums demanded by Mr. Pitt for services unprovided for, amounted to £2,500,000; and the annual charge of

interest for the sums to be levied, and for the funding of the unfunded debt, arose to £576,000. The loan which was to furnish the means of carrying the above schemes into execution, amounted to £7,500,000, at the moderate profit of £3 : 6 : 3 per cent. to the lenders.

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The 10th of May was remarkable for another motion in both houses against the continuation of the war. The debate on this subject produced no new argument on either side; but it elicited an allusion to a late attempt of the British ministry towards a peace, by giving a commission to their agent at Basle Mr. Wickham to the French resident Mr. Barthelemi, to sound the intentions of the French on their willingness to come to reasonable terms. Mr. Barthelemi was instructed to answer to our agent, that his government would willingly come to terms, if it were made the basis of the negotiation, that Belgium was not to be restored. The motions of minority on this occasion had their usual fate.

Mr. Wilberforce's annual motion on the slave-trade, was lost for want of numbers to constitute a house. The humane efforts made by Lord Moira to obtain a bill in favour of insolvent debtors, met with no better success. The session was closed on the 19th of May, and a few days afterwards dissolved.

During a year in which the politics of parties at home wore a sullen but unvarying aspect, the Continent continued to present a theatre of rapid and tremendous changes. The government of France, while it exchanged with that of England protestations of a willingness to open negotiations, had, in all probability, not the most distant wishes for peace; while the allies, beholding Belgium in the power of an enemy who announced their determination to retain it, could not easily humble their

long-cherished hopes to the tame surrender of an object, which had cost them such a waste of blood and treasure in attempting to regain. The civil war of La Vendee, it is true, had broke out once more; but since the fatal event of Quiberon, and the rising reputation of Hoche, who conducted the war against the royalists, the struggle in that quarter was not likely to be prolonged. It was not, however, without another severe probation of their valour, that the chiefs of the insurgents were finally subdued in the course of the present year. Stofflet, the royalist leader, after fighting 150 battles with the republic, and gaining more than 100 victories, was at last taken prisoner and executed at Angers. Charette protracted a desultory resistance, till his, once numerous army, was reduced to two individuals, who fell at his side by the swords of his pursuers. Their unsubdued leader was conveyed to Nantz, and suffered death by the guillotine.

The suppression of this rebellion, the maintenance of their ground in Germany, and the invasion of Italy, were the three mighty objects for which the French opened this campaign. If their fortunes were changeful in the second of these objects, in the first and the last they were too fatally successful.

By the issue of the last campaign in Italy, the republicans had been left in possession of the coast, from Nice to Genoa; but the French had attempted to pierce through Piedmont, and pass the barriers of Savoy. The passes of Lombardy were so strongly guarded, that Sardinia entertained no apprehensions of their being forced. The imperial forces, headed by Baron Boileau, amounted to 80,000 highly disciplined troops. Their commander had indeed suffered defeats in the former campaign in Germany, but he was still

reputed to be an able general ; and the reputation which survives defeat, must be founded on more than ordinary merit. Sardinia brought 60,000 combatants to the field, while the pope and king of Naples sent considerable reinforcements. The army of France has been variously stated ; but by the highest account, it fell far short of the allies, in numbers, in warlike provision, and even in discipline. These disadvantages were soon found to be more than compensated by the appointment of a young general, whom Barras recommended to the command of the Italian army. This was Napoleon Bonaparte ; already distinguished, at an early age, in several subordinate commands ; but now intrusted, for the first time, with that important commission, which has since eventually chained the history of Europe to his biography.

Hostilities began in April. The first onset of the Austrians, under Boileau, was successful at Voltri ; he repeated the blow at Montenotte with a different fortune. Bonaparte followed up his advantage. The battle of Millesimo, the two combats at Dego, and the attack at Ceva, brought the victorious French, in fourteen days, to the capital of Victor Amadeus, who surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Chateau Dauphin, as pledges for an armistice ; gave up Savoy for ever, and destroyed two fortresses as the price of saving Turin from bombardment. After detaching Sardinia from the Anti-Gallican alliance, Bonaparte crossed the Po ; and almost immediately, as if struck by the appearance of a supernatural agent, the Italian states sued for peace. The duke of Parma, the senate of Venice, the grand duke of Tuscany, the pope, the king of Naples, threw themselves at his feet, with presents, entreaties, and offers of pacification. Having now only the imperialists to combat, Bonaparte pursued them

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to Lodi, and there, by an ever-memorable defeat, drove Boileau to take shelter under the cannon of Mantua. That fortress was blockaded; the Austrians, under Wurmser, poured in fresh levies to its succour; but its second blockade and capture were only delayed till that venerable warrior was defeated by the young favourite of fortune, first on the Mincio at Castaglioni, again at Roveredo, and finally, after the fatal field of Bassano, driven to take refuge, with a handful of his, once numerous army, within the walls of the garrison. General Alvinzy, a member of the aulic council of war, led the last army of the emperor to face the French in Italy. In attempting to raise the blockade of Mantua, he joined battle at Arcole, and by suffering defeat, was driven behind the Brenta. Thus terminated the campaign of Italy.

A plan no less daring and extraordinary than that of their Italian campaign, was projected by the war council of France for their armies in Germany. A powerful force was to penetrate into the circle of Suabia; to seize on the country adjoining the lake of Constance; to march through the passes of Bregentz; and, after scaling the Rhetian Alps, to enter the Tyrol; and while one body of troops, following the course of the Ram, at length reached the Adige, and communicated with the army of Italy, another was to traverse the valleys of the Inn, and extend itself to the borders of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Passau.

June 24. Moreau and Jourdan, superseding Pichegru in the command of the French army of Germany, crossed the Rhine towards the latter end of June, and after carrying the enemy's posts by the bayonet on the right side of that river, seized and occupied the important fortress and village of Kehl. After this, Moreau re-established the bridge across the Rhine, and, on the arrival of his artillery, at-

tacked and carried the camp at Wilstedt. By the issue of three battles, which proved successful to the French, the first of which was fought at the village of Renchen, the second at the bridge of Rastadt, and the third at Etlingen, where the Archduke Charles was opposed in person to Moreau, the enemy were enabled to gain the passes of the Black forest, and to invest Mentz, Mannheim, Phillipsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, at the same time. The armies of the Sambre, the Maese, and the Rhine, were soon enabled to co-operate with and assist each other. Moreau seized upon Stutgard, and obliged the duke of Wirtemberg, the margrave of Baden, and all the princes of Suabia, to purchase peace, at the price of enormous subsidies to the republic; after which, the invading armies advanced towards the centre of Germany, along both sides of the Danube; the one traversing the rich provinces of Franconia, the other taking the route of Upper Suabia, a country already wasted by the miseries of war. Moreau forced the elector of Bavaria to sue for peace; and Jourdan, seizing on Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, and Amberg, and even stretching to the vicinity of Ratisbon, was hitherto resisted by no force equal to give him battle, and menaced Austria on the right, as well as Bohemia in his front.

This was indeed a critical period in the fortunes of the imperialists. The retreat of their forces in Germany before these overwhelming hosts, was contemporary with the dreadful losses which they were sustaining from Bonaparte in Italy; but their strength was not wholly broken; the resolution of the cabinet of Vienna, and the masterly skill of the Archduke Charles, was destined once more to turn the tide of their misfortunes. Another cause of this change of fortune, besides the magnanimous efforts of Austria, was the profligacy of

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the French armies in Germany, which had marked their progress by the cruelest exactions from the conquered inhabitants. While Jourdan was thus driving the imperial general Wartenslaben from post to post, without the prospect of the Austrians being able to rally; and while the army which opposed Moreau was obliged in like manner to take every day a retrograde position, the Archduke Charles left the latter army, and threw himself between the invaders and Ratisbon. But before the arrival of his highness, the army of Wartenslaben, reinforced by supplies from the Archduke, had fought a successful battle, and driven the French from the heights before Amberg. On the 22^d of August, the archduke arriving in person, defeated the French under Bernadotte, and drove them back to Newmark. Jourdan's left wing and rear was thus exposed to a superior force; he retired, or rather was driven, by the impetuosity of the Austrians, and the indignation of the peasants, who rose on their invaders, as far as Wartzburg.

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At this place, they were again assaulted and defeated, and compelled to fall back towards the Sieg, after abandoning all their positions on the Lahn; not, however, without having made several successful stands, and more than once having checked the imperial commanders.

Having thus freed the empire from one of the invading armies, the archduke now saw himself at liberty to attack the other, with forces superior in number, and flushed with victory. Leaving a part of his army to watch these enemies, whom he had already driven to the Rhine, he set out in quest of Moreau. That great commander had been engaged, during the successes of the archduke, with an antagonist of high reputation, General Latour, but who had hitherto proved unequal to the task of accomplishing the deliverance of Ba-

varia. Moreau had been superior in every engagement. Finding it, however, impossible to maintain his career after Jourdan's defeat, Moreau saw the necessity of retiring from the approach of the archduke, and, breaking up his encampment before Ingolstadt, early in September commenced that memorable retreat, which so deservedly covered him with glory.

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In the midst of danger and difficulty, Moreau pursued his march towards the Lech. He crossed that river, and proceeded through Ulm in Suabia towards the Black forest, for the confines of Switzerland. During these marches, he was closely pressed by Latour, and maintained two hard conflicts, the first at Steinhousen, and the other between Biberach and the Danube; in both of which, the Austrians were beat with such slaughter, as might have seemed sufficient to decide the fate of an ordinary campaign. Still, however, a numerous enemy lay between the French and the Rhine, while numbers menaced their flanks and rear. On the 6th of October, they crossed the Danube, driving the Austrians before them. On the 9th, General Dessaix checked them once more, and secured their entrance into a defile called the Valley of Hell, from the frightful appearance of the rocks on either side of it. At the outlet of the valley, they fought another murderous battle with those who guarded its opposite passage, and reached Fribourg, after displaying much soldiership, and the utmost intrepidity.

The frontiers of France on the Rhine were thus, in turn, menaced with invasion. The enterprizing spirit of the archduke prompting him to attack the fortress of Kehl, the French, with difficulty, kept possession of it towards the close of the campaign. The same eagerness characterized the proceedings of the archduke against

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Moreau, after the retreat of that general to Fribourg, where he had fixed his quarters. On the 17th of October, the whole imperial army fell upon the advanced front of the French at Kindringen. All the generals who had been employed during the course of the campaign were present in this action, which was remarkably obstinate. The right of the Austrians under Latour being repulsed, the archduke put himself in person at the head of a body of grenadiers, who returned to the charge, and restored the day. The French were worsted in left, right, and centre; yet such were the dispositions of Moreau, that the action was not fatal to them.

General Moreau finding himself likely to be overpowered by the immense superiority of numbers, concentrated his force in such a manner as either to make a vigorous resistance, or secure a retreat, as circumstances should render it most expedient. He was attacked on the 23^d of October, on the strong ground which he had chosen at Schlingen; but during a contest of three days, the whole efforts of the imperialists could make no impression sufficient to throw his troops into confusion, and he retired in the best order across the Rhine at Hunningen, while the Austrians were neither able nor willing to make a close pursuit.

On leaving the right side of the Rhine, the French had provided the fortress of Kehl with a garrison composed of select officers and soldiers. Moreau's intention was to find the Austrians such employment in the siege of this place, as to prevent them from more important operations. He appointed Dessaix to the government of the place, and supplied them with troops from Strasburg, so as to enable the garrison to make a successful sally on their besiegers, and repel them for a while, with the loss of many cannon and prisoners. The

defensive valour of Dessaix, was not, however, proof against the perseverance of the imperialists; and after many fluctuations of fortune on either side, the garrison surrendered on a most honourable capitulation, leaving the place one heap of ruins to the captors.

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After the capture of Kehl, the entrenched position at Corne, which covered the bridge of Hunningen, was all that remained to France on the right of the Rhine. After much bloodshed in the attack of this fortified place, it was won by the imperialists, in the opening of the ensuing year.

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Undismayed by the conquests of the French in Europe, the English persevered in their intention to capture all their remaining colonies, as well as those of their allies, between the tropics; and they were now enabled, by their strength, to obtain successes in that quarter unknown in any former period of the war. The mortality that had occurred among our troops in the West Indies, and the alarming accounts that were received of the exploits and intrigues of Victor Hugues, rendered a new army absolutely necessary in that quarter. A naval force, with several regiments on board, was therefore prepared to act against the West-Indian colonies of Holland; and very early in the year, Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, were obliged to surrender to the summons of the British commanders. A disembarkation was next effected on S^t. Lucia; the enemy retired to Morne Chabot, one of the strongest positions of the island, which was carried by the gallantry of a small body under General Moore. Morne Fortuna was next invested and taken; so that no choice was left to the French but to capitulate; 2,000 French soldiers were made prisoners; the insurgent negroes were all disarmed, and the island ceded to Britain. An expedition under General

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Knox to S^t. Vincents, was no less successful, where the French surrendered to the number of 700; the Caribs were dispersed, and peace restored to the settlement. An attack was soon after made on Grenada, which succeeded with little bloodshed. A body of 7,000 troops arrived early in the spring at the Mole in S^t. Domingo; but the mortality of the yellow fever was so great, and the numbers of the free blacks and mulattoes so formidable, that the war was waged with few advantages on our side. Touissant with his negro army, and Regaud at the head of the mulattoes, maintained a fierce, though desultory warfare; and the British with difficulty retained their extensive chain of posts, occupying a stretch of 300 miles of coast.

The late capture of the Cape of Good Hope provoked the efforts of the Dutch republicans to recover it. On the 2^d of August, a fleet of nine large ships from Holland, fitted out for this purpose, had anchored in Saldannah bay. As the little army with which General Craig had taken this settlement, were marching down to the seaside to meet their invaders, they perceived a British fleet of two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty gun ship, and six other vessels, advancing with a fair wind to the mouth of the harbour. The English admiral, aware of his superiority, anchored within cannon-shot of the Dutch vessels, and sent a written summons to their commander to surrender. Rear-admiral Engelbartus Lucas obeyed the summons, and surrendered his whole fleet without firing a shot.

The victories of France in Italy, the fame of Bonaparte among his countrymen, the intractable spirit of the inhabitants, and the arrival of a body of French under General Cazette, to co-operate with internal revolt, made the possession of Cor-

sica no longer possible to the British. Seizing on the heights above Bastia, the invaders easily captured the garrison and city. Fiorenzo, Bonifacio, and the tower of Mortella, were soon after taken, and considerable spoil fell into the hands of the victors on the retreat of the English fleet from the adjoining bay, and the final evacuation of the island. But the island of Elba, which had been seized some months before by a detachment of our countrymen from Corsica, was still retained, forming an useful arsenal, and a convenient station on the Tuscan coast.

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The republican government of France perceiving a crisis in the situation of Ireland, more favourable to the interests of an inveterate enemy than any which had occurred since the British revolution, laid hold of that occasion to strike a blow of no common importance. The bare name of that discomfited attempt, must call up to the mind an image of those horrible events which necessarily must have found their completion had the Bantry bay expedition met with success. Fifteen thousand chosen troops, under the command of Hoche, were embarked at Brest on the 15th of December. They were intended to act on their arrival with a body of the disaffected Irish, who were known to be considerable in numbers, and organized for insurrection by chiefs of talents and intrepidity.

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Every thing being prepared, Admiral Villaret Joyeuse set sail from Brest, with eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates and transports, while the general embarked with his staff on board the frigate *la Fraternité*. The wind was at first favourable; but scarcely had they left the outer harbour, when a storm arose which dispersed the fleet, and separating the frigate which carried Hoche, obliged him to escape into the harbour of Rochelle, after

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weathering a dangerous cruize, and being chased by two vessels of the British. Of the whole fleet, only eight two-deckers reached the coast of Ireland, under Admiral Bouvet, who appeared off Bantry bay, but was forced from that station in a few days by tempestuous weather. Bouvet returned to France without effecting, or even attempting to land. He had scarcely departed when the fleet of Lord Bridport arrived in Bantry harbour in quest of him. By the same storm which prevented their landing, the French were enabled to escape a meeting that would have proved fatal to them. They eluded also another squadron under Admiral Colpoys, which had been stationed off Brest, and regained their own shores with the loss of three ships of the line and three frigates during this disastrous expedition.

During the appearance of the hostile fleet, a zealous determination to resist the invaders seemed to pervade the bulk of the Irish nation. The yeomen and volunteers prepared for the defence of the island with the characteristic bravery of their nation, and the resolution of men, who knew how much depended on the issue of the contest. A spirit of loyalty, which deserves still higher admiration, induced the more respectable of the catholic clergy to come forward in the same cause, and exhort their people to support it. The lower catholics crowded to the shores with arms in their hands. What part they would have taken in the contest, would have probably been decided by the side to which victory might have inclined.

During the course of this year, the navy of Great Britain did not lose a single war ship of any importance by capture. Among the naval losses of the enemy, they had to reckon five line of battle ships, nine of 44 guns, and three of 40. Sir John Borlase Warren, with only four frigates, at-

tacked, on the 22^d of August, a superior squadron of seven sail of French vessels near the Saintes, dispersed their convoy, and seized on a 30 gun vessel. The victories of our single ships over those of the enemy were numerous and brilliant.

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While such alternations of victory and defeat were mutually aggravating the hatred, or inflaming the hopes of both parties, the year did not pass without an attempt, on the part of Britain, to negotiate a peace. Lord Malmsbury, the person commissioned to open the business, arrived in Paris on the 22^d of October, and was received by the people of that city with some demonstrations of good will; but the government of France, far from treating him with cordiality, indirectly countenanced surmises so prejudicial to his errand and official character, that he was obliged formally to complain of them before the directory thought proper to silence and disavow them. To the plan of pacification proposed by his lordship, and which included the cession of Belgium to the emperor, the French government replied, that the idea of such a cession was inadmissible, and that the executive would listen to no terms inconsistent with the laws, the treaties, and constitution of the republic. As his lordship was not empowered to prosecute a negotiation on such principles, he was ordered to quit the capital of France in forty-eight hours.

His stay in Paris did not exceed two months; during which time the court of Madrid issued a proclamation of war against the British nation.

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Opening of the new parliament in November 1796. . . . Antimadversions on the address. . . . Debates on the proposed negotiation. . . . Arrangements of the minister for the eventual continuance of the war. . . . Debates on the issue of the negotiation, and communication to parliament on the difficulties of the bank. . . . Mutiny in the navy. . . . Continuation of parliamentary business. . . . Mr. Grey's motion for reform. . . . Lord Meira's motion on the subject of Ireland. . . . Marriage of the princess-royal. . . . View of the continental war, and peace of Campo Formio. . . . Operations in the West Indies. . . . Victory of Lord St. Vincent. . . . Bombardment of Cadix. . . . Attempt on the island of Teneriffe. . . . Victory of Camperdown. . . . Descent of the French on the coast of Pembrokeshire.

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THE debates of parliament were resumed towards the conclusion of 1796, a short time before the departure of Lord Malmsbury for Paris. In addressing the new parliament, his majesty declared the measures that were in train for opening negotiations with France, and for attempting to restore the tranquillity of Europe. He dwelt on the late successes of our arms in the East and West Indies; on the gallantry displayed by our continental allies under the Archduke Charles; on the favourable turn of the war; and on the magnitude of our own national resources to prolong the contest, should our present negotiations terminate in disappointment. The suppression of domestic anarchy, by a wise and vigorous exertion of the laws, was another topic of congratulation.

While the hopes, or at least the possibility of peace, was held out, and the retrospect of successes displayed, the country was exhorted to support his majesty in the most strenuous exertions for the eventual prolongation of hostilities, especially at a period when the enemy was known to cherish the design, and to be employed in preparing the means of invasion.

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No important animadversions were made upon this address in the upper house, except by Lord Fitzwilliam, whose objections to the matter of the royal speech differed widely from those of the accustomed opposition. His lordship, whose views of the war were the same as those of Mr. Burke, (which were about this time addressed to the nation in a strong and elaborate publication¹), condemned the bare mention of peace as a dereliction of the principles on which we had commenced the war; a dereliction of principles essential to the salvation of England, and of all Europe. ‘The war,’ said Lord Fitzwilliam, ‘was declared against anarchy; its object was to restore order, not the mere order of internal government in France, but to defend us from the influence and propagation of dangerous opinions over civilized Europe. The government of France still acknowledges, still propagates, and still practices the same obnoxious doctrines which they practiced and proclaimed when we commenced a defensive war. To commence negotiations at present, is to sanction their principles, to bow before them, and, by opening the gates of peace, to give them a welcome reception. The system of France is now what it has been since the revolution. All that proved the necessity of the war *then* continues to prove it *now*. It is not their arms which we have to dread; it is

¹ Thoughts on a Regicide peace.

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their influence and their insidious system. Behold what those nations have gained who have concluded a peace with France! Sardinia made peace, and it was immediately succeeded by the interference of France in the internal administration of her government. At Rome, the French made peace, and signalized its conclusion by the same degrading indignity. Prussia made peace, and in Berlin itself the influence of French insurrection is displayed; the national cockade is worn to attract partizans, and to insult a regular government by the emblem of anarchy. By arms alone these disgraces are to be resisted.' Lord Grenville asserted, that whatever were the grounds of the war, ministry never had said that the formation of any government in France would preclude them from negotiating for peace, when an opportunity should occur that appeared favourable to the interests of the country.

The motion for addressing his majesty, in the usual style of conformity to the royal address, was carried in the house of commons unanimously. The principal speaker of the opposition did not, however, give a silent vote. 'The striking feature of his majesty's speech,' said Mr. Fox, 'is, that his majesty has been at length advised to do what it has been the lot of this side of the house to advise repeatedly for three years past. Of that feature I approve most cordially. I will not repeat, I will not recollect, the personal invectives which were lavished on us for giving that advice which is now followed, nor retaliate on those who told us, that to negotiate with the French was to lay his majesty's crown at their feet, and degrade the dignity of Britain. To negotiate is not to sue for peace. And so much do I rejoice that this distinction is now understood, that I wish the address of his majesty had been so worded as to re-

quire no explanation of my vote in assenting to its other parts. But there are parts which require explanation. The resources of the country are exultingly mentioned; the commerce and manufactures of the country are described as flourishing. Surely when we look to the general face of public affairs, to the price of the funds, to the enormous issue of paper money with so much discount, and to the daily conferences of ministers with the mercantile world for relieving their pecuniary embarrassments, we may conclude that the state of our resources is less favourable than his majesty's ministers would make us believe. The tranquillity of the country is another matter of congratulation. I rejoice in public tranquillity; but in addressing the king upon that subject, I protest against being understood to agree with ministers, that it is owing to those tyrannical laws which have distinguished the later years of their administration.' On the terms of peace, Mr. Fox said he could make no observations, as the offers on our part were not yet known. But without advising any humiliating concession, he would regard moderation as the safest policy at the present period. Our allies had indeed been victorious; but it should be remembered how much Austria had lost, and how small were the chances of her recovering more. Events had shewn that the nature of the war was not auspicious to us. Our valour was productive of great, but not effectual efforts, in this impolitic struggle. The moment of victory would be fruitless, if it inspired presumption, and was not used as the opportunity of peace.

Mr. Pitt in reply, confined his remarks chiefly to the substantial question, on which the address expressed an opinion, and in which it was a matter of pride and satisfaction that there should be no difference of opinion. The steps indeed which

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his majesty had taken for negotiation, were so unexceptionable, that they must command the approbation of every man who retained a spark of regard for the honour and interests of his country. Adverting to what had fallen from Mr. Fox on the subject of the preventive laws, he contended, that instead of meriting reprobation, they had saved the country. Nor would he suffer reproach to fall on the last parliament, who displayed their energy and their wisdom by those precautionary acts, so powerful in effect, so congenial to the practice as well as the principles of the constitution. As to the question of our resources, he maintained, that they had nothing in them hollow or delusive; they were the result of an accumulated capital, an increasing capital, high and established credit, the fruits of fair exertion, ingenuity, and industry. From these considerations of our own strength, our own acquisition, and the renovated fortunes of our allies, we might depend upon a secure peace or prosperous war.

The defensive measures recommended in the king's speech came immediately before parliament. The minister's plan was laid before the house of commons on the 18th of October. As the naval force of the kingdom seemed to require enlargement, he proposed, in the first place, a levy upon the different parishes of 15,000 men for the sea-service. For the defence of the island by the land service, he proposed a supplementary levy of militia, to be grafted on the old establishment, to the number of 60,000 men, not to be immediately called out, but to be officered and gradually trained, so as to be fit for service in a moment of danger. The third part of his plan, was to provide a considerable force of irregular cavalry. The amount of this force he estimated at 20,000, being about a tenth part of the horses kept for plea-

sure throughout the kingdom. Every person who kept ten horses, was to be obliged to furnish one horse and horseman, to serve in a corps of militia; and those who kept more than ten, were to furnish in the same proportion. Those who kept fewer than ten, were to form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot who should provide the horseman and horse at the common expence. Among the means proposed for internal defence, a bill was introduced by Mr. Dundas, for raising and embodying several regiments of militia in Scotland.

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On the 20th of October, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee of supply, and the estimates of the year were laid before them. The whole land force of the country, consisting of the common distribution of guards, garrisons, and troops for colonial service, amounted to 195,000. On the 7th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer produced his annual estimate of the public revenue and expenditure. The sum total required for the ensuing year 1797, under the heads of the army, the navy, diminution of the national debt, ordnance, and deficiency of taxes, amounted to £27,647,000. The ways and means proposed for raising this supply amounted to £27,945,000; so that there was an excess of ways and means to the amount of £298,000. New taxes were to be raised to the amount of £2,119,000. The interest on the loan was calculated at £6 : 15 per cent. The amount of this loan was £13,000,000.

A deep and general regret overspread the public mind, when the issue of Lord Malmesbury's negotiations were known in England. On the 30th of December, the intelligence was communicated to parliament, by a message from his majesty, when Mr. Pitt rose up to propose an address, in which the failure of the negotiation was attributed

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to the unreasonable pretensions of the enemy. In reviewing the whole circumstances of the late mission, the minister lamented its issue; but while he declared his regret and disappointment, it was regret, (he said), without despondency, and disappointment without despair. ‘We wish for peace,’ (said Mr. Pitt), ‘but it is a safe and a permanent peace. If we have qualified our measures in pursuit of that object, by a due regard to its permanence, our endeavours, though frustrated, will not want one advantage. They will prove to Europe, that the guilt of war is not on our side. The result of the negociation will be, that England will be more united, and France more divided. The conduct of our own government will stand as a striking contrast to that of France. It will be seen, that our offers have been abruptly rejected, our ambassador insulted, and the semblance of pacific terms refused by the enemy. Our sincerity and readiness to begin the treaty, and the fairness of our terms, are no less conspicuous than the backwardness of the French to negotiate, and their arrogance in demanding concessions; in demanding that, in our treaties with independent powers, the law of nations should be sacrificed to their decree, for the annexation of Belgium to their dominions. In fact, the question is not how much you will give for peace, but how much disgrace you will suffer at the outset, how much degradation you will brook as a preliminary treaty. Are we then to persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British character? Or are we, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to ask and perform what they will impose? I hope there is not a hand in his majesty’s councils, which would sign the proposal; that there is not a heart in this house, which would sanction the measure;

and that there is not an individual in the British dominions, who would go as the courier.'

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Mr. Fox rose to oppose the address. From a review of the negociation, he concluded, that neither the reluctance of the French to treat, nor the unreasonableness of their demand, were entirely the causes of disappointment. 'We have waged war for four years,' said Mr. Fox, 'with many circumstances highly glorious to our arms. We have shed abundance of blood, and have added £200,000,000 to the national debt. Yet after all these efforts, the minister this night informs us, that the enemy has grown more insolent than ever; that peace is removed to a greater distance than before. What a commentary is this intelligence, on the views which have been incessantly held up to us, of the probable issue of the war! How often, and how confidentially have we been told, that the resources of France were on the point of dissolution; that the paper mine of their assignats would be exhausted; that France would be driven from all her conquests, and reduced to disband all her armies! Year after year this has been predicted. Yet the French, like Antæus from his native earth, have, year after year, risen stronger from every fall. The French have annexed Belgium to their empire. Great part of Italy has yielded to her arms, and Holland has been made their ally. Yet, in the midst of all their successes, our ministers are astonished that they take advantage of their situation, and rise in their demands. In the moment of French triumph, they turn with indignation from their plan of pacification, because it is less favourable to us than the terms we should have expected at a period of the war, when they had not an inch of the territory of our allies. It was just in this manner that ministers argued, when our contest with America was sinking us, year after

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year, into deeper difficulties, and diminishing the chances of a favourable peace. Their language was, it is not our fault that we have not peace; it is owing to the unreasonableness of the enemy. Infatuated and self abused men! They were afterwards compelled to embrace terms much more humiliating than those which they might have obtained by an early and sincere negociation.'

From the records of the negociation, Mr. Fox did not hesitate to accuse the minister of insincerity, in the whole affair. 'It was found convenient,' he said, for the purpose of financial arrangements, to hold out the hopes of peace, till the appearance of negociation might be renounced without embarrassing the minister in raising the supplies of the year. A report of the probability of peace was confidently circulated by official men, at a period when it was highly probable that they did not sincerely cherish such a hope. The negociation was begun; but when Lord Malmesbury was asked by the French, what terms he had to propose, he was unprovided with an answer, and obliged to send home for instructions. Undoubtedly ministers expected that the French, in resentment at this futile and illusory conduct, would have broken off the negociation. Unfortunately for ministers the basis of their proffered negociation was received. Lord Malmesbury was now instructed to bring forward such terms as they foresaw would be rejected. The three great powers of the Continent of Europe were all of them to be left with considerable acquisitions. Prussia was to gain a third part of Poland; Russia to acquire an immense territory from the same partition; and it was proposed that the emperor of Germany, in addition to his share of the division, should be put in possession of Maestricht, or some other place. France was to be left with only Savoy, Nice, and Avig-

non. Is it fair that all the other powers should gain more than France? Is the state of the war such as to justify this proposition? Whatever explanation ministers may choose to give of our ambassador's memorial respecting Belgium, it is evident that the restoration of that country was the *sine qua non* of our proposals. If the house shall be of opinion that Belgium is really entitled to be regarded as an object, without the cession of which the war cannot possibly terminate; that it is an object for which this country is willing to expend another hundred millions of money, and half a million of human lives; if the house think so, let it openly declare its opinion. But if, on the contrary, the house shall think with me, that Belgium is not worth so much treasure and blood, then let parliament unequivocally declare to England and the world, that they will not be guilty of such a waste of the lives of men and the substance of their country. If the cession of Belgium was a *sine qua non* in the negociation, on what ground was this done? Was the emperor a party to the negociation? No. Nor do we absolutely know whether he would not be wise enough to purchase peace to his exhausted subjects, even by the cession of those dominions. Was any one of our official residents at his court instructed to ask the question? No. But the directory is blamed because they did not present a *contre-projet*. To whom could they present it? They had not one to whom they could present it; for every thing contained in our *projet* was for the emperor's benefit alone. You demand Belgium, and declare that the war must not cease till it be ceded. What can France be expected to say in return? She will say, we have taken the Belgians under our protection, and *will* not restore them. You may come and take them from us, *if you can*.

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This refusal is declared by ministers to be against the law of nations. It is annexing a territory to France against the faith of treaties. But let us compare what France may say respecting the inhabitants of the Low countries, with what we might eventually find it necessary for ourselves to declare respecting other acquisitions of certain other inhabitants and territories. Corsica we may suppose to pray for the protection of Britain, and that she might not be given back to the government of the French republic. Would Corsica, in such a case, be a subject of cession on our part, after throwing herself on our protection. It is not long ago since the minister, though he has now lowered his tone, turned into ridicule the idea of ceding Martinico, because it was a territory of which the inhabitants had desired to be taken under the protection of his Britannic majesty. France may say the same with respect to Belgium. And, what is of more consequence than pleas of speculative justification, she is able to defy the combined efforts of all Europe to drive her out of the Netherlands.' Mr. Fox concluded by moving an amendment to the address, fraught with severe censures on the origin of the war, and the conduct of the late negotiation, which was rejected by a large majority.

A similar motion in the house of peers, by the earl of Oxford, met with the same fate.

The subject of negotiation was soon after renewed in the commons by a motion which deserves to be noticed, as it showed that the sentiments expressed by the minority respecting the war were not confined to those who systematically opposed the minister. A motion for reviving the negotiation, was introduced by Mr. Pollen, a gentleman of independent fortune and political connections. His attempt, on the present occasion, to produce a peace with France, by silencing the voice of party,

and reconciling opposition to ministers, was a weak, though amiable intention. Instead of blaming ministry for the commencement of the war, he compared Mr. Pitt to a pilot who had carried the vessel through hard weather and heavy seas, sufficient perhaps to have sunk her under the auspices of another. But he drew his arguments for peace from the state of the kingdom, the danger of public credit, the desertion of our allies, and the disposition of the French to terminate the war. Mr. Pitt answered the speech of Mr. Pollen, by declaring that ministers had already complied with the very proposal which he had made. But there might be a chance, he said, for making overtures of peace, which the executive government alone knew how to come at. By one precipitate step, that chance might be utterly lost. He could not at present enter into a detail of particulars. He had no hesitation, however, in declaring, that the disposition of his majesty's ministers went beyond the purpose of the present motion, and that in consequence of dispat̄ches received from his imperial majesty, who had refused to negotiate separately, a confidential person was to be sent from this country, with instructions, to enable the emperor to conduct farther negotiations in concert with his allies. Mr. Fox supported the pacific motion, declaring his opinion, that whoever were the negociators for peace, the chance of obtaining it would certainly be much increased by parliament giving the negotiation the sanction of its vote. On a division, Mr. Pollen's motion was rejected.

His majesty's next communication to parliament, was on a subject connected with much public alarm, as it related to the pecuniary embarrassment of the bank of England. The difficulties of the bank were not new. In January 1795, the bank direc-

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tors had intimated their wishes to the minister, that he would arrange his finances for the year without depending on their aid. In the month of February of the present year, when an advance of £1,500,000 was required by the minister, he was informed by the governor, that such a loan would in all probability oblige the directors to shut up their doors. With this cause of embarrassment, another, which sprung out of the war, most powerfully co-operated. The dread of invasion induced an immense number of farmers, and persons resident in parts distant from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of bankers. The demands upon the country banks were speedily felt in London; and the scarcity of specie grew so general and alarming, that an order was issued by the privy council, prohibiting the directors of the bank from issuing cash in payment till parliament should be consulted. His majesty's message on the subject, occasioned in both houses the appointment of secret committees to inquire into the state of the bank, and report their opinion. These measures did not pass without resistance. The opponents of ministry found, in the present calamity, a fertile subject of censure on the war, and of continental loans, which had impoverished the country to the brink of bankruptcy. They demanded an open, instead of a secret examination, into the nature of a public evil; and proposed instituting an inquiry into the conduct of the council, who had arbitrarily ordered the payments of the bank to be stopt.

From the report of these committees, it appeared, on the clearest evidence, that the temporary insolvency of the bank had arisen, not only from the alarm of invasion, which produced extraordinary demands upon the bank, but from the vast remis-

sions of solid gold, which the loans to the Continent had occasioned; and from the correspondence of the minister with the bank directors, it appeared that the latter had not found it convenient to attend to their warnings on the approaching scarcity of specie, but had remitted specie to the Continent after the bank had declared the dangerous effects which it would produce. On comparing, however, the effects of the bank with the debts, the committee displayed a comfortable statement of its real solvency, since the property of that body amounted to £3,000,800 beyond their debts, exclusive of what was due to them from government.

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In consequence of these reports of the committee, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed and carried a bill for enabling the bank of England to issue notes instead of specie in payment of all demands.² The effect of a new issue of paper, was to restore public credit and confidence.

It seemed to be the fate of the present session, to deliberate upon the most disastrous events that ever agitated the public mind; for scarcely had the alarm of bankruptcy subsided, when the tidings of a mutiny in the British fleet spread dismay over the kingdom. The grounds of discontent among our seamen, were the smallness of their pay, which had not been raised since the middle of the last century, when every article of life was but half its present price; the abuses which had crept into the management and distribution of their provisions; the extreme severity of their discipline,

² Among many clauses in the bill, it was enacted, that if any one offered a bank note in payment of a demand, that offer should do away the effect of a personal arrest in the first instance. The clause did not go the length of making bank notes

a legal tender, nor to take away the power of the creditor to pursue, in course of legal process, the means of obtaining payment of his demand in cash; but it saved the inconveniency of giving bail to an action.

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and the insufficient provision made for those who were maimed and wounded in defence of their country. The consciousness of those grievances might not perhaps have produced a general revolt, had not the political principles of the times been so deeply tainted with the spirit of insubordination. The number of Irish in the fleet, whose minds were filled with the rebellious disposition of their country, contributed largely to this event. There were Englishmen among them still better calculated to promote the same end; men of good education, whose crimes or misfortunes had brought them into this servitude, and who had no way to resume their consequence in society but by the desperate adventure of insurrection. In attributing the mutiny, even partially, to pernicious principles, we should perhaps refer more particularly to the latter part of it at the Nore, than to the affair in Lord Howe's fleet. The conduct of the Channel fleet was such, that when we consider their grievances, their demands, and their prompt return to duty, we shall be more disposed to censure the danger of the example, than the intrinsic guilt of their proceedings. A mutiny suppressed without bloodshed, and conducted without one act of personal cruelty on the part of the insurgents, is scarcely paralleled in history, and might deserve our admiration, could we forget the dreadful danger of such a precedent in any circumstances.

Petitions from different ship's company's in the Channel fleet, which were sent to Lord Howe, and by him transmitted to the admiralty, were the first tokens of their discontent. These, however, were anonymous; and as the commanding officer at Portsmouth saw no symptoms of a dangerous spirit among the crews, the petitions were disregarded as the fabrication of some individual, not the expression of a general will. But, on the return of

the Channel fleet into Portsmouth, a secret correspondence was immediately settled between all the ships on that station; and on the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport ordered the signal to prepare for sea, three cheers were given from the Queen Charlotte as the signal for mutiny; and every ship's company refused to weigh anchor. The efforts of the officers to restore obedience were in vain. The fleet being entirely in the possession of the seamen, each of the crews appointed two delegates, and Lord Howe's cabin was fixed on as the place of their consultation. An oath was administered to every man in the fleet to support the cause in which they were engaged, and several obnoxious officers were sent on shore. The admiral, Lord Bridport, though restricted from putting to sea, still retained the command of the fleet in every other respect; and the strictest discipline, order, and respect for the officers who remained, were kept up.

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On the 18th of the same month, two petitions, couched in respectful language, were addressed by the delegates, the one to the house of commons, the other to the admiralty. In these, after declaring the utmost loyalty to their king and country, and enumerating their services in defence of both, they claimed an increase of pay and provisions, the liberty of going ashore while in harbour, and the continuance of pay to wounded seamen till cured and discharged.

On the removal of the admiralty board to Portsmouth, they farther demanded, that the long established distinction in the navy between an able and ordinary seaman, should be preserved, and the pay of the former raised to 1s. a-day, and that of the petty officers and ordinary seamen in proportion; that marines should enjoy the same pay as ordinary seamen; and that the pensions of Greenwich hos-

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pital should be increased to £10 a-year. On these demands being granted by the admiralty, Lord Bridport returned on board the fleet, with the king's pardon to all concerned in the mutiny; and order was for fourteen days restored. But, on the 7th of May, from some mistrust that the promise of the admiralty was not to be ratified by government, a second mutiny broke out. As soon as this alarming intelligence was received in London, Lord Howe was dispatched to the fleet. His presence and influence happily restored subordination; and from that period the Channel fleet remained obedient.

These transactions of the navy, with the estimates of the additional expences which they entailed, were necessarily brought before parliament. Ministry were accused by the opposition of scandalous procrastination, in having suffered the grievances of the seamen to be so long neglected, and for not having sooner laid them before the house of commons. A motion for a vote of censure on their conduct was made, but negatived.

May 22.

The bloodless suppression of the first mutiny occasioned universal satisfaction, and it was hoped that no farther complaints would arise; but these expectations were in a short time disappointed, by a fresh mutiny, which broke out in the fleet at the Nore. The crews upon that station, expressing the utmost indignation that their fellow seamen at Portsmouth had not insisted on a more equal distribution of prize-money, took possession of their respective ships, elected delegates, and transmitted a statement of demands to the lords of the admiralty, considerably more extensive than those of the Channel fleet. On the 6th of June, they were joined by four ships and a sloop, which had deserted from the fleet of Admiral Duncan. The principal leader of the mutiny was Richard Parker;

a man of low birth, but of some education, and of bold and resolute character. Admiral Buckner, the commanding officer at the Nore, was directed by the lords of the admiralty to inform the seamen, that their demands were inconsistent with the good order of the navy, but that pardon should be granted to them on returning to their duty. Parker replied, that the seamen were determined to keep possession of the fleet till the lords of the admiralty should repair to the Nore and remedy their grievances. A board of the admiralty was accordingly held at that harbour, at which Parker and the other delegates attended; but their behaviour was so audacious, that the lords of the admiralty returned to town without the least prospect of accommodation. Emboldened by the strength of men and shipping in their possession, the mutineers seized some vessels laden with provisions, and mooring four of their vessels across the Thames, threatened to cut off all communication between the mouth of the river and the metropolis. To secure themselves from being betrayed, they gave the command of the fleet, but for one day, to each successive commander of their own nomination; and to prevent the escape of all the ships of which they suspected the crews to be wavering in the cause, they compelled them to keep in the middle of the fleet. In spite of these precautions, two vessels eluded their vigilance.

These transactions, while they excited the greatest alarm in the nation, were openly reprobated by the brave and moderate seamen of the two divisions of the fleet at Portsmouth and Plymouth. Each of them addressed an admonition to their fellow seamen at the Nore, condemning their proceedings as a scandal to the name of British seamen, and exhorting them to return to their duty. In the meantime, government took measures of security against

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the worst extremes, in case the mutineers should resort to them. They ordered the buoys to be removed from the mouth of the Thames, that any desertion to the enemy to a foreign harbour might be rendered difficult and dangerous, whilst furnaces and heated balls were kept ready at Sheerness in case of any attack upon the fort.

The committee of delegates having released Lord Northesk from confinement on board his own ship the Montague, commissioned him to repair to the king in the name of the fleet, and to acquaint him with the conditions on which they were willing to surrender. His lordship accepted of the commission; but declared to them, from the unreasonableness of their demands, that he could not flatter them with the hopes of success. He waited on the king according to his promise; but no answer being given to the message, and information being brought to the fleet, that the nation at large highly disapproved of their proceedings, despair and division began to prevail among the leaders. At length they struck the red flag of mutiny; every ship was left at its own command; and a free passage was restored to the metropolis. They all successively returned to obedience; but not without violent struggles on board of some of them, between the mutineers and the loyal parties. Parker, the chief leader of the mutiny, was seized and imprisoned, and, after a solemn trial on board the Neptune, was sentenced and put to death. Several others of the ringleaders were condemned and executed on full proof of their criminality; others were whipped; and not a few, who had remained under sentence of death, were pardoned by his majesty, on the news of Lord Duncan's victory.

Thus terminated a crisis of danger, by far the most formidable to Britain which the history of the last century records. From the fatal tendency

of such an affair, and from the vast advantages that would have resulted to France by fomenting the spirit of insurrection in our navy, it was for some time a general opinion, that the French had exerted their known talents for intrigue in promoting it. It appeared, however, on the strictest examination, that no foreign interference had influenced the conduct of its leaders.³

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In the meantime, the progress of the mutiny had occupied the serious attention of parliament. On the 1st of June, a message was delivered from both houses of parliament announcing the event, and recommending the adoption of measures for public security. A bill was proposed by Mr. Pitt, denouncing the guilt of felony, and the punishment of death on all persons who should endeavour to seduce either soldiers or sailors from their duty. The duration of the act was limited to one month after the commencement of the next session. A measure so evidently necessary, was passed by an unanimous vote. Another motion was proposed and carried by the minister, to prevent all communication with the ships that should be in a state of mutiny; and enacting, that if, after the king's proclamation, any person should voluntarily continue on board of such ships, they should be declared coadjutors in the mutiny; that their pay should cease, and what was due to them should be forfeited. The interference of parliament on this occasion was not limited to penal enactments. Instructed by the warning of these events in the navy, they wisely attended to the long-wished for augmentation of the pay of the military. The daily allowance of the private soldier was raised to 1s. a-day, and their situation was made still more comfortable by several regulations, abridging

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the profits upon their clothing and other necessaries, which had formerly been suffered to accumulate in the hands of a rapacious class of individuals.

The disappointed hopes of peace, with all the evils of reality and apprehension, which the brilliant victories of our arms at sea could by no means counterbalance, made an obvious diminution of the popularity of ministers during the year 1797. Petitions from the greater number of the principal towns and counties of the two kingdoms flowed into parliament for their dismissal. These petitions were seconded by the peers and commons of opposition, ⁴ in two proposals for a change of administration, which experienced the expected fate of rejection.

On the 26th of May, Mr. Grey rose, in pursuance of former notice, to move for a reform in the representation of the people. His plan was considerably altered from the shape in which it had been presented in former years. He proposed that the county representation should remain nearly on the same footing as formerly, only that instead of 92 county members there should be 113. For instance, instead of two for the county of York, that there should be two for each riding, and so on in other counties, where the present representation was not proportioned to the population. He proposed that each county or riding should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return a representative; and that the right of election should be extended to copy-holders and lease-holders paying a certain rent for a certain number of years. But the reform which he had to propose in the other branch of the representation, was of a much more extensive nature. It was, that the remaining 400

⁴ By Lord Suffolk in the upper, and by Alderman Combe in the lower house.

members should be returned by one description of persons, namely, householders. If it were possible, one person should not be permitted to vote for more than one member of parliament. To prevent the expence of elections, he proposed that the poll should be taken through the whole kingdom at one time. This was the outline of his plan. To state that it could be obtained at first with exactness, or was not liable to difficulties (he admitted), would be presumptuous and absurd. But he hoped there would be found no insuperable objections to it. The landholder would find his property suitably represented. The merchant would find support in the householders; and men of respectability and talents in different professions, would find a fair chance of admission into parliament. The only persons whom he wished to exclude from parliament, were men who were neither possessed of landed property, nor engaged in commercial enterprise, nor professors of any particular science, and who, without property, without industry, and without talents, obtained seats in the house of commons by the influence of great men, not for the interests of the people, but the ambition of individuals.

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Among those who opposed Mr. Grey's motion, Sir William Young remarked, that though it was intended by that plan to enlarge the representation of the small burghs, yet he understood that the great cities and populous towns were to be divided according to their population, in which case it was obvious, that the metropolis would have a preponderance over the rest of the kingdom, and become the republic of England, as Paris was the republic of France.

The motion was ably supported by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Smith, Mr. Pollen, Sir William Dolben, and Mr. Fox. The last of these speakers,

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in replying to the common objections against reform, drawn from the example of the French, declared, that he saw nothing in the example of that revolution but what should teach parliament the lesson of timely reformation. It had been said, that the house possessed the confidence of the country as much as ever. ‘ This,’ said Mr. Fox, ‘ is as much as to say that his majesty’s ministers possess the confidence of the country as much as ever, since the majority of the house support the measures of government, and give their sanction to all the evils we are doomed to endure. Is confidence to be always against the people, and never for them? It is a notable argument, that because we do not find, at a general election, very material changes in the representation, the sentiments of the people must be pronounced the same. Let us look back to the period of the American war. That war became unpopular, and the king’s ministers lost the confidence of the nation. Yet, on the general election which followed the dissolution of parliament in 1780, not more than three or four persons were added to the number of those who had from the beginning opposed the career of ministers in that disastrous business. The argument to which I have alluded, I remember, was made use of against reform by Lord North, after the general election which I have mentioned; and the present chancellor of the exchequer turned it justly and strikingly against his antagonist, when he pled the cause of reform. I remember, that the words of the present minister to the house of commons were such as these: “ *You see that so defective, so inadequate, is the present practice, at least of the elective franchise, that no impression of national calamity, no conviction of ministerial error, no abhorrence of disastrous war, is sufficient to stand against the corrupt influence which has*

mixed itself with election, and which drowns the popular voice." The same gentleman, the reformer of that day, and the present antagonist of reform, told us farther: "*Without a reform the nation cannot be safe. This war may be put an end to, but what will protect you against another? The same spirit which engendered the present war (the American) still actuates the secret counsels of the crown, and for want of adequate representation, will produce new wars and similar calamities.*" With such an authority to support me,' continued Mr. Fox, 'will any man deny that I am right. The chancellor of the exchequer has fulfilled his own prophecy. His prediction has come upon us, and he may now exclaim, in the proud fervour of success, "You see the consequence of not listening to the oracle." Mr. Grey's motion was rejected.

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The efforts of the minority proving, as usual, ineffectual to alter the system of administration in England, it could not be expected to have much influence on the conduct of government in administering Irish affairs. Of the critical state of Ireland, and of the dreadful measures to which it was thought politic or necessary to resort, we have a lamentable picture pourtrayed in the speech of Lord Moira, when that nobleman renewed his application to the British peers in favour of the Irish, and endeavoured to recommend measures of lenity and conciliation. 'I address you, my lords, this day,' said the noble speaker, 'upon documents equally sure and interesting. Before God and my country, I speak of what I have seen myself. It is not my intention to select any individual to adduce a charge against him, or to point a prejudice against any one. I have to speak, not of solitary and isolated measures, not of partial abuses, but of what is adopted as the system of government. When we hear of a military govern-

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ment, we must expect excesses, which are not all, I acknowledge, to be attributed to government; but these I lay out of my consideration; I will speak only of the excesses that belong to, and proceed from, the system pursued by the administration of Ireland. I am aware it may be urged, that a statement such as I am to lay before your lordships, is calculated to interfere too much with the internal government of the sister kingdom. In answer to this argument, I say that we have so direct a connection with Ireland, that any error of government in that country is a fit subject for our attention, and, if circumstances should require, for the removal of the chief governor. This observation applies not in any manner to the present lord lieutenant. On the contrary, I think highly of his private worth and honour, and I believe his wishes to be sincere for the happiness of the Irish kingdom. But, my lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd and the most disgusting tyranny under which a nation ever groaned. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances. I have seen it practiced and unchecked. If such a tyranny be persevered in, the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred to the English name, must continue to rankle in the minds of our fellow subjects. I have seen, in that country, a marked and impolitic distinction kept up between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent thither, full of the prejudice, that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British government. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised in consequence of a presumption that the victim was in hostility to the government, and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and free from disturbance as the city of Lon-

don. He who states such things, my lords, I know, should be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them. Many of the circumstances are consistent with my own knowledge; others I have received from such channels as leave no doubt in my mind of their truth.

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‘The curfew,’ continued his lordship, ‘was ever regarded by Britain as the cruellest badge of oppression. It is now practised in Ireland. I have known an instance where the master of a house has in vain pleaded to be allowed the use of a candle to enable a mother to administer relief to her daughter struggling in convulsive fits. In former times, it was the custom of Englishmen to hold the inquisition in abhorrence. One of the chief horrors of that tribunal is, that the accused is ignorant of his accuser, of the crime laid to his charge; that he is torn from his family, immured in a prison, and kept in dreadful uncertainty of the fate that awaits him. But to this injustice, so abhorred by protestants, the people of Ireland are now subjected. All confidence, all security is taken away. In the proceedings of the inquisition, the accused is put to the rack, and tortured into confession. The same proceedings have been introduced into Ireland. When a man is taken up on suspicion, nay, if he is merely accused of concealing the guilt of another, he is put to the torture. The rack, indeed, is not at hand; but the punishment of picqueting is in practice, which has been long abolished as being too inhuman even in the dragoon service. I have known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picqueted till he fainted; picqueted a second time till he fainted again; picqueted a third time till he fainted; and all on mere suspicion. Nor is this the only species of torture; men have been taken and hung up till

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 XXXI. repetition of the treatment, unless they made con-
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 ticular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing
 the power committed to them, but they form a
 part of the system of Irish government.' These,
 and other instances of inhuman severity, his lord-
 ship described, and offered to substantiate his al-
 legations. He concluded by entreating the house
 to take into serious consideration the present mea-
 sures with respect to Ireland; a system of coercion
 so bloody and so dreadful, that it roused the very
 spirit which it meant to suppress. The moments
 of conciliation, he said, were not yet past; but if
 the system were not changed, he was convinced
 that Ireland would be lost to our affections, and
 lost to the empire.

Lord Grenville, in reply, said, that on a sub-
 ject of general and national moment, it was not
 easy to enter on the vague grounds and isolated
 facts with which the noble lord had supported his
 motion. He confidently appealed to the house,
 whether we had ever abandoned measures of con-
 cession and conciliation towards the sister island.
 For the space of thirty years, his majesty's govern-
 ment had been distinguished by the same uniform
 tenderness of regard, by the same adherence to
 the principles of a mild system. Among the in-
 stances of our kindness, he adverted to the legislative
 independence granted to her parliament, and to the
 wide extension of her commercial privileges. It
 was no arduous task to exonerate government from
 any charges of inhumanity. Bravery, clemency,
 and good nature, were the characteristic features
 of the English disposition. That there might be
 individual exceptions, he pretended not to say;
 but if such excesses were perpetrated, were there
 no courts of justice, no laws, no magistrates, no

tribunals open to the oppressed? Ireland had its juries as well as this country, and the same safeguards were provided for Irishmen as for Englishmen. If severe measures had been adopted, it was because a deep and dreadful conspiracy was known to be in train, of which the object was to shed the blood of every friend to the Irish and the English government. That the liberty of Ireland was not abridged, his lordship declared he had procured to produce in the liberty, not to say licentiousness, of the Irish press. He held a paper in his hand, which was publicly circulated, and professed to contain the sentiments of those men whom government were struggling to suppress; a paper which loaded the name of our sovereign with every reproach, and devoted the supporters of his throne to the poniards of assassins. The question was, would their lordships interpose on the present occasion, and tell the parliament of Ireland, and the Irish magistracy, that they were more careful of the interests and happiness of their people than they were themselves?

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Lord Moira's motion was set aside by a motion for adjournment.

Parliament rose on the 18th of July, after having sat between nine and ten months.

During the present year, the princess Charlotte May 18. Matilda was given in marriage by our sovereign to Frederic William, the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg. The nuptials were solemnized in England, soon after which her royal highness departed with her husband to their German dominions. The princess received a portion of £80,000.

In turning our attention from domestic events to the wide spread theatre of the war, we find that Hoche, who succeeded Jourdan in the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, opened the German campaign with the most brilliant success.

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Moreau, soon after, at the head of the army of the Rhine, crossed that river at Strasburg, and repulsed successive assaults of the Germans at the village of Diershem. His progress after this contest was victorious and rapid, till arriving at last in the mountains of the Brisgaw, while the Austrians retired as far as the Danube, a suspension of arms was agreed to by the hostile armies, in consequence of the news from Italy, and the Mayne and the Nedda were appointed to be the line of demarcation between them.

Italy was indeed destined to be the important and the fatal scene of this year's warfare.

Jan. 7.

The imperial commander Alvinzi, before the winter was yet over, opened the Italian campaign by assaulting the defensive positions of the French. The battle of Rivoli, or rather a series of battles, which were fought near that place during the space of eight days, decided the fate of the Austrian army, as well as of the fortress of Mantua, which, after a siege that cost both the victors and the vanquished the loss of 20,000 soldiers, surrendered rather to famine than the sword, and was occupied by the French on the 3^d of February. The papal dominions, in spite of the late peace, were again exposed to invasion; the French general, justifying hostilities by a declaration of subterfuge and perfidy on the part of his holiness, attacked and routed the papal troops, captured in succession the cities of Faenza, Cesena, Ravenna, and Tolentino, and granted a peace to the prayers of his holiness on the humiliating terms of the papal territories being abridged, and some of the finest pictures, vases, and statues of Rome, with 15,000,000 of livres laid at the feet of his conquerors.

Although the treaty of Tolentino bereaved the imperial house of one of its firmest allies, yet with

fresh levies, and the illustrious Archduke Charles at their head, the Austrians presented a formidable front between the Tagliamento and the Piava, while the French occupied the right bank of the latter river, and the left border of the Arisio. But on both of these rivers the impetuosity of the French prevailed. A fordable passage was found on the Tagliamento, which, in spite of the grape-shot of the Austrian artillery, and incessant charges of cavalry, was carried by the troops of General Guieux. After this, the imperialists abandoned all the country up to the confines of Carinthia and Carniola, with a great quantity of baggage and artillery, to the enemy. Another victory, which General Joubert obtained at Eisach, after fighting his way across the Arisio, enabled the invaders to reach Brixen in the Tyrol, where they found immense magazines. Massena pursuing the centre of the imperialists, at the same time took possession of Gradisca, the capital of the Frioul; and the capture of this city made the enemy masters of all the Austrian possessions, from Trieste to the sea. The archduke had now fixed his head quarters at Clagenfurth, the capital of the duchy of Carinthia, a position which he was obliged to leave, after having been beaten in attacking the troops of Massena at Tarvis, on a range of mountains so elevated, that the combatants literally fought above the clouds. After the victory of Tarvis, Bonaparte, aware of the dangers that still surrounded him, after all the glories of this campaign, from the narrow defiles which he had left in the rear of his army, and the enmity of the countries he had over-run, offered to negociate peace with the Austrian commander. The archduke, however, was not empowered to meet him in any pacific advance, and hostilities were renewed. Another pitched engagement was fought at Treisach on the

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2^d of April, in which a division of imperial grenadiers, led on by the archduke in person, checked the fury of the French assailants, and kept the field till night, when they retired, leaving Newmark and Judenburg in possession of the enemy. Bonaparte being now within thirty-five leagues of Vienna, the terror of his approach compelled the imperial court to conclude so inauspicious a contest. Their plenipotentiaries, accordingly, presented propositions to the French general at Leoben, where a treaty was concluded known by the designation of the place where it was framed. After this treaty, which served as a prelude to that of Campo Formio, the victor turned his arms immediately on the state of Venice, on which he took severe vengeance for having presumed to rise in arms during the absence of the French from Italy. It was not till some time after the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben, that a final pacification took place with the emperor.

In October, the celebrated treaty of Campo Formio was concluded. The emperor ceded to the French republic, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and consented to their remaining in possession of the Venetian islands of Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, and all the other isles in the Adriatic, with settlements in Albania, to the south east of the gulf of Lodrino. He acknowledged the independence of the Cisalpine republic. He ceded to it the countries that had belonged to Austria in Lombardy, and assented to its possessing the cities and territories of Bergamo, Brescia, and other dependencies of Venice, with a considerable portion of the papal territory. The emperor was allowed to possess Istria and Dalmatia, with all the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, lying to the north west of the gulf of Lodrino; and the city of Venice, with a large portion of the dominions of that republic,

chiefly those lying between the Tyrol, the lake of Guarda, and the Adriatic. The duke of Modena was to receive indemnifications for the loss of his duchy, the province of Brisgau, in the proximity of the Rhine. It was agreed, that a congress should be held at Rastadt, consisting of plenipotentiaries from France, and the emperor, for negotiating a peace.

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Such were the principal features of the treaty. There were secret articles which it was not convenient, especially on the part of the emperor, to make public. By these, among many stipulations, it was agreed, that Austria should receive considerable accessions from Bavaria, and the cession of Saltzburg, which was made to be the property of the imperial house. In return for which, the emperor pledged himself to consent, that the Rhine should be made the boundary between France and Germany, and that if the princes, whose territories suffered by that *arrondissement* should be refractory, the Austrians were to support these princes only with the contingent force which the laws of the empire ordained. Thus terminated, for a while, hostilities between the great continental belligerents. In all the defeats of the Austrian power, there was nothing so humiliating as the terms of indemnification which she consented to take, by her unprincipled seizure of the Venetian and papal states; two faithful allies, whose misfortunes were directly entailed, by having fought her battles against the French.

The warlike operations of Britain, though not unchequered by disappointments, formed, upon the whole, a consolatory contrast to the uniform disasters of her allies. While the French, with the fleets of Holland and Spain at their disposal, were renewing their threats of carrying war into the heart of our dominions, our arms were employed

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in wresting an important colony from their Spanish allies in the West Indies. An expedition sailed in February against the island of Trinidad, on the northern coast of South America. The land forces were commanded by General Abercrombie, and the squadron by Admiral Harvey. The Spaniards, in expectation of an attack, had prepared a considerable force for their defence; four ships of the line, and several frigates, lay at anchor in the bay of Port d'Espagne, protected by strong batteries. On the 16th, Admiral Harvey arrived with the British squadron. But, during the night preceding the intended attack, the Spanish ships, by accident, took fire, and were all consumed, except one, which was captured. After this disaster, the Spaniards were in no condition to offer resistance. General Abercrombie landed his forces, and having made himself master of the principal town, the Spanish governor surrendered the whole island by capitulation.

Two months after the reduction of Trinidad, an expedition was undertaken against the island of Porto Rico, a place, which, by affording a harbour for Spanish privateers, was the source of considerable annoyance to the trade of the British West Indies. The same commanders, Harvey and Abercrombie, who had taken Trinidad, undertook to reduce this settlement, and arrived before Porto Rico on the 17th of April. The whole northern coast of the island being bounded by a reef, it was with much difficulty that a narrow channel was discovered, through which the lighter vessels effected a passage. After making a landing, the troops proceeded towards the chief town. But the approaches to it were so strongly fortified, that it was found impossible to make an impression with the inconsiderable artillery which had been brought ashore. It was thought expedient to reembark

the troops, which was effected without molestation, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy.

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The French confined their hostile attempts in the West Indies chiefly to S^t. Domingo. In that island, a body of the enemy, under the command of a French officer of the name of Rigaud, laid siege to fort Trois, a strong post which we had recently taken from them. Captain Rickets of the *Magicienne*, came fortunately to its assistance, and captured all the enemy's ships and ammunition that were prepared for the siege. The republicans about the same time, sustained a defeat from Colonel Deysoanees, who routed a considerable portion of the army of the commander in chief, Tous-saint. In the month of June, they made another attempt upon a small garrison, stationed at S^t. Mark, from which they were also repulsed with considerable loss. The transactions in the West Indies, during the remainder of the year, were in general favourable to the English, both at sea and land. Numbers of the enemy's armed ships were taken, and little damage was done to the English trade. The French were neither in force nor disposition, prepared to execute any important plan against our possessions.

In Europe, the expectations of the French had been highly raised, by the great preparations made against England, in the ports of Holland and Spain. Such was the influence of the French over the ministry of the latter kingdom, that they procured the equipment of a large fleet to act in conjunction with their own. The greater part of the Spanish navy was to have effected a junction with the French fleet at Brest, and in the event of being joined, as they expected, by a Dutch fleet, their numbers would have amounted to seventy sail of the line. In the Spanish fleet, there were six ships of 112 guns, and one

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of 136; twenty others were large ships of the line. This imposing appearance of force, was not, however, adequately fitted up with expert hands, and the miserable substitution of land artillery-men, offered little to intimidate a far inferior force of British mariners. The squadron destined to oppose them, under the command of Admiral Jervis, amounted to fifteen ships of the line, and a few frigates. That officer was cruising off Cape S^t. Vincent, on the coast of Portugal, when he received intelligence of the approaching enemy, and prepared immediately for battle. At the dawn of the 14th of February, twenty-seven of the hostile line were descried. By forming in close order, and carrying a press of sail, our fleet had time to close with the Spaniards, before they could collect and form in regular order. The British line was so rapidly formed, and their manœuvre of dividing that of the enemy so dexterously executed, that a third part of the Spanish ships were cut off from the main body. Having thus broken through the enemy, and by one daring and fortunate movement, reduced his force from twenty-seven to eighteen ships, Jervis perceived that the Spanish admiral, in order to recover his superiority, was endeavouring to re-join the separated ships, by wearing round the rear of the British line. On this, Commodore Nelson, who was in the rearmost ship, directly wore and prevented the enemy's intention, by standing towards him. Nelson had now to encounter the Spanish admiral of 136 guns, aided by two other Spaniards of three decks. He was happily relieved from this unequal contest, by the arrival of two British ships, who detained the Spanish admiral and his comrades, till they were attacked by four others of our line. The Spanish commander, finding that he could not execute his design, made the signal for the remainder of the fleet to form

for their defence. But before the enemy's ships could get into their stations, the British admiral ordered their rearmost ships to be attacked. This was done with so much spirit, that four of them were captured. During the battle, the Spanish commander made every effort to collect his separated divisions. Their union was likely to form a force more than equal to the British squadron. Had the battle been renewed, the Spaniards had still thirteen ships unhurt, while the whole of the British fifteen had been considerably damaged in the action. The British, however, drew up in compact order, but the Spaniards did not again hazard coming to close quarters, and keeping up a timid and distant fire, allowed the victors to bear away their four captured vessels, two of them carrying 112, one 84, and the other 74 guns. The slain and wounded on board of these prizes, amounted to 600, and the carnage on board the rest of their fleet, was probably much more. The loss of our fleet did not exceed 300 men. The greatest rejoicings were excited through the nation by this important victory, obtained with inconsiderable bloodshed, in the face of an enemy almost double the number of the victors. Other battles have been fought, in which the personal valour of Englishmen has been more severely tried; but none in which the superiority of our navy, in the pure science of war, was so brilliantly illustrated; nor in which the genius of a commander was entitled to higher praise. The admiral was honoured with a peerage, to which was added, the appropriate title of the scene of victory, S^t. Vincent.

The vanquished fleet withdrew to Cadiz. It was immediately followed by the British, who blocked it up so closely, that not a ship in the harbour would venture out beyond the protection of the batteries. Here the British squadron continued in sight of the

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place, and in command of the neighbouring seas. A memorable attempt was made on the night of the 3^d of July, to bombard Cadiz. Commodore Nelson conducted the enterprise with his usual spirit. The imperfect success which attended it, was owing to the bad condition of the mortar pieces employed on this occasion, which had been damaged by continual use.

The Spaniards having manned, with a chosen body of seamen and soldiers, a number of boats and launches, sallied out of the harbour upon the English. The conflict was obstinate. Don Miguel Tyrasom, the commanding officer of the Spaniards, attacked the commodore with the utmost resolution, and though taken, did not yield till eighteen out of twenty-seven men in his barge were killed, and himself, with all the rest, wounded. After a long and desperate defence, the Spaniards were driven back into the harbour.

Two nights after this action, another bombardment was attempted with more success. Nelson advancing with several bomb-vessels as near as possible to the shore, threw a number of shells among the shipping, and into the town, which did so much execution, that ten of the largest men of war were obliged to warp out of their range, and the town's people fled in great numbers.

Another expedition, which the distinguished gallantry of Nelson pointed him out as the fittest to command, was undertaken in the month of July; but its issue displayed, that valour alone is insufficient, without the aid of fortune. This was an attempt on the island of Teneriffe, to which Nelson was detached by the admiral off Cadiz, with eight sail of men of war. On the arrival of this armament, a body of men, including 1000 marines, was landed under the direction of Captain Trowbridge of the Culloden, assisted by Captains Hood,

Thomson, Freemantle, Bower, Miller, and Waller, who volunteered their services on this occasion. Having obtained possession of the town of Santa Cruz, after a long and vigorous resistance, an attack was made on the neighbouring fort; but the strength of the place not having been previously ascertained, the assailants were found by far too few, and too slightly provided for the service. After an ineffectual attempt to carry the fort, an immediate retreat became necessary. But an unfortunate event rendered even this impracticable, for on repairing to the beach, the English found most of their boats destroyed by the violence of the surf.

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In the meantime they were informed by prisoners, that an army of 8000 Spaniards were on their march to attack them. Seeing the impossibility of receiving aid from the ships, our countrymen dispatched Captain Hood to the Spanish governor, to offer, that if he would allow them to reembark, and furnish boats in the place of those that were wrecked, the squadron before the town would not molest it. The governor answered, by requiring them to surrender prisoners of war. Captain Hood replied, that if the terms he had proffered were not instantly accepted, the town should be fired, and the English would die with bayonets in their hands, rather than submit. Humanity, or prudence, induced the governor to accept their terms, and the English reembarked in boats furnished by the Spaniards. The conduct of the Spanish officer, Don Antonio Juan de Gutierrez, deserves to be commemorated. As soon as the terms were made, he directed the wounded English to be received into the hospitals, and the others to be supplied with refreshments, which they stood in much need of before reembarking. Thus terminated an expedition, which was in every respect to be regretted,

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except in the single circumstance of its displaying that generosity in an enemy which it warms the heart with no common sensation to review, even in the records of that disaster, which cost our navy the lives of several excellent officers, and the right arm of Nelson.

Though the victory off S^t. Vincent had entirely disconcerted the plan of operations of the three allied powers, yet the naval preparations in Holland far surpassed all that had been made by that republic, since the close of the former, and the beginning of the last, century. Though not so numerous as that of Spain, the Dutch fleet was incomparably better manned, and the remembrance of their ancient glory might yet cherish a spirit of rivalry among their seamen, if they wanted cordiality in fighting on the side of France.

The Batavian republic had, with vast exertion and expence, fitted out a fleet during the summer, the destination of which, though not precisely ascertained, was imagined to be for Ireland, where discontentments were daily increasing, and a great proportion of the natives were evidently ripe for revolt. This armament consisted of four ships of 74 guns, five of 68, two of 64, and four of 56. They were commanded by De Winter, whose talents were afterwards acknowledged, even in the hour of his defeat. Urged by the importunities of the directory, the Batavian government gave orders for the armament to put to sea. Their object was to proceed to Brest, and join the fleet assembled there, for a second invasion of Ireland. A body of troops was embarked from the Dutch harbour for this purpose, but the vigilance of the British cruizers on their coast prevented the intended junction, and the troops were again put on shore.

Duncan, the veteran commander of our fleet on the north-east station, towards the end of summer,

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repaired to Yarmouth roads, for the sake of refitting his ships. His temporary absence, induced the Batavian government to order De Winter a second time to put to sea, and, if possible, to accomplish a junction with the French. But their expectations were wholly frustrated. It was found, that the observation of the British cruizers could not be eluded. On this the Batavian government determined, that the honour of their flag should not suffer, ordered De Winter to sea in spite of all his remonstrances; and, to rid him of all incumbrance, the troops were again disembarked. Admiral Duncan was dining at Lowestoff, nine miles from Yarmouth, when he observed the wind change to the east, and conjecturing that the Dutch intended to venture forth, hurried that evening on board his ship at Yarmouth. The signals of his cruizers quickly informed him, that his conjecture was just: he crossed the eastern sea with sixteen ships of the line, and on the evening of the 10th of October, reached the coast of Holland. His first care was to station his squadron in such a manner, that De Winter, who had left the Texel with twenty-five sail,⁴ should not be able to return. On the morning of the 11th he was in sight of the Dutch fleet, formed in a line to re-

² The following was the comparative strength of the two fleets.

De Winter's.		Duncan's.	
<i>4 ships of 74 guns.</i>		<i>7 ships of 74 guns.</i>	
5	68	7	64
2	64	1	50
2	56		
2	54	Frigates.	
2	44	1	40
1	32	1	28
1	24	1	16
1	20	—	—
3	18		
1	16		
1	6		
<hr/>			
Total 25	1220	Total 18	1100

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ceive him, at no more than nine miles distance from the land, lying between Camperdown and Egmont. He resolved immediately to break through the enemy's line, to prevent their getting nearer the shore. This was speedily executed, and about twelve o'clock the engagement became general, every ship in each squadron, coming to action with its opponent. De Winter perceiving the intention of the British admiral, had thrown out the signal to unite in close order; but the thickness of the atmosphere prevented the signal from being seen by all the ships of his fleet, and only some of them complied with it. As soon as the fleet of Duncan had pierced the enemy's line, a close action ensued, in which Duncan's division engaged the van of the Dutch, and Admiral Onslow their rear. The conflict between the rival commanders was remarkably obstinate; the Dutchman did not strike till all his masts went by the board, and half his crew were killed or wounded. The Dutch vice-admiral yielded to Onslow, after he had been reduced to the same condition. Indeed, all the enemy's ships that struck, defended themselves with desperate bravery.

It was about four in the afternoon, when the victory was clearly decided in favour of the British; but the ships had drifted during the engagement so near to the land, as to have only nine fathoms of water. Seven ships of the enemy's line were captured, besides two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates. The flight of the Dutch Rear-admiral Storey, who, instead of supporting De Winter, fled for the Texel with several ships of the centre, contributed to facilitate the victory of the English. The loss of the English was estimated at 700, that of the Dutch at twice that number in slain and wounded.

A most extraordinary and ridiculous attempt at

invasion, was made by the enemy in the course of the present year, not, as had been predicted, by means of a formidable fleet, but with a naval force, and a body of troops, so contemptible, that it only excited the curiosity of the public, to know the motives of the enterprise.

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In the month of February, about 1400 French soldiers were debarked from two frigates, a sloop of war, and a lugger, near Fishgard, on the coast of Pembrokeshire. The Welsh peasantry flew to arms, and the invaders possessing no artillery, and apparently not disposed to make a desperate stand, surrendered themselves on the following day. This small, and every way contemptible army, as it afterwards appeared, was composed entirely of galley slaves, whom the French government, for reasons best known to itself, took this method of transferring to a British prison.

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Negotiations for peace renewed at Lisle. . . . Meeting of parliament. . . . Absence of the chief speakers of opposition. . . . Financial scheme of the minister. . . . Treble assessed taxes. . . . Supplies of ways and means for 1798. . . . Bills rejected. . . . Prorogation of parliament. . . . Irish rebellion. . . . Defeat of a squadron of French frigates by Sir J. Borlase Warren.

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AFTER the armistice of Leoben, which, in the spring of 1797, had effectually dissolved the Anti-Gallican coalition, the British ministry again declared themselves actuated by the desire of concluding hostilities with France. In approaching a second negotiation, although the peace of the continent left us to fight without an ally, yet that very circumstance was regarded as removing one obstacle to the facility of peace, as the interests of the continent were already adjusted, (however unfortunately), without our interference; and as nothing now remained to be settled, but our claims in opposition to those of France and her dependant allies.

On the 1st of June, an official note from Lord Grenville to the French minister for foreign affairs, gave notice of the willingness of our government to negotiate preliminaries, which might be definitively arranged at a future congress. The answer of the directory expressed an equal desire for peace, but required, for the sake of avoiding delay, that

the negociations should be for a definitive treaty ; an answer which announced the resolution of France to take every advantage of her powerful situation, and to conclude a separate peace with each of her enemies. The reply of the British government was, that it would depend on the progress of the negociation, whether definitive or preliminary articles should be signed. This reply was pronounced by the directory to be evasive ; but they took particular care, that the passports transmitted to our expected minister, should specify his errand to be for the conclusion of a definitive, and separate treaty. Lord Malmesbury arrived at Lisle, and was met by the French plenipotentiaries Latourneur, Maret, and Pleville. By accepting of French passports, couched in the terms that have been mentioned, the British certainly appeared tacitly to acknowledge that the treaty was to be definitive.

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Lord Malmesbury opened the business by submitting the plan of pacification which he had received from the British ministry. It required the cession of the colony of Trinidad on the part of Spain ; of the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin in the East-Indies, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, on the part of Holland. In return for these, he offered that Britain should cede all the other settlements taken from France and her allies in the course of the war. Our minister farther required the restoration of personal property to the prince of Orange, or an equivalent in money ; and that France should engage to procure for him, at the restoration of peace, an indemnity for the loss of the United provinces ; that all the Dutch partizans of his cause, who had been imprisoned or banished, should be allowed to regain their liberty, and to return to, or continue unmolested under, the new republic ; that Portugal should be included in the

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To these proposals the French answered, that previous to entering on the main business, it was necessary that two concessions should be made; first, that his Britannic majesty should resign the title of king of France; and secondly, that the ships taken at Toulon should be restored. To the latter requisition, Lord Malmesbury forbore to give any decisive answer till the French should give in their *contre-projet*. The third demand of the French plenipotentiaries was, that England should renounce the mortgages in the Netherlands for the money we had lent to the emperor. Lord Malmesbury reminded them, that the very terms on which the emperor had ceded the Netherlands, left those mortgages a debt on the French republic. The French ministers replied, that their instructions were to insist on this compliance. They farther stated, that the directory had established it as an indispensable preliminary, that Britain should restore all the possessions she had taken from France, from Spain, and the Batavian republic; alleging, that the treaties of France with these allies admitted of no alternative. Our minister replied, that the requisition of such terms was in other words declaring their intention to put an abrupt termination to the treaty. For a peace on such conditions would not be heard of in England.

The French agents, however, softened their declaration, by expressing a willingness to submit our proposals to the directory, and wait for fresh instructions for themselves. Lord Malmesbury urged, that in doing so they should obtain from their constituents an entire declaration of what France was willing to cede, and determined to require, instead of desultory requisitions.

The promise of the French plenipotentiaries to

apply for fresh instructions was made on the 23^d of July. On the 28th of August, no fresh instructions had arrived. During the intermediate space, no decisive progress could of course be made in the business. The intelligence brought to Lord Malmesbury on the latter day we have mentioned, announced that the delay of communication arose from the dissatisfaction of the Batavian republic at the suggestion of their settlements being retained by Britain, but that the directory had applied for another answer from the Dutch. The known wishes of the Dutch for peace with England on any terms, gave the lie to this profligate excuse of the French government.

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In fact, the directory were at this period tottering in their power, and during the delay of the negotiation, their anxieties were confined to their own preservation. In the month of September, the republican party, alarmed at the growing influence of the royalists, to whom a considerable party in their councils was known to be attached, concerted measures for striking that decisive blow, by which the force of the disaffected was to be crushed.

Augereau, the favourite of the republican soldiers, at the instance of Barras, Rewbel, and Larveillere, repaired to the national council, and arrested sixty of the deputies, who were sent to the deserts of Guiana. Barthelemi and Carnot were the chief official characters who were suspected and denounced. The former has survived to give the history of his sufferings along with Pichegru and other martyrs of the directorial tyranny. Carnot escaped.

One of the consequences of this affair, which from the time of its occurrence was denominated the revolution of the 18th Fructidor (4th September), was the recal of the French plenipotentiaries

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at Lisle, and the substitution of two others, Trailhard and Bonnier Dales. The first conference of these new ministers with Lord Malmesbury, announced the intended rupture of the treaty. They began by demanding, if Lord Malmesbury was empowered to concede, on the part of his government, that England should surrender all the settlements she had gained from France and her allies as a preliminary to all farther treaty; and required his lordship to answer this question explicitly in the space of a day. The British minister referred them to his former declaration, that he was empowered to treat on no other terms than those of reciprocal compensation. The French ministers signified in return, that, as he had not the powers necessary for complying with the terms of the directory, he was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours for England. The note containing his dismissal was dated the 16^h of September.

In excuse for this abrupt dismissal, the French plenipotentiaries pleaded the instructions of the directory, but individually spoke as if they had regretted the event, and wished for peace. On the faith of these assurances, Lord Malmesbury, while he demanded his passport, gave them an opportunity of another conference, that no chance of retrieving the negotiation might be lost. Another meeting took place, in which his lordship, without compromising his dignity, urged every consideration that could induce them to recal their late violent measure, but without effect. His lordship therefore departed from Lisle on the morning of the 18th of September.

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When parliament was again convoked, the absence of the chief speakers of opposition greatly diminished the spirit and interest of its debates. On the conduct of those opponents of the minister, who retired in disgust from the great council of

the nation, and forbore to give the sanction of even their presence to measures which they conceived to be ruinous to the nation, their friends and enemies made appropriate commentaries. Without deciding on the propriety of their retreat, it may be at least allowed, that the shortness of their absence was not calculated to make a fair experiment of what might result from the absenting system ; and that their return on the first important debate gave an air of inconsistency to their conduct. The address from the throne, which dwelt, as usual, on the justice and necessity of the war, and the importance of our naval victories, and declared that, in the present instance, the candid enemy of administration could not deny that the failure of the negociations at Lisle were imputable to the enemy alone, excited very opposite animadversions from those who rose to censure the conduct of ministers. In the upper house, Lord Fitzwilliam declared his regret for the offers of pacification which had been made to France ; while Lord Lansdowne reproached the government for not having conceded sufficiently. In the commons, Dr. Lawrence declaimed against the admission of that proposal of France, which went to extinguish the proud, though nominal, title of his majesty to the crown of France ; while Bryan Edwards, standing up as a miserable substitute for the absent leader of the minority, foolishly bewailed the very victories we had gained, and lamented that peace was not obtained by the sacrifice of all our conquests.

The minister came early in the session to the consideration of the finances. On the 24th of November, Mr. Pitt stated the usual articles which composed the ways and means. The growing produce of the consolidated fund he took at £750,000, making, with the land and malt-tax, the sum of £3,500,000. There remained £22,000,000 to

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be supplied by other means. The bank agreed to advance £3,000,000 on exchequer bills, to be repaid at short periods. According to the received system of our finances, the ordinary mode of proceeding for the remaining £19,000,000 of the supplies, would be a loan. But, in lieu of a part of this, the minister proposed raising, by a general tax, £7,000,000 of this sum within the year.

The principal feature in the new plan of taxation was to augment the assessed taxes. Persons paying assessed taxes were divided into three classes. The first class consisted of those who paid for male servants, carriages, and horses. In this class, where the amount of the old duties did not exceed £25 per annum, an additional duty was to be paid, equal to three times the present amount; those paying from £25 to £30, were to contribute three times and one half the former amount; those paying from £30 to £40, were to pay four times the amount; those paying from £40 to £50, four times and one half; and from £50, five times the amount. The second class consisted of persons paying duties on houses, windows, dogs, clocks, and watches. Where these taxes did not amount to £1, the persons were exempted from the additional duty. Those who paid above this sum the length of £50, were assessed in different sums progressively, rising from one fourth of the old assessment to five times its amount. The third class of the assessed contributors included the keepers of boarding-schools, of ready furnished or lodging-houses, and of shops; and licensed victuallers. On the assessments of these, great modifications were made, in consideration of their large houses being the means of trade. To this bill was added a scale of reduction of duties, according to certain gradations of income. Those whose annual income was more than £60, and under £65, were

to pay an additional duty of an hundred and twentieth part of their income. Those whose income was £100, and under £105, were to pay an additional duty of one fortieth part, and so on in an increasing ratio to incomes of £200 and upwards. No abatement of the treble duty was to be allowed to persons with an income above £200 per annum.

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On the occasion of those fresh burdens being laid upon the country, Mr. Fox once more appeared in parliament, and made the severest animadversions on the new schemes of finance.

Such a plan, he contended, came with a bad grace from those who had contributed so much already to the burdens to be imposed on posterity, but which they dreaded still farther to increase. ‘Why,’ said Mr. Fox, ‘was it not produced at the beginning of the war? Because it was necessary to delude this house. It would not have served the minister’s purpose to have shewn the people into what an abyss he meant to lead them.’ From its retrospective, as well as future operation, he pronounced the system iniquitous in principle, as well as oppressive in effect. It proposed no advantage, for the funding system was not exhausted; and if the difficulty of finding interest for great loans was pleaded, how could ministers pretend to impose so large a sum on the country in one year? In times of great difficulty, Mr. Fox said he knew no better resource than that of the funding system. ‘But by making income the basis of taxation,’ said he, ‘you impose on diligence, activity, and industry, double the weight that is thrown on him who chooses to repose indolently and supinely on the produce of his capital. The nominal amount of the assessment is a tenth of the income. But in this, the assessment is proportioned in name

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only, not in substance. There is no equality in its pressure on the people. The gentleman of £1000 a-year, who pays £100, is much more severely taxed than the man of £10,000, who has to pay £1000.' On these and similar grounds of objection, the other members of opposition joined in resisting the bill, during several debates. On the 4th of January, when the bill was carried, the members of the minority exhibited a strong increase. They opposed 127 votes to 202. Lord Holland made his first parliamentary appearance on this occasion in the house of peers, and exhibited such abilities as drew high acknowledgments of his merit from Lord Grenville. Against the decision of the upper house, a protest was entered on the journals by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Bessborough, the earl of Oxford, Lord Holland, and Lord King. An additional clause having been proposed, by the speaker of the house of commons, to admit of voluntary contributions, and also voted, the whole scheme of finance passed with this annexation on the 12th of January 1798. The whole amount of this latter resource was about £1,500,000. It gave an opportunity to many in the higher classes to evince their patriotism, by large and splendid donations.

The next financial scheme of Mr. Pitt, was one of the most remarkable in the history of his administration. The amount of the land-tax was £2,000,000. This he proposed to set up at twenty years purchase, when the three per cents. were at fifty, with a considerable rise in the price of purchase, according to the rise of stocks. £40,000,000 sterling, the present amount of the land-tax, at twenty years purchase, would amount to £80,000,000, three per cent. stock, affording an interest of £2,400,000, and leaving a clear gain to the revenue of £400,000 a-year. By this

process, a large quantity of stock would be absorbed, and in the process a large portion of the national debt would be transferred to a landed security. The person who purchased his share of the land-tax would obtain a landed security for his property, and that at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object. But what was of much more consequence, £80,000,000 of capital would be taken out of the market. As to the terms that should be given, they should be such as would induce every person who was able to become a purchaser. The proprietor was to have the right of pre-emption ; and to simplify the operation, the purchase was to be made in stock, not in money. If, within a certain time, the owner of the land should not be able to make the purchase, the bill provided that his situation, or that of his heirs, should not be left entirely hopeless, but that a farther period should be allowed for taking advantage of the purchase. The bill met with strong opposition, although the great leaders of the minority were not present. The unconstitutional nature of the bill, by which a tax, hitherto voted at discretion, was made perpetual, was one of the chief objections urged against it. The force of this objection was not much weakened by the answer of Mr. Pitt, that a sum of £2,400,000 was still to be placed under the annual controul of parliament ; for, as it was justly remarked, what member would at any time refuse his assent to a tax on which the national faith had been pledged ?

Sir William Pulteney spoke upon the bill. That statesman did not hesitate to declare, that the chancellor of the exchequer was going to make a very losing bargain for the country. The result of the plan, he was bold to say, was to sell a perpetual five per cent. ; very extraordinary terms for

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borrowing money for the public. If the landed interest were to buy up the land-tax at twenty years purchase, as proposed, they would act as monied men, and it would not affect them as landholders. This, however, they could not be supposed to do, not possessing in general the means of coming forward to make such a purchase, and therefore precluded from the boasted benefits of the plan. The chancellor of the exchequer had described the bargain as a tempting one; but who were they who would take advantage of so tempting a bargain? Certainly the monied men. And, was not this a decided preference given to the monied over the landed interest? The public might indeed have the advantage of getting one per cent. on forty millions; but this advantage was fully counterbalanced by the conversion of the present land-tax into a perpetual annuity; and instead of taking out of the market a great portion of stock, this annuity of five per cent. being irredeemable, a perpetual and irredeemable stock would be established, to which the operation of the funding system could never apply. The bill passed on the 30th of May.

This year, as in the last, the chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged to lay before the house a second estimate of supplies for the year 1798, with ways and means, differing to an excess of more than £3,000,000 from his statement of November 1797.¹ In November, he had stated

¹ Summary of ways and means for 1798.

Annual produce of the land and malt-tax	- - -	L. 2,750,000
Voluntary contribution	- - -	1,500,000
Assessed taxes	- - -	4,500,000
Bank advance on exchequer bills	- - -	3,000,000
The loan, exclusive of L. 2,000,000 for Ireland	- - -	15,000,000
Lottery	- - -	200,000
		<hr/>
Total		L. 26,950,000

the treble assessed taxes to produce £7,000,000 ; but a number of modifications made their estimate appear at last only £4,500,000. The deficiency on the latter statement was made up by a new duty on exports and imports. As the sum of £8,000,000 of the loan was to be provided for by the gradual payment of the assessed taxes, the permanent addition to the national debt was only £7,000,000. To this was to be added £200,000 for the sinking fund, and the interest of £186,000 for the navy debt ; in all, £763,000 for the interest of all the charges of the present year, which was to be provided for by new taxes. These he proposed to raise by an additional duty on salt and tea, and by taxes on armorial bearings ; as also some small additional duties on dogs, horses, and carriages. The various duties on houses and windows were consolidated into one table, graduated according to a regular scale, and diminished in some instances where the rise was disproportioned to the value of the house.

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Besides the subject of finance, parliament turned their attention to the means of external defence and internal tranquillity of the country. On the 30th of December 1797, Mr. Secretary Dundas introduced a bill, which was speedily agreed to, for preventing militiamen, who chose to enlist in regiments of the line, from being reclaimed by the former service, as well as to release the parishes which had furnished them from being obliged to replace such recruits.

Another bill, for the encouragement of voluntary associations in the defence of the country, was passed under the auspices of the same mover, and very soon exhibited the military spirit and patriotism of the country in a favourable point of view. The bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act was renewed. On the 20th of April, a mes-

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sage from his majesty, respecting the threats and dangers of a French invasion, and information which had been received that internal and traitorous correspondence was held with the enemy, occasioned an addition to be passed to the existing clauses of the alien act; and the articles respecting suspected persons were renewed and reinforced. Such were the measures originating on the side of administration, which either passed unopposed, or triumphed over opposition. The most material motions which experienced rejection were, Mr. Wilberforce's bill for the abolition of the slave-trade, and a motion made by the duke of Bedford for an address to his majesty to remove the present administration.

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of June.

The domestic events of the year were fraught with uncommon importance. While France seemed invulnerable in her home possessions, we were not so: Ireland, the yet sore and unshielded side of the body-politic, was exposed to insidious wounds of the enemy, more dangerous than open invasion. We have seen the picture of the situation of that country, which was exhibited in the British senate by a patriotic nobleman, during the former session. The growing spirit of discontent, and the measures that were taken to extirpate it, were evils which were destined to aggravate each other till the decisive period of insurrection arrived. It had been known during eighteen months, that a deep conspiracy was preparing; but the uncertainty of how and when it was to explode, made the danger more dreadful by obscurity. The institution of the United Irishmen has been already alluded to: of this conspiracy the final issue was reserved for the present year.

Since the period of the refusal of Roman catholic emancipation, this society had been the ge-

neral and secret receptacle of the disaffected. Its members were sworn to their traitorous allegiance by a secret oath, to which their almost universal fidelity forms as singular a circumstance as the history of conspiracies, or even of the German illuminati, can afford. The constitution of the society is² attributed to the device of Wolfe Tone, an individual once respectable as a barrister in Dublin, but who became afterwards so well known for his unhappy end. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the brother of the duke of Leinster; Mr. Arthur O'Connor, nephew of Lord Longueville, and lineal descendant of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught; Mr. Oliver Bond, a manufacturer in Dublin; Mr. Emmet, a barrister of Dublin; and Dr. Macniven, a physician, were the principal coadjutors.

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It was a matter of doubt, whether, at any time, the designs of this great association terminated, as they professed, in the entire equalization of catholics and protestants, or whether, like the jacobins of France, they concealed their ultimate ideas till circumstances should favour their disclosure. Certain it is, that the shrewdest members in the Irish parliament considered the real object of those who contended for those professed objects, to be the disjunction of Ireland from her sister-kingdom. On this conviction, the firmest friends to their permanent union, firmly persuaded that its only security depended on the ascendancy of the protest-

² The plan formed a concatenation of agents, and an unity of design, that combined at once order, expedition, and secrecy. For the sake of concealment, no meeting consisted of more than twelve persons. Five of these meetings were represented by five members in a committee, vested with the management of all their affairs.

From each of the committees, which were styled baronial, a deputy attended in a superior committee, and deputies from the baronial composed the provincial committee. From the provincial the five members of their executive directory were chosen; men who presided without responsibility, and acted invisibly.

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ant cause, entered into formal associations for the suppression of the catholic pretensions. They assumed the name of Orangemen, in remembrance of the delivery of their forefathers, and proceeded to disarm the catholics. They began the execution of their plan in Antrim; but carried it beyond the bounds of its original intention, and disgraced the name of protestants by unjustifiable cruelties, burning the houses of the catholics, and expelling them from the country. Irritated by this usage, numbers of the catholics associated, in their turn, under the name of defenders: they repaid the Orangemen with full interest, and with a series of cruelties, if possible, more disgraceful; and they became at last, by their activity and numbers, the more formidable of the two.

The afflicting circumstances of Ireland offered an occasion for the interference of France; and one of their emissaries was accordingly dispatched to Ireland, but was detected by the vigilance of government, was convicted, and died by a voluntary death; not, however, until he had implicated several individuals of talents and consequence in his plot; among these, Hamilton Rowan and Wolfe Tone, who fled the kingdom, on suspicion of being his accomplices. The cause of treason, after this event, seemed, for a while, to be asleep; or at least the silence of its agents appeared rather to proceed from terror, than their secrecy of preparation. After the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, when the discontents became more general, the united Irishmen proceeded with more dispatch and decision in their arrangements. While fire-arms were prepared, and pikes fabricated, in every quarter, their catholic adherents joined the union in prodigious numbers. The chiefs of the union, entertaining the romantic project of establishing an independent Irish republic, became so sanguine in

their hopes of success, and so jealous of foreign interference beyond a limited aid, that they scrupulously bargained with France for the admission of no more than a certain number of troops, in the event of invasion.

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Their negotiations with France being renewed about the middle of 1796, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Arthur O'Connor settled a treaty with General Hoche, the effect of which was disappointed by a want of understanding between the parties, when a division of Hoche's fleet arrived on the Irish coast. In hopes that the year 1797 would prove more auspicious than the preceding, Dr. MacNevin, a man of the highest consequence in his party, was sent to France by the chiefs of the Irish association, invested with fuller powers than any former agent. He laid a project before the French government for an attack upon Ireland, informing them, for their encouragement, that the numbers ready for insurrection were immense, in Ulster alone 150,000. He demanded a supply of arms and money; and particularly recommended, that the French plenipotentiaries, then treating at Lisle, should be instructed to make the dismemberment of Ireland from Great Britain a condition of the peace. He obtained many of his requests; but that for money was refused. This vast conspiracy had hitherto been conducted in secret, and though it was strongly suspected to exist, it was not till the month of April, in this year, that the arrestation of a traitorous meeting at Belfast, and the seizure of some important papers, brought the magnitude of the danger clearly to view. Precautions of every kind were immediately taken by government; the army was increased, and a general search for arms made through the kingdom. The military, in performing this duty, were guilty of many barbarities; the

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united Irishmen were equally atrocious to those of the opposite party who fell into their hands. The increase of these calamitous confusions afflicted the whole face of Ireland. The moderate party in the Irish house of commons, after endeavouring to heal their country's wounds, and produce reconciliation, by obtaining a parliamentary reform, being foiled in this endeavour, retired from parliament: their secession took place in 1797. The united Irishmen, about this time, had projected a general insurrection, which would have taken place, if the promised assistance from France had been at hand. After waiting for that aid, with impatient expectation, during the months of June and July, they were apprized at last, by their agents at Paris, that two armaments were fitting out for the invasion of Ireland; one in the ports of France, the other in the ports of Holland; but the latter was the only one that ever appeared at sea: it was the fleet which Admiral Duncan attacked and defeated near the mouth of the Texel.

In the month of February 1798, a most pressing letter was addressed, by the Irish conspirators, to the French executive, urging them to send immediate succours. It demonstrates the vigilance and minute intelligence of the British government, that this important letter was never suffered to reach the enemy. All the advantages that remained to the malcontents, to compensate the inactivity of the French, were their numbers and enthusiasm; and, confiding in these, they determined to come to action, without waiting for foreign assistance. Fortunately their schemes were completely blasted, by the treachery of a subordinate agent, the nominal treasurer of a county, and a colonel of the insurgents. In consequence of his information, fourteen delegates, and three members of the directory, were arrested. A fourth (Lord Edward

Fitzgerald) died of the wounds he received, in resisting his captors. A new directory was immediately appointed, but these were also detected, and two of them consigned to death. Such discoveries, and seizures, although they could not entirely quell insurrection, made it partial and less effective. Instead of a general rising, particularly in Leinster, as had been projected, the rebellion broke out, by an abortive attempt on the town of Naas, on the 24th of May, where the half-armed and disorderly insurgents were instantly dispersed. At Kilcullen, General Dundas defeated a pretty numerous party; and above 400 or 500 were driven before a party of thirty-five dragoons, under Lord Roden. The united men of Ulster, seeing the rising to be so ill concerted, wisely declined the contest. Still, however, in Wicklow and Wexford, the rebellious muster increased, where father John Murphy, with 14,000 pikemen, succeeded in disarming the protestant inhabitants, and even defied the regular troops; a detachment of which he cut off at the village of Oulart, near Kilmeekebridge, under Colonel Foote, leaving but three of his antagonists alive. The warlike priest next led his troops to attack the town of Eniscorthy, and took it without much resistance. Vinegar-hill was next morning fortified and entrenched by the rebel powers: their military affairs being conducted with some shew of skill, although their council of war was composed of men entirely unaccustomed to war, and four, out of twelve, were priests. In this position, they increased their numbers by fresh levies. Wexford, at the mouth of the Slaney, a post at no great distance from their camp of Vinegar-hill, fell next into their possession. Colonel Maxwell found himself obliged to evacuate that position with the British troops, and as many of the inhabitants as dreaded the approach

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of the insurgents. A partizan of the rebels, who had been confined in Wexford, Mr. Bagenal Harvey, was taken out of the gaol of this town; and appointed generalissimo of the Wexford army. While the main body of the rebels retained this position on Vinegar-hill, and some desultory attacks proved successful to their arms, Colonel Walpole fell, by an ambuscade, into their hands, at Tuberneering, and was killed, with the greater part of his men. Flushed by such successes, the whole armed mob, under Harvey, advanced, with furious resolution, upon the town of Ross; and, by their weight of column and resolution, actually cleared the bridge, and entered the streets of the town. One defensive post, however, still remained in the possession of the regulars, where General Johnson rallied his men, and repulsed the assailing rebels. The greater part of the rebels had, during their first success, entered the houses; and, indulging in pillage and riot, swallowed all the spiritous liquors that came in their way; on the first check, they were driven back in confusion, leaving 2,600 dead, wounded, or intoxicated, behind them. The same day that was signalized by their defeat, was disgraced by a most inhuman butchery of their prisoners at Scullabogue; 100 of whom the rebels put to death, on the first news of the success of the king's troops.

On the first of the same month, a strong party of the insurgents made an attack on Newton Barry, and compelled colonel Le Strange to withdraw; but the colonel being reinforced, returned to the charge, and expelled them from the town, with the slaughter of 500 men; a larger number than the whole force of the English detachment. The forces of the unfortunate Walpole, which had retreated to Arklow, were now commanded by Ge-

neral Needham; and, strengthened with new supplies, they received the assault of the rebels at the above place, and drove them back, after slaughtering them for many hours with a well-directed fire of artillery and muskets.

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On the 21st of June, General Lake attacked the principal station of the rebels at Vinegar-hill, having previously disposed his troops in such a manner, that they should be assailed in different points at the same time; a circumstance which, as it menaces the cutting off a retreat, is both distracting and terrifying to raw troops. The resistance was vigorous for some time; but, at last, seeing themselves invested on so many sides, the ill-disciplined multitude began to give way. The victory was complete, with little loss to the royal army; of the rebels, an immense multitude fell in the battle and pursuit. The town of Wexford was immediately retaken; and the main hopes and force of the enemy extinguished in the south. The north of Ireland, during these transactions, had also shared in the rebellion; both the counties of Down and Antrim having sent out their quota of insurgents: these, under the conduct of an obscure individual, Munroe, who had been set at their head as general, were totally defeated at Ballinahinch, and the northern rising effectually crushed.

Soon after, Lord Camden was recalled from the lieutenancy of Ireland, and succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who brought with him a general pardon to all who submitted, with a very few exceptions. The two Sheares, M'Cann, and Byrne, conspicuous actors in the conspiracy, were tried and executed. Mr. Bond had also been tried and condemned; but his life was spared, on condition of disclosing all he knew respecting the rebellion: he consented to the terms, provided no information from him should affect the lives of his fellow-

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prisoners. To the prisoners a commutation of death into banishment was next offered. It was stipulated, at the same time, that all prosecutions relative to the rebellion should cease; and that murderers alone should be punished:

Attempts, however, were still made by the French to reanimate the expiring flame of rebellion, but these were neither well-timed, nor of any considerable magnitude. About 900 men, under the command of General Humbert, landed at Killa, on the 22^d of August, and proceeded rapidly to Castlebar, being joined, on their march, by a few of the peasantry: they repulsed a force, more than thrice their number, under General Lake, whom they forced to retreat with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and continued advancing towards Tuam. This small band of Frenchmen, who, in the course of seventeen days, had penetrated a considerable way into the kingdom, appeared to be in possession of the whole of Connaught. At length a column of troops under Colonel Crawford, forming the advanced guard of Lord Cornwallis's army, impatient to wipe off the late disgrace, came up with the enemy, as they were retreating to Ballinamuck; and, after a short, but sharp, contest, the French surrendered prisoners of war.

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A French squadron of one ship of the line, the *Hoche*, and eight frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, destined for Ireland, was, on the 11th of October, taken, or dispersed, by the squadron of Sir John Borlase Warren. Among the prisoners taken in the *Hoche*, was Wolfe Tone, who, being tried and condemned, avoided the ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death. After this a few parties of the insurgents still lurked amid the fastnesses, and maintained a predatory warfare, occasionally skirmishing with

the king's troops. An obscure, but intrepid, incendiary, of the name of Holt, for a long time baffled the vigilance of the army; and at last obtained terms from government, by which his own life was spared, and his followers allowed to return to their homes and occupations.

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Expedition of Bonaparte to Egypt... Capture of Malta by the French... Battle of the Nile... Landing of Bonaparte in Egypt... Operations of the British arms in other quarters.

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As no attainable object of conquest presented itself to the French in Europe, after the armistice with Austria, and the subjugation of Switzerland,¹ and as the idea of invading Britain was precluded by the power of her fleets, and the posture of her defensive preparations, their views were guided, by the bold genius of Bonaparte, to the plan of a descent upon Egypt; an expedition which promised, in the first instance, the possession of an important colony to France, and eventually the opening of a passage to the eastern dominions of Britain.

While troops were collecting on their northern shores, which assumed the ridiculous appellation of the army of England, a more serious and secret expedition was fitted out at Toulon, and sailed from that harbour, under the orders of Bonaparte, on the 30th

¹ Instead of a brief and imperfect narrative of this portion of the history of Europe, which the foreign nature of the event would alone admit of here, I pass it over. I feel the subject of the invasion of Switzerland, the last struggles of her heroic cantons for liberty, the

names of Reding and Mortgarten, of too mighty interest for cursory or brief narration. The account of the whole fall of Switzerland is given by Tzoeke, in a work, which ought to be in the library of every Englishman.

of May. The chosen troops of France, to the amount of nearly 40,000, with immense stores of ammunition and artillery, were put on board the transports: they were accompanied by a retinue of artists, philosophers, and linguists, worthy of attending an expedition, in which the extension of science, as well as conquest, was projected. The whole was guarded by a powerful fleet, which was afterwards strengthened by the junction of several ships, which had proceeded from Corfu nearly at the same time with the Toulon fleet. The armament, composing nearly 300 sail, arrived on the 9th of June off the island of Malta. This little rock in the Mediterranean, which, for 200 years, had defied the whole power of the Mussulman empire, was still possessed by the knights of the same celebrated order, who had repulsed the emperor Solyman, at the head of 200,000 men, when that sultan and his troops were the terror of Europe. The island had a garrison of 7,000 men, its shores were defended by ten fortresses of great strength, and the city itself was deemed almost impregnable. But the name only of the order now remained: its spirit and fidelity were gone; and among the inhabitants, as among every society where patriotism was relaxed, the French had emissaries and abettors.

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The grand-master, however, on the first appearance of the armament, assembled the troops and militia, to the amount of more than 17,000 men. Bonaparte, who only wanted a pretext for entering the harbour, demanded a supply of water. The grand-master, unwilling to begin hostilities, granted the demand, on condition that only four vessels should enter at a time. This being resented as a refusal, they prepared to attack the island next morning, at every place that was accessible. The defence of the Maltese was so spi-

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ritless, that the invaders effected a landing of as many troops as were necessary to invest the capital of the island, Valetta, on every side. A capitulation took place in a few days, by which the knights surrendered the island to France. The advantages resulting to the victors, for the advantage of their ultimate expedition, were very important. They obtained in Malta 1,200 pieces of cannon, besides some ships of war, and immense military stores.

Lord St. Vincent commanded this year, as before, the fleet which cruized off the western coasts of Europe. While he continued in person to block up the Spanish fleet, he detached a squadron in quest of the French expedition, and conferred the command on Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson. This armament consisted of thirteen ships of the line, and one of fifty guns. The commanders of the several ships were officers of high professional merit, and the crews were, in general, composed of mariners who had seen hard service, and acquired much glory. The British admiral first sailed to the coast of Sicily and Naples, where, learning that the French had visited Malta, he sailed thither. Conceiving that they were bound for Egypt, he next proceeded to Alexandria; but was again disappointed, and was led northward to Rhodes. There, hearing no tidings of the enemy, he returned to the westward; and, on the coast of the Morea, learning that they had been seen on the Egyptian shore, he again pursued them in that direction, till, after descriing the Pharos of Alexandria, he beheld the French fleet at anchor in a line, eastward from the point of Aboukir. Here the thirteen line of battle ships of Admiral Bruix were moored, at the distance of two thirds of a cable's length from each other. The flanks of the fleet were strengthened by gun-boats: the admi-

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ral's flag was flying on board the L'Orient of 120 guns, and stationed in the centre; while a little island to the left, with a battery of cannon and mortars, enfiladed the whole.

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On reconnoitering the position of the enemy, Nelson, who had the choice of the point of attack, determined on an evolution never before practised in naval tactics; an attempt suitable to the electric promptitude of his own genius, and the complete confidence he possessed in his seamen. Though the enemy was moored as close to the shoals as possible, yet he was led to suppose that a channel was still left between them and the shore, and that wherever the French could swing, the English might float. He determined to pierce their line, and, after surrounding, to capture or destroy the whole. It was late in the evening before he began the attack; but sufficient light was left to guide his vessels, by signals, to accomplish this bold enterprize.

The fleet having worn on its approach, and formed the order of battle, a signal was made to engage from van to centre; but, as the fleet advanced for that purpose, the Culloden struck on the northern shore of the Bequier island, and remained unserviceable. This circumstance, however, produced no serious disadvantage: it even contributed to the preservation of two other vessels, by serving as a beacon to them to avoid the danger.

Captain Foley, in the Goliah, who led the British van, followed by the Zealous, the Orion, and the Theseus, though assailed by the French batteries and gun-boats, poured a destructive fire into the van ships of the enemy, darted between them and the land, while the *Vanguard*, which was Nelson's own ship, still hanging out the signal for

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close action, kept on the outside, and commenced battle with the Spartiate, a Frenchman of her own size. The Minotaur and Defence, two British seventy-fours, severally fought the Aquilon and Sovereign People, two Frenchmen of the same size. The Swiftsure, another British seventy-four, engaged the flag-ship of the French rear-admiral, the Franklin of eighty guns. The most unequal part of the contest was reserved for Captain Darby of the Bellerophon, a seventy-four, who opposed the French commander in chief, in his flag-ship of 120 guns. He was indeed, after some time, assisted by the Alexander, who assumed a position that annoyed, but could not silence, the tremendous discharges of their first-rate antagonist.

The British fleet thus, doubled with nine of their ships upon one half of the enemy, while the other half was constrained to remain inactive. This close position, so favourable to British seamen, where the yards and rigging of the hostile ships were frequently entangled, could not long be resisted by any enemy. But, though some of the enemy's van had struck, after a short and desperate struggle, those in the rear were untouched; and the Orient continued to fight with an energy worthy of her tremendous bulk, till she was seen to be on fire. About ten at night, the Orient blew up, with an explosion so terrible, that it was felt at the distance of thirty miles, by the French officers, who saw the engagement through glasses on the towers and minarets of Rosetta. The cannonade at that moment ceased, and a silence ensued, expressive of the awe with which the minds of the combatants were impressed. In ten minutes, however, the battle was renewed, and continued with little interruption till after midnight, when it became slacker, with some intermissions, indicating

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the excessive fatigue of the combatants; ⁴ but the firing was not entirely suspended until three o'clock. Even in the morning it was renewed, as several vessels of force still displayed the French flag; nor did it wholly cease till noon, when the victory was complete.

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Thus ended the most memorable of naval engagements, the late victory of Trafalgar alone excepted.⁵ The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral of 120 guns, and the *Timoleon* of 74, were burnt; two eighty gun ships, and seven seventy-fours, were captured; two ships of the line, and two frigates, escaped by flight during the general confusion, but were soon after seized; so that the whole armament was either taken, sunk, or destroyed by fire.

While the loss in killed and wounded on board the British fleet did not exceed 895 men, the numbers which the enemy lost were, with every appearance of probability, estimated at 6,000. The British commander himself was wounded in the head, and carried off the deck during the contest. The command of his ship devolved on Captain Berry, who continued to conduct the encounter with abilities worthy of his succession.

The debarkation of Bonaparte with his staff, and the troops of his vanguard, had been effected exactly a month before the battle of the Nile.

Preceded by a pompous proclamation in the

⁴ As an instance of the fatigue, it is mentioned in the account of this engagement, (Vide Ottridge's Annual Register for 1798), that one of the ships which was inside of the van, and had finished her duty there some hours before daylight, weighed her stern anchor for the purpose of proceeding to attack the enemy's van; and as the men unshipped the capstan bars, many of them lay down among

them, being so much overcome with fatigue as to fall asleep, though they must have known the anchor was got up, and that the ship was moving to a fresh cannonade.

⁵ Nelson's glory acquired an incidental lustre, from the scene of the battle being the self-same spot where Octavian and Mark Anthony had eighteen centuries before disputed the empire of the world.

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oriental style, declaring the sole purpose of invasion to be the overthrow of the Mameluke dominion, they took Alexandria by storm, and after slaughtering many of the inhabitants in the streets, received the submission of the rest. Within a few days after, they captured Rosetta, and established a flotilla on the Nile. They then proceeded across the desert to Grand Cairo, and speedily accomplished that journey, under all the disadvantages of a scorching atmosphere, the want of water, and an enemy for ever watching on their skirts.

On the 14th of July, they came up with 4000 of the Mamelukes, at the village of Chebreisse; an enemy most formidable in assault, unless resisted with entire discipline and firmness. To the charge of these horsemen, Bonaparte opposed his men in hollow squares. He suffered them to approach within a short distance of the French muzzles, and then slaughtered them with a discharge of artillery and muskets, of which every shot was effective. At the battle of the pyramids, the same disposition was made, and the Mamelukes again found the French ranks impregnable to their most furious charges. Mourad and Ibrahim Bey, the two chief leaders of the Mamelukes, fled in consequence of these defeats, the former to Upper Egypt, the latter to Syria, leaving the victors in possession of Cairo, which they entered on the 23^d.

Some offensive operations were attempted by the British in the course of the summer. A small armament sailing from Margate roads under Captain Popham, with a body of troops on board commanded by Colonel Coote, bombarded Ostend, and disembarked at no great distance from the town. As soon as the soldiers had formed, they proceeded to the object of their expedition, which

was to destroy, by explosion, the bason, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal.

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After accomplishing, as he imagined, a very material damage, Colonel Coote endeavoured to re-embark, but was prevented by the fury of the wind and surf; and being next day hemmed in by a far superior force of the enemy, was under the necessity of surrendering, after a gallant but ineffectual defence.

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An expedition to Minorca proved more successful. Under the command of General Stuart, a body of land troops debarked (800 men) from Admiral Duckworth's squadron, who effected a landing in Addaya bay, and, assisted by the discharges of the Argo sloop of war, repulsed about 2000 Spaniards in the attempt to surround them. The capture of several important posts in quick succession, viz. those of Mercadel, Mahon, and Fort Charles, brought the English to attack the besieged in their entrenchments before Cindadalla; and the passage of the harbour being cleared, the entrance of our frigates, and the co-operation of our seamen and marines, drove them within the walls. The governor soon after surrendered the island by capitulation.

Nearly about the same time, the British ministry finding that no part of S^t. Domingo could be longer retained without immense sacrifices, determined to abandon it. Brigadier-general Maitland therefore entered into a compromise with Toussaint Louverture, formerly a slave, but now commander in chief in the colony, to leave the island, and deliver the places we had taken into his hands, on condition of the latter guarrantying the lives and properties of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain.

In another quarter of the globe, the island of Goza surrendered to a British squadron; and

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XXXV. war under Captain Ball. Lieutenant Price gal-
1798. lantly defended S'. Marcou against a French flo-
tilla from La Hogue; and a Spanish armament,
with a body of troops commanded by General
O'Neil, governor of Yutacan, was also foiled in
an attempt on the bay of Honduras.

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New coalition against France. . . . Rash and premature efforts of the king of Naples. . . . Meeting of parliament. . . . Debates and supplies. . . . Proposals for an union between Great Britain and Ireland introduced into the parliaments of both countries. . . . Affairs of the Continent. . . . Civil war in Naples. . . . Breaking up of the convention at Rastadt. . . . Murder of the French deputies. . . . Campaign of Suarow in Italy. . . . Progress of the allies in Switzerland. . . . Defeat at Zurich. . . . Retreat of Suarow. . . . Campaign of the Anglo-Russian army in Holland. . . . Proceedings of Bonaparte in Egypt. . . . Successes of the British in the East and West Indies.

THE brilliant victory of the Nile proved a renovating era in the war. The sensation which that battle produced over all Europe was speedily felt at Rastadt, where negotiations were vainly carried on for a general system of continental indemnities, after the treaty, or rather the armed truce, of Campo Formio. The attacks already made by France, Switzerland, and Rome, together with the expedition to Egypt, afforded at once a just ground of dispute to Austria, to Naples, and to the Ottoman Porte; and while the humbling defeat of the French navy, and the uncertain fate of their greatest general, gave hope and confidence to the allies, a new confederate appeared on the theatre of war, who promised to be the chief and decisive actor. This was the emperor Paul, who sent a large fleet into the Sound early in the spring

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of 1799. His preparations, indeed, by sea and land, were very powerful; for while another of his squadrons was destined for subduing the Venetian islands, an army was approaching Germany by land. The Turks made a declaration of war with the French republic on the 11th of September, stating as an unanswerable plea for the justice of their hostilities, the violation of that country by French invaders, which was the ‘*portal to the city of their prophet.*’ A military passion, and a strong zeal to be the assertor of Italian independence, induced the king of Naples to arm and advance against the enemy a good deal sooner than the event shewed to be prudent. At the head of 60,000 unskilful troops, under the command of a foreign general,[†] whom he obtained from the emperor, he published a bold manifesto, in which he called on his people to fight for the cause of God and their country. He marched against the French at Rome, who abandoned the city at his approach. Within little more than a fortnight, all the folly of his enterprize appeared. His troops unable by any superiority of numbers to stand the attack of the French, were defeated in successive engagements. Even the imperial general could not drill them into any parity with General Championette’s troops. Mack himself, with all his concentrated forces, was routed by the army of General Macdonald, with the loss of 11,000 prisoners, and almost all his artillery. In the course of a few weeks, Ferdinand was driven for protection on board an English man of war, and obliged to retire to Sicily, after abandoning his continental dominions.

The fate of Charles Emanuel, the king of Sardinia, was still harder. On a vague and fabricated

[†] General Mack.

charge of hostility to the French republic, that unfortunate monarch was obliged, (it would seem from fear of being sent a prisoner to France), to abdicate his crown, to give up his army to be a portion of that of France, and to surrender the citadel of Turin as a pledge, that no resistance should be attempted against the abdicatory act.

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These important changes had taken place in Europe, and a treaty had been concluded with Russia, when the British parliament assembled in 1798. The address from the throne justly spoke with exultation, of the late immortal achievement of our navy. His majesty congratulated the country on the hopes of new alliances, by which it might be anticipated, that the common enemy of nations would be humbled and repressed. ‘The wisdom and magnanimity,’ said his majesty, ‘which has been displayed by the emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, prove their just sense of the present crisis, and will encourage every power which languishes under the yoke of France, to resume their arms in so just a cause. From the extent of our preparations at home, from the zeal and loyalty of the people, from the triumph of that loyalty and zeal over the late barbarous rebellion, a happy issue may be augured to the continued exertions of our national energy.’ In the lower-house, Mr. Pitt expatiated with his usual powers on these topics.

The Russian subsidy was the first subject that excited the remarks of the opposition, in answer to the brilliant panegyric of the minister, on the magnanimous constancy of the emperor Paul, and the valour of Count Suarrow. It had been stipulated that his Britannic majesty should pay for the use of Russian troops, during a campaign of eight months, £112,000 per month; two thirds of the sum to be immediately paid, the remainder after

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the peace. The emperor to furnish 45,000 men, in cavalry and infantry. The presentiments of the opposition respecting the issue of the new coalition, were unequivocally expressed. The interest of Britain, they said, inculcated a very different line of conduct at the present moment, than again to involve ourselves in continental alliances. However dazzling the rising coalition might appear, we had seen a former union, of still more imposing magnitude, completely foiled by the enemy. In the moment of success, it became us⁷ to take all possible advantage of it, by disentangling ourselves from a ruinous war. France, it was allowed, was an insidious and unprincipled enemy. In the last negotiations she had not shewn herself sincere; but alterations had taken place since that period, in her rulers and circumstances, which might dictate to her the policy of coming to peace with us. We ought not to propose peace to her; but we ought to manifest our willingness to meet her again in negociation. If peace could not come from these demonstrations, it was our best policy to pursue the war on a defensive and economical system. From the very name of subsidy, the same speakers inferred the selfishness of those who proposed to join us. If the interests of Europe were involved, it became the powers of Europe to fight for their own security, like nations of honour and independence, and not to be the hirelings of Britain.

At a period when such a power as Russia was about to embark in the continental war, when the character of Paul had not been developed in the shape which it afterwards assumed, but was fondly conceived to possess a portion of that inestimable honour and integrity which Europe has since reve-

⁷ Lord Lansdown's speech on the address in November 1798.

renced in his successor, it was natural that the friends of the new coalition, should be sanguine in their hopes. As such a moment, it was not wonderful the predictions of opposition should have been received with coldness. The supplies required for making good his majesty's engagements were granted to the amount of £3,000,000, beyond the sums that have been stated as belonging to the payment of Russian troops.

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At an early period of the session, the minister, in laying before parliament his statement of the ways and means, proposed a new plan of finance, in lieu of the assessed taxes of the former year, which had failed in productiveness. He proposed to tax income, instead of expenditure. Every person, whose income exceeded sixty pounds a-year, was to state, in a declaration to the commissioners appointed for gathering the tax, the exact amount of his income. If it exceeded £200 a-year, one tenth was to be levied; if it exceeded £100, a proportion considerably less was to be given; and cases between £60 and £100 were to be taxed in a proportion still diminishing. If the statement of income delivered by any individual should be suspected by the commissioners to be false, they might examine upon oath; but should have no authority to examine either written or oral testimony. If, however, the party, on examination, should withhold any information, it should rest with the commissioners to form their own opinion. An appeal might lie from the lower to the higher commissioners; but with the latter, the decision should be final. The commissioners were to be sworn to secrecy, on the subject of every man's private affairs. From this tax, the minister computing the yearly income of the whole nation at £102,000,000, anticipated a revenue of

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£10,000,000. The result, however, disappointed his expectations.

The objections urged against the tax were such as the country must still feel to be serious and severe. It is but too true, that this, like every capitation tax of great magnitude, is similar to the reprobated requisitions of the French and other arbitrary governments, that compels to a disclosure of private circumstances, which is an evil, independent of taxation; and that descending to low incomes, it falls heavy on the most valuable and industrious members of the community. But the argument for the tax was necessity. The substitution of other taxes on the articles of consumption or manufactures, seemed to threaten still more oppressive burdens to individuals interested in their low prices, and quick circulation; and the inevitable protraction of the war demanding continued supply, there was no alternative.

The amount of the whole supplies for 1799 amounted to upwards of £30,000,000, of these about £15,000,000 were to be raised by loan. From the income tax £10,000,000 were to be expected; the remaining sum was to be raised by new imposts on sugar, coffee, bills of exchange, and stamps. The army voted for 1799 was somewhat greater than for the former year. The supplementary militia, if fully completed under the present laws, ought to have already amounted to 106,000; they did not, however, in effect, exceed 82,000. The volunteers and yeomanry cavalry had already risen from 5,000 to 30,000. By this vast augmentation, the provisional cavalry act being superseded, it was thought unnecessary to call forth that part of our intended force. For the navy 120,000 men were required.

In proportion as the enemies of our country

laboured to effect a separation of Ireland from Great Britain, the British government became anxious to draw them closer together, by uniting them not only under the same crown, but the same legislature.

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Ireland had, for many centuries, formed one dominion with England, and allowing to this country a superiority in the nomination of her king, she claimed and enjoyed in every respect, an equality with England. As the rights of subjects in both kingdoms were the same, the king's prerogatives were also the same. The king had his courts of wards in Ireland as well as in England, and at his command the possessors of landed property in both kingdoms, as military tenants of the crown, were bound to take arms in the national defence. This martial system, corrupted in all its parts through the lapse of time, and retaining scarcely any thing but the name, was finally swept away by an act in the twelfth of Charles II, abolishing feudal tenures. To the king's ancient prerogative, the right of regulating commerce, and imposing duties on merchandize, appears to have belonged; but this, like the other feudal rights of the crown, gradually suffered alteration. The parliament gradually interfered in that power, and one precedent of interference justifying another, they at last wrested from Charles I, his consent to an act which placed that right in the supreme legislature.

What the English parliaments did in this respect, was imitated by those of Ireland; and thus, unobservedly, a wall of separation was raised between the two kingdoms, to the prejudice of both. Commercial concerns, which should have been guided by one consent, were directed by a law of diversity; and as different interests prevailed in the parliament of each kingdom, the interests of the two people were separated, till they became inimical.

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At last, the love of revenue drew the English parliament to assume a controul over the commercial regulations of that of Ireland. In this the Irish parliament acquiesced; but occasionally took their revenge, by withholding public supplies. Thus, as constitutions rise from usage, as well as from positive laws, the prerogatives of each parliament became sanctioned by precedent; and, after the abolition of feudal tenures, the undefined supremacy of the English over the Irish parliament became the sole principle of union between Britain and Ireland. This system of policy, proving the source of many grievances, and imposing the most unsufferable fetters on the trade and prosperity of Ireland, was, by a patriotic decree of the British legislature, abolished in 1782.

The motion for abolishing the old constitution of Ireland, in 1782, was followed by another, declaring the absolute necessity of a new constitution. But this necessity, though acknowledged by both houses of parliament to be undeniable, did not produce any new provision for the more secure connection of the kingdoms; yet, it is worthy of remark, that in 1783, Lord North acknowledged, that Great Britain and Ireland had become to each other, in point of political power as foreign nations. To provide for their unity of power and defence, was one of the grand measures of legislation which the present administration conceived it their duty to urge; and the momentous discussion was brought on during the present session.

So sanguine was the British minister in his expectation of success, that, although the measure of union was necessarily to be submitted to the Irish senate, he did not wait for the result of their deliberations, but submitted the plan to the parliaments of both kingdoms on the same day.

On the 22^d of January, Lord Grenville deliver-

ed a message from his majesty to the British peers, requesting their advice respecting the final adjustment of such measures as they should consider most effectual for improving and perpetuating the connection of Ireland with this kingdom, and thereby augmenting the strength, power, and resources of the British empire. This message was clearly understood to allude to the project of an union of the parliaments. The peers agreed, at Lord Grenville's instance, that they should meet, to deliberate on the message, the ensuing day.

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A similar message was conveyed to the commons by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Sheridan immediately rose; and, while he expressed his concurrence in the general sentiments of the message, declared his resolution to resist the agitation of such a question at present; a question replete with mischief, and most improperly timed. To strengthen the connection of the two countries was indeed our policy, as their separation would be fatal to both; but this was not the period to speak of union: the people of Ireland did not desire it; and it could not be forced on them, without surprise, fraud, corruption, and intimidation. Mr. Pitt, in reply, said he was at a loss to guess on what grounds the honourable gentleman would attempt to satisfy the house, that they ought not to proceed to the consideration of his majesty's message: at the same time, he informed the house, that his intention was only to propose an address to his majesty on the next day, and after that to leave a sufficient interval (ten days) before he should urge the consideration of the subject.

On the day appointed, when the address was read, Mr. Sheridan again rose: he said he conceived it incumbent on ministers, before they proposed the discussion of the plan of union, to offer some explanations with regard to the failure of the

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last solemn adjustment between the two countries, which had been declared final in 1782. The people of Ireland had, at that memorable era, declared their parliament independent; the British legislature acquiesced. What would the Irish now augur from our declared intent of innovation? Not tranquillity, but disquietude; not the suppression of treason, but the extension and aggravation of its horrors. To agitate any important question on Irish affairs; above all, to decide on so momentous a subject, would be to insult the rights and dignity of their parliament. Their quick spirit of independence would take the alarm, and spread the most dangerous discontent. Whatever might be the merits of the plan, or the pure intentions of its projectors, it would aid the purposes of the enemy, by the very passions which its agitation would excite.

The concurrence of the Irish (Mr. Sheridan said) was not to be hoped for, but by stratagem, bribery, or coercion. That the bare proposal should be tolerated in Ireland, would indeed be wonderful. To the period of the last final adjustment, the cruelty of Britain towards Ireland had been notorious and avowed. Would a country that had been insulted for three centuries, when at last she had wrung her independence from our tardy justice, at the end of sixteen years forget all her prejudices, and give back her independence? Would this be offered, if the free sense of the country were to be taken? Was the parliament of England competent to decide for the parliament of Ireland? Impossible! Every advantage of situation favoured the one; the other was unfitted for governing, or giving law, by disadvantage of situation, and dissimilar habits and temper. Some delay in this matter (Mr. Sheridan continued to observe) could produce no danger; and it was incumbent on the

projectors of the plan to state the reasons which rendered them so eager to press it. Mr. Sheridan stated, with much earnestness, the danger of changes in our political system, from the introduction of 100 additional members to the commons. He disputed the competency of the Irish legislature to sacrifice itself, and transfer its powers to the British parliament. He moved for an amendment, deprecating the plan of union. Mr. Canning, in a speech of considerable length and importance, controverted Mr. Sheridan's allegation, that the adjustment in 1782 had been final. The agreement, he admitted, had been termed final in one of the resolutions; but, from a subsequent vote, it appears, that the idea of establishing some more permanent system had never been relinquished. In this denial of the finality of the adjustment he was supported by many other speakers on the same side, who had little else to say in the way of argument.

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Mr. Pitt's speech gave a deep importance to the debate. In supporting the address, he observed, that it would only pledge the house to take into serious consideration a subject which was earnestly recommended to their notice, and which was closely connected with the interests of the British empire. The mover of the amendment had deprecated all deliberation upon the subject, and even insinuated, that the Irish parliament, if it should wish for an union, had not a right to decide upon it, without an appeal to the people. That position, if true, would be applicable to a British, as well as an Irish parliament, and would, in fact, invalidate all the acts of their legislation since the union. To say that ministers wished to surprise the house into this measure, was equally unjust; for they had rather been scrupulous in the

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opposite extreme. The question was, whether the house should proceed to deliberate in a grave and solemn manner, or should, without examination, pronounce the union to be unnecessary, dangerous, or impracticable? That gentleman (Mr. Sheridan), and his friends, had, for many years, loudly complained of the mismanagement of Irish affairs, expatiated on the deformity of its constitution, and lamented the miseries of its inhabitants. Would it not, then, be more prudent to apply a promising remedy at the present time, than to risk the effects of a long delay, by which the evils of the country might be aggravated and embittered? These evils had a deep root, being involved in the prevailing character, manners, and habits of the people, in their want of knowledge, in the unequal state of property, in the separation between certain classes, and in the rancour of religious dissensions. Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform had been recommended as remedies; but, if the state of society were such, that laws, however wise in themselves, would be ineffectual as to their object, until the manners and minds of the people were changed; if men were in a state of poverty, in which it was impossible they could have true comfort; if the progress of civilization depended, in a great measure, on the distribution of wealth; if the improvement of that wealth depended much upon the distribution of capital; if those advantages were all retarded by the distractions and divisions of party, by the blind zeal and frenzy of religious prejudices, by old and furious family feuds: if all these causes combined to make a country wretched, what was the remedy? A legislature; standing aloof from party connection, sufficiently removed from the influence of contending factions to be the champion of neither;

so placed, as to have no superstitious reverence for the names and prejudices of ancient families, which had so long enjoyed the monopoly of certain public patronages and property, which custom had sanctioned, and which modern necessity might justify; a legislature, that should neither give way to the haughty pretensions of a few, nor open the door to popular inroads, to clamour, or to the invasion of all sacred forms and regulations, under pretences of improving government. All this was wanted for Ireland. Where was it to be found? In the country where those evils which have been enumerated exist, or in this? Where should that legislature deliberate? In a place, where the utmost effort of what is called patriotism amounted to nothing more than an aim at temporary popularity, or in a place where the discussion was calm and temperate?

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The minister would not say with Mr. Sheridan, that England had oppressed Ireland for 300 years; but he would say, that for 100 years this country had followed a very narrow policy with regard to that kingdom. He reprobated that policy, and deplored its effects. But the jealousies occasioned by the past would be buried in the present system. The adjustment of 1782, Mr. Pitt contended, was not final; and experience had shewn it to be inadequate. Experience had shewn us, in the case of the regency, that this incongruous existence of two legislatures under one empire, left each legislature at liberty to differ from the other on points where their disagreement might be fatal. When they came to treat of peace, for instance, or to the subject of alliance with any foreign power, what was to guarrantly their sure unanimity? In the case of a war, might not the parliament of Ireland (were she determined to do so) paralyze the empire by neutralizing her ports, and prevent-

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ing recruiting for the army and navy? Let any man consider the possibility of such a difference of opinion arising, and he would tremble at the perils to which the country might be exposed. In conclusion, Mr. Pitt declared, 'I see the case so plainly, and I feel it so strongly, that no apparent or probable difficulty, no fear of toil, or apprehension of a loss of popularity, shall deter me from making every exertion to accomplish the great work on which, I am persuaded, depend the internal tranquillity of Ireland, the general interests of the British empire, and perhaps the happiness of a great part of the habitable world.' The amendment was rejected, and the address immediately voted.

Before the rebellion had entirely subsided, the British minister had recommended to the Irish government to introduce the proposal of a legislative union on the first favourable opening. A pamphlet, written on the subject by one of their adherents,² recommending the project in the strongest terms, was followed by a number of other productions on the same side. These were answered in a multitude of similar tracts, and produced a warfare of the press, which threw the whole nation into a new division of parties.

No sooner was the intention of government unequivocally known, than most of the leading characters took their ranks in the controversy, according to their respective sentiments. The earl of Clare at the head of the unionists, and Mr. Foster at the head of the anti-unionists. Some official dismissals took place among those of the latter party, for refusing their support to government on so important an occasion.³ The mem-

² Mr. Edward Coke, under secretary of the civil department. Among these, Sir John Parnell the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald the prime-sergeant, were dismissed.

bers of the Irish bar assembled to give their opinion upon the subject, and by a large majority it was voted to publish their resolutions, 'that the measure of a legislative union was a dangerous and improper innovation.' The city of Dublin, foreseeing the loss of its advantages as a metropolis in the purposed change, was prominently distinguished in opposing it. The resolution of its assembly of the lord mayor, the sheriffs, commons, and citizens, against the union, were imitated by nearly the whole incorporate bodies of citizens throughout the Irish kingdom. So great was the clamour excited by the idea of the union, that the general voice seemed to reject it with indignation.

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The Irish parliament opened their debates on the grand question, at the same time that it was submitted to the British legislature. The first debate (which related to the king's address) called forth a very brilliant display of Irish eloquence, especially on the side where talents and enthusiasm were chiefly ranged, viz. among the opposers of the union. So prevalent was the influence of that party, that, on division, the address was carried by a *majority of only one vote*. On the 24th of January, the debate was renewed, and every appeal that could be drawn from reason or patriotic feeling, was made to the house by the respective orators of the controversy. 'Were the union ever so good a measure,' said Sir L. Parsons, who opened the debate on the side of the anti-unionists, 'why is it brought forward at this time? Is it not evidently to take advantage of the strength of England in this island, and of our own internal weakness? It is always in times of division and disaster that a nation avails itself of the infirmities of its neighbours to obtain an unjust dominion. That Britain should desire to do so is not won-

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derful ; for what nation does not desire to rule another ? That England should be aided by Irishmen in the attempt is not wonderful ; for what nation has not *traitors* and *parricides* in its bosom ? But if this assembly, to whom the rights of Ireland are entrusted, shall agree to such a treason, it will indeed be matter of wonder and indignation beyond the power of mind to conceive, or of language to express. In every period of our weakness and distress, English usurpation has trode upon the heels of Irish infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burst the chain of usurpation. How ? By her parliament ; by her own parliament, aided and urged by a high-spirited people, whose hearts throbbed with liberty, and whose hands were strong with voluntary arms. It was within those walls that this assembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice ; demanded the freedom of Ireland, and assumed supreme authority of the land. It was here ; before the breath of the parliament of Ireland, that the usurping domination bowed its head, and dropped the sceptre of its power ; and therefore it is that her parliament is to be utterly destroyed, root and branch ; not a fibre of it left in the land, lest it should grow again, and shoot, and spread, and flourish ; and lest Ireland, at some hallowed moment, should once more, through the medium of that assembly, recover its freedom. Annihilate the parliament of Ireland : that is the cry that came across the water. Ireland is weak ; Ireland is divided ; Ireland is appalled by civil war ; Ireland is covered with troops ; martial law brandishes its sword throughout the land. Now is the time to put Ireland down for ever.'

Such were the motives of the union ascribed to the British government, in various language, by the orators of the anti-unionist party ; a party

comprehending politicians and religionists the most opposite, but who seemed to bury in this dispute, their antipathies, so lately, and so furiously, subsisting. Of the Roman catholic party, however, a large proportion seemed to reserve a sullen neutrality; more especially those who had felt much of the horrors and persecution, and been exposed to much of the suspicions attending the late rebellion.

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The unionists denied that the offer of the British government arose from any motives, but the purest and most conscientious wishes for the strength and felicity of the empire. The question (they said⁴), was not, whether the liberties of Ireland should be surrendered? What minister would dare to propose such a question to parliament? The question was, whether an union might not so modify their constitution, as to promote prosperity and peace, while it left their liberties not only unimpaired, but better secured? Whether it would not fortify Ireland, by giving strength to England, whose interests were hers, and whose destruction she could not survive? Whether it would not silence internal jealousy and dissension, establish their religion firmly, conciliate the catholics, bestow commercial advantages, and enable them to use them? Whether it would not tend to establish among them, that industrious and respectable class of men, which was the boast of the sister country, and the want of Ireland? Whether it would not extinguish the jealousies in Britain of Irish advancement, by making English and Irish the same people? Whether the example of Scotland had not demonstrated, that legislative incorporation was the basis of national prosperity? On a division, the anti-unionists prevailed in the second debate, 111 being for the

⁴ *Vide* the speech of Mr. W. argumentative delivered at Smith; which was one of the most casion.

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rejection of a paragraph in the address to the king, which approved of the measure; and 106 against it. The popular exultation rose to a great height on this positive defeat of the ministry; and the unionists were generally insulted by the lower classes of the people.

But the determined character of the British minister was not to be checked by Irish opposition. The subject was again brought before the British peers by Lord Grenville; it occasioned no important debate, as the few lords in opposition, who dissented on the subject of the union, contented themselves with signing a protest. The address was voted; and a conference being held with the commons the following day, the deputed lords proposed, that it should be offered to the throne as the joint address of both houses.

Before the commons concurred in the address to the king, they brought the subject to a fresh and final discussion; and, on the 26th of April, the sentiments of both houses were communicated to his majesty in due form; but it was reserved for another session to receive its confirmation from the parliament of the other kingdom.

Jan. 7.

His Neapolitan majesty having retreated from his capital, and the victorious commander in chief Championette having carried the last continental refuge of the Neapolitan army, Capua, the viceroy of Ferdinand, Prince Pignatelli, yielding to his desperate circumstances, signed a provisional treaty, by which the ports of the two Sicilies were declared neutral; and a price of 10,000,000 of livres given, as a peace-offering, to the republicans. On learning the terms of this treaty, the king thought proper to disavow it, as a degradation to which the discretionary right of his viceroy was not authorized to reduce him. The city of Naples, from this period, became a scene of confusion and massacre;

the lazaroni, rising to the number of 50,000, assumed, for a time, the whole power of the city; and, espousing the cause of the absent monarch, committed the most dreadful cruelties on all who were guilty, or suspected of disloyalty to the cause. Their thirst of blood was so indiscriminate, that Pignatelli, General Mack, and his whole staff, fled for refuge to the French camp. At last the French commander advancing to Naples, effected the reduction of the city; and, partly by intimidation, partly by persuasion, disarmed the wretched insurgents; not, however, until the whole skill and valour of his troops had encountered the hardest trial from this undisciplined rabble. Their defence of their native city, it must be owned, is entitled to the praise of courage, deformed as that courage was, with inhumanity; for such was their brutal cruelty, that they were seen in the streets burning, and literally devouring, the bodies of the slaughtered. A new government was immediately proclaimed in Naples, under the designation of the Parthenopean republic.

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Jan. 23.

About the same period the capture of Ehrenbreitsten, a fortress, in front of Coblenz, upon the Rhine, while it strengthened the frontiers of the French republic, tended to precipitate hostilities with the German empire. Already the son of the illustrious Catharine, Paul Petrowitch, emperor of all the Russias, a prince of ardent dispositions, and hitherto apparently consistent in his views, had signed the important treaty with Britain; of which⁵ the object was to check the progress of French aggression, and French principles. A great army of the German empire was assembled between the Inn and the Lech, although the appearance of a negotiation was still kept up at Rastadt. The army

⁵ Signed December 18, 1798.

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of the Rhine, under Prince Charles, amounted to 65,000 men; the generals Count Starry and Hotze headed 25,000 more in the Palatinate and the country of the Grisons; general Bellegarde occupied the Tyrol with 25,000; and the army destined for Italy, amounted to 60,000 men. The French legislative body voted at least, if they did not levy, a sufficiently formidable force, no less than 200,000 recruits; and funds for maintaining double that number.

March.

After mutual criminations published in their respective manifestoes, the hostile armies of the French and German nations, under the Archduke Charles, and Jourdain, met at Pfullendorf, in Suabia; where the former, by superior numbers and artillery, as well as the furious valour of his troops, drove the enemy before him to Engen: he assaulted Jourdain once more at Stockach, and a third time at Villingen, with similar success. The republicans recrossed the Rhine; and the vanquished general (whose fate entirely annulled the few advantages gained by Massena in Italy, as the Archduke Charles was now spreading one of his victorious wings towards Switzerland,) repaired to Paris, to throw the blame of his defeats on the misgovernment of the directory.

The breaking up of the congress at Rastadt was rendered, unfortunately, memorable by a dreadful event, of which the agents, and the motives, are still involved in obscurity. On their departure from Rastadt, the French deputies were beset in their carriage; and two of them massacred by persons in the dress of Austrian hussars. The circumstances of the deed precluded the suspicion that the object of the assassins was to rob their victims. The French government, probably, happy to meet with an event which might inflame the indignation of their countrymen, without hesita-

tion, ascribed the murder to the cabinet of combined tyrants. His imperial majesty Francis II, and the illustrious leader of his army, avowed the utmost horror at this atrocity, as well as entire ignorance of its perpetrators; for whose discovery they offered a very high reward. It is indeed difficult to conceive a suspicion of their grief at so foul a stain upon their country being insincere, or their ignorance of the guilty assassins to have been pretended.

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In the conduct of the Italian war, the impolicy of the French directory was displayed in their appointment of an ignorant, unprincipled, and unpopular, officer, General Scherer, to the chief command. After two pitched battles at Verona, both of which terminated in favour of the imperialists, this officer left his beaten and diminished army to General Moreau. On the 18th of April, while the imperial troops were forcing the enemy to retreat in every quarter, the advanced guard of the Russian army joined them, with the far-famed Suarow at their head; and, as if fortune had meant to smile upon his arrival, two days after, the citadel of Brescia surrendered. The battle of Cassano, which was fought within a few days after, decided the fate of the Cisalpine republic. The allies entered Milan on the 28th. In the Grisons, the French troops were beaten from their strongest posts. To complete their misfortunes, Peschiera surrendered, and Mantua was closely pressed. Moreau, yielding to the torrent of irresistible numbers, retired between the Po and the Tenaro; while Suarow, flushed with his successes, aimed at general and extensive conquests; and, dividing his Austro-Russian army, attempted at once to attack every pass and fortification a-cross the whole breadth of Italy, from Swisserland to the gulf of Venice. Moreau, judiciously retreating from the plains of

March.

April 27.

CHAP. Lombardy and Piedmont, within the rugged fron-
 XXXVI. tiers of the Ligurian republic, prepared with his
 1799. little army to avail himself of his antagonist's error,
 in so loosely dividing his troops.

General Macdonald retiring from Naples, by orders from head-quarters, left only a small garrison at S^t. Elmo, which yielded to a body of Russian and Neapolitan forces, aided by the British squadron of Captain Trowbridge. On the return of Ferdinand to his capital, the triumph of the ancient government was celebrated by a general execution of all the republican culprits; among whom were many of the nobles and clergy, eminent for their literary abilities, and, in general, respectable for their private character. Eighteen ladies, of the first rank and distinction, suffered death by the cord. A general proscription of the conquered party took place, hundreds were torn to pieces by the rabble; while the sovereign and his court looked on with an insatiable thirst for vengeance, and seemed animated by a spirit not more refined than their zealous friends the lazaroni, from whom they seemed to differ only in the quality of courage. A counter-revolution also took place, though with less sanguinary circumstances, in Tuscany; and Rome surrendered to the summons of Captain Trowbridge, who appeared with the British squadron at the mouth of the Tiber.

June 17,
and 18.

The severest conflicts were now maintained between the army of Macdonald, and those bodies of superior forces, before whom he had retreated to Florence. That active commander, having gained several advantages, and captured Modena, returned, in conjunction with General Victor, to face the grand army of the Austro-Russian commander; for three days they fought on the banks of the Trebia: towards the approach of the third night, Macdonald retired, vanquished, to the right bank

of the Trebia. After this he set out to effect a junction with Moreau, having displayed, perhaps, more talents by his retreat, than his conquerors by their hard-won victory. Moreau, while the allies were engaged on the Trebia, took the opportunity of sallying from his strong posts in the Ligurian territory, and drove Count Bellegarde, with a body of Austrians, from the siege of Tortona, and obliged them to recross the Bormida; but, in spite of this partial success, Turin, Bologna, Mantua, Alexandria, all fell into the hands of the allies before the end of July; and Suarow, having reconquered the greater part of Italy, seemed even to menace the southern frontiers of France.

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The French directory appeared at this alarming crisis of the campaign to awaken, in some degree, from their late supineness and security. New supplies were sent to the troops; and an officer of great merit, General Joubert, was placed at the head of the main army. After the capture of Mantua, Joubert took a strong position on the heights of Novi, from whence he did not deem it prudent to come down to attack an enemy on the plain, so superior in numbers. His forces amounted only to 40,000 men. Suarow had almost double that number, and all exceedingly fine troops. Always proud to anticipate assault, Suarow sent his troops up the steep hills of Novi to attack the republicans on the 15th of August, at five o'clock in the morning. From that hour till noon, the allies continued to attack the French, and were repeatedly driven back; but, at last, the arrival of 16,000 Austrians on the right flank decided the day. By this signal victory, France lost many thousand of her best soldiers, among these the gallant Joubert, and saw the whole of Bonaparte's conquests in Italy wrested from her, except the insignificant territory of Genoa. After the

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battle of Novi, a new plan of operations was projected. Melas, the aged Austrian commander, was to wage war in Italy; and Suarrow, now honoured with the name of Italisky, was to add the conquest of Switzerland to his laurels. A discordancy of views was said to have occasioned this division of the imperial allies; it is certain that a subsequent jealousy between them marred the whole important plan they had it yet in their power to fulfil, of humbling the power of France.

The military operations in Switzerland commenced very early in the course of the year 1799. Massena, at the commencement of the campaign, had obtained some advantages in the Tyrol, and might have proved uniformly victorious, had not Jourdain been so completely foiled on the Rhine. After the tide of success had begun to turn against the republic, and when all their troops were driven out of the Grisons, Massena assumed a strong position before Zurich, awaiting the invasion of the imperialists, who were hastening, under Archduke Charles, to burst into Helvetia in that direction. The French accordingly abandoned Zurich, and that city was possessed by the Austrians. In this disastrous crisis of French affairs, a revolution in the cabinet of Paris, which transferred the chief authority from Rewbel, Treillard, Larevelliere, and Merlin, to Sieyes, Rogier Ducos, Gohier, and Moulin, contributed to save the republic, by infusing new energy into her councils. Fresh supplies of men being sent to Massena, he attacked and defeated the archduke, on the same day that the battle of Novi was fought in Italy. The success of this battle enabled the French to threaten a second inroad into Germany, so as to call the immediate presence of the Archduke Charles with his army to Suabia. Massena, availing himself of the absence of so formidable a force, fell upon

the allies at Zurich, and driving them from that city, first across the Thier, and then across the Rhine, took 5,000 prisoners, 100 pieces of cannon, all the baggage of the Russians, and fifteen military standards. Suarrow hastened, at the head of the main body of the Russians, to retrieve the losses of his lieutenant-general Korsakow, under whom the Russian part of the allies sustained this loss. With incredible valour and activity, he pushed on as far as the canton of Schwitz, after obtaining a triumph over the republicans in a severe battle which he fought with them in the valley of Muten. But here perceiving the critical nature of his situation, and finding himself abandoned by the main army of the allies, he resolved, for the first time in his life, to retreat, which he effected; but not without the loss of his wounded, his cannon, and his baggage. To crown his misfortunes, General Korsakow was again beat by Massena, and thus the pass of S^t. Gothard being retaken, and the country of Grisons recovered by France, all Switzerland lay at the enemy's mercy. Suarrow, with the wreck of his own army, and that of the prince of Condé, withdrew into Bohemia, where he spent the winter. Of 100,000 whom he led from Russia, scarce 40,000 remained: he died soon after, under the disgrace of his altered fortune, and the frowns of a capricious sovereign.

The aid of the Russian arms so successfully experienced in Italy, appeared to offer a favourable opportunity for Britain to strike a blow at the power of France, by detaching from her one of her subjugated and allied republics, the state of Holland. It was scarcely doubted, that, after the well-known oppressions inflicted by the conquerors on that country, the people would be generally disposed to embrace the cause of any invaders, who brought with them the restoration of their ancient government. In

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consequence of this expectation, an army of 30,000 men was prepared late in the present year, of which 17,000 were contributed by the emperor Paul, on a stipulation of ample pecuniary compensation from the British government. The prince of Orange, whose son, the hereditary prince, received a military command in the destined expedition, drew up an address to be distributed among his countrymen, exhorting them to return to their allegiance, and to aid the Anglo-Russian supporters of his cause.

On the 13th of August, the English fleet, with the first division of the army, embarked on board of 140 transports, sailed from Margate, Ramsgate, and the neighbouring ports; after which, they proceeded under the convoy of Vice-admiral Mitchell, to join Lord Duncan, who was cruising in the north seas. On the 21st, they came in sight of the Dutch coast, but on account of the weather, could not effect a landing till the 27th. During the morning of that day, all the bomb vessels, sloops, and gun brigs, being stationed so as to open a fire for scouring the beach, prevented all opposition from the enemy. The first division, however, had scarcely begun to move before it was attacked, and a very warm but irregular action ensued, which lasted from five in the morning till three in the afternoon. General Daendels, an officer of some experience, and a determined enemy of the Orange party, having assembled a body of troops near Callanstorg, made repeated attempts to dislodge the right of the British, now posted on a ridge of sand-hills; but the enemy, being destitute of horse and artillery, could make no impression, and retired to a position six miles in the rear. The Dutch garrison immediately evacuated the Helder; and some days after, the Batavian fleet in the Texel, amounting to nine ships of war and three Indiamen, surrendered on the summons of Admiral

Mitchell, without offering to strike a blow. About the same period, a French commander (General Brune) arrived to conduct the republican troops of the Dutch. On the 10th of September, General Abercrombie, awaiting on the defensive till an expected reinforcement should arrive from England, was attacked by the Gallo-Batavian troops, in three large divisions. They were repulsed, however, at every point, by the well-guided valour of the brigades and regiments under General Moore, Colonel Spencer, and other officers of distinction. His royal highness arrived on the 13th of the same month, to assume the chief command of the allied army. On his arrival at the Helder, he had the satisfaction to witness the landing of eight battalions of Russians, consisting of 7,000 men, under General De Herman. He also found the hereditary prince of Orange collecting and forming the deserters from the Batavian troops, as well as volunteers from the Dutch ships, into regular battalions. Embracing the first opportunity for offensive hostilities, he made his army move in four columns, on the 19th, to encounter the enemy on their strong and entrenched position, stretching along many hills and villages, from Camperduyne to Schoreledan, and from the sea in front of Petten to the town of Bergen. Though the ground over which the different columns had to pass was broken, and, from the wet autumnal season, almost impracticable, yet the troops carried every point of assault, except that to which the Russian column under De Herman was destined. The blame of this failure was laid by the English on the disorderly conduct of the Russians, after their first successes in the outset of the engagement. By the Russians, all the fault was ascribed to the orders of the English commander, who ordered them to move a full hour before the British troops

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set out. Whatever was the case, the bravery of the Russians was not called in question, although the want of accordance in action obliged the whole to retire to their old position, with the ineffectual triumph of having taken 3,000 prisoners, sixty officers, and sixteen pieces of artillery, from the enemy.

The 2^d of October was a hard-fought day, but considerably more auspicious to the Anglo-Russian cause. Of Brune and Daendel's Dutch and French forces, estimated at 20,000, the whole line gave way to the British and Russian columns, but not till after an action of twelve hours. The result of our success was visible next morning; for the enemy, during the night, had evacuated their strong positions on the Lang-dyke, and the Koe-dyke, as well as the range of sand-hills. Next day the allies took possession of Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, and Bergen; and the town of Alkmaar opened its gates to the victors. The duke of York pushed on his advanced guards, and again gave battle on the 6th of October, in the neighbourhood of Baccum. The Anglo-Russians remained masters of the field; yet the engagement, on the whole, proved indecisive in point of success; for the enemy still retained a strong position between Beverwyck and Wyck op-Zee, and they were known to have received an accession of 6,000 French regulars. His royal highness, after consulting with his principal officers, and holding communications with the English government, respecting the situation of the army, entered into a negotiation with General Brune, in consequence of which an armistice was agreed on. It was stipulated, that the combined English and Russian forces should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic by an early period; that the Dutch admiral, De Winter, should be considered as exchanged;

that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state ; and that 8,000 prisoners of war, French and Batavian, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be restored without condition to their respective countries. The terms, however humiliating, appear to have been justified by the critical situation of the troops.

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In turning from the sanguinary events of Europe to those on a remote, but no less interesting scene, we find the most extraordinary genius of the age struggling with difficulties proportioned to the boldness of his enterprise. After defeating the Mamelukes, and chasing Ibrahim Bey into the desert, Bonaparte dispatched General Dessaix into Upper Egypt, to strengthen the outposts of his conquests against external enemies. Cairo, where he fixed his head-quarters, was put in the best posture of defence, while Alexandria, Belbis, and Salhaié, were rendered tenable by forts and redoubts. For the immediate security of his provinces, as well as for their future advantage, he endeavoured to engraft improvement on conquest, and to change the whole face of Egypt from barbarism to civilization. To introduce science and commerce, and regular government, he opened markets, roads, and every channel of communication by water ; instituted a library, and encouraged the learned men whom he had brought from Europe to every exertion of their practical and speculative philosophy. The mathematician, the botanist, the chemist, and the antiquary, had full scope for his inquiries, and was encouraged to publish them. All the mechanical arts, for the comforts of his soldiery, were pursued with that indefatigable ingenuity which is peculiar to Frenchmen.

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Thus far appears the conqueror of Egypt respectable for his encouragement of the useful arts, and the extent of his political toleration. Civil justice was dispensed equally among the Egyptians. The condition of the women was meliorated, and schools founded for the instruction of their children. At the same time, he treated their prejudices with judicious respect, and even declared himself a believer in that creed, which it cannot be denied was more suitable to his genius than the gentler doctrines of Christianity.

He endeavoured, however strange the task might seem, to introduce the novelty of a representative government among his new subjects. A Mahometan divan, thus organized, was summoned to Grand Cairo, with an Arabian president and two French commissioners formed the convention of Egypt. Having built this hasty fabric of colonial policy, he celebrated the completion by a festival of the greatest pomp and magnificence.

October. But the apparent amalgamation of the people of Egypt and their conquerors was delusive and temporary. An insurrection in the capital, instigated by the priests and the partizans of the defeated Mamelukes, was not quelled without the loss of many of his own soldiers, and an indiscriminate slaughter by grape-shot of the wretched inhabitants. Dessaix was already engaged in pursuit of the beys Mourad, Hassan, Solimah, and eight others, whom he defeated in a severe action at Sediman, in Upper Egypt, and at last obliged to fly beyond the cataracts of the Nile. In the meantime, Dzezzar, the pacha of Syria, prepared to invade Egypt; Alexandria was blockaded by the British, and threatened nearly at the same time with a siege by the Ottoman fleet and army.

On the first intelligence of Dzezzar Pacha's hostile dispositions, the French commander in

chief prepared measures for invading the Syrian potentate in his own dominions. Leaving Cairo on the 10th of February, he immediately marched against the fortress of El Arisch, and traversing the great desert of Palestine, came in sight of the Syrian mountains. After El Arisch, the strong hold of Jaffa fell into his power, where, according to credible accounts, more than 3,000 of the conquered garrison were butchered by his orders in cold blood. On the 17th of March, he approached the capital of the pacha, S^t. Jean D'Acre, a place long celebrated during the crusades, and destined once more to be the scene of English valour and glory. The place had been previously fortified, as far as circumstances would admit, by a French engineer, Colonel Phillipeaux, a gentleman attached to the British cause by his adoption of the monarchical side in the French revolution, and who had studied the military art at the same academy with Bonaparte. The garrison also contained within its walls, at the head of a small body of seamen and marines, a British officer, unrivalled in that romantic spirit of gallantry which is most apt to infuse itself among companions in a common danger, and by its influence to make them invincible. This cheerful and generous bravery is the characteristic of Sir Sydney Smith. His associates, both Turkish and English, seemed to have been organized rather by his heroism than his official dictates: they partook of his very spirit, and seemed each to act, in his humble station, as followers individually fitted for such a leader. The defence of these gallant men was facilitated by the capture of a French corvette and nine sail of gunboats, destined for the siege of Acre. The prizes being manned with British sailors, were anchored near the town, and employed in annoying the enemy's approaches. By the 20th of March, the be-

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siegers had opened their trenches at the distance of 150 fathoms from the town. The 1st of April, the French troops demanded and obtained leave of their commander to carry the place by storm. So little, however, had the ablest engineers of the enemy calculated the nature of the works, that a ditch fifteen feet broad was found in the way of the assailants, and the breach which had been effected was too high to be mounted. To this ineffectual attempt of the enemy succeeded some sallies of the besieged, which were attended with considerable success. The neighbouring districts were by this time in arms against Bonaparte: the Samaritan Arabs had even pushed so far as to make incursions into his camp; but these, and their Mameluke associates, he speedily repressed, by making a hasty march against them, along the passes of the mountains through Fouli. Having defeated his motley enemies on Mount Tabor, burnt the Naplousian villages, and captured all the camels of the Mameluke camp, he returned to push the siege of Acre. By means of a new supply of artillery brought by Admiral Perée, he was enabled to renew his batteries. An assault was again attempted, but repelled by the fire of the protecting vessels in the harbour. The spirit of the French was still farther checked by beholding forty Turkish war ships, with supplies and fresh troops, arrive from Rhodes. To anticipate the efforts of these new troops, another assault was ordered; the approach to the glacis was carried, and a lodgement fairly effected. The generals Bon, Vial, and Rampon, advanced at the head of their demi-brigades; and so great was the number of the slain, that the dead served for a cover to the living. The tower and curtain were battered once more; and Bonaparte, repairing to the spot, ordered a final assault. Two hundred grenadiers had actually en-

April 16.

tered the breach, when the incessant fire from the town, and the fury of the Turks and English, led on by Sir Sydney Smith in person, drove them back with immense havoc. Overlooking this scene of his army's discomfiture, the commander in chief stood on a neighbouring mountain, famous for the name and exploits of the lion-hearted Richard. His gestures sufficiently expressed what orders he was giving, in the heat of his rage and shame for renewing this desperate contest. A little before sunset, his troops were again seen in a massive column as before the breach, which was wide enough to admit fifty men a-breast. The besieged allowed them to advance into the very garden of the pacha, which was within the breach, then, pouring in their fire at the distance of a few yards, laid the foremost ranks immediately prostrate, and rushing out with the pike and sabre, made a horrible carnage among the retiring column. The attack which the garrison sustained was on the 9th of May. After the troops selected for this occasion had refused to mount the breach over the putrid bodies of their comrades, the grenadiers of the 21st demi-brigade volunteered the fatal service. They found, however, that by this time the besieged had completed three lines of defence; so that, after much loss of blood, in which some of the first officers of their army perished, they returned beaten to the camp.

Having thus experienced, for the first time in his life, a complete defeat, the warrior, hitherto deemed invincible, retreated to Cairo, from whence he proceeded to Aboukir, to encounter a large body of the Turks, who had effected their landing on the peninsula, under the command of Mustapha Pacha. Here he consoled himself for his late disgrace, by a signal victory over 18,000 of these undisciplined barbarians. Soon after this

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event, the affairs of France recalled him to take that high share in the history of his country, which has since so materially altered the face of the world.

The eastern empire of England, happily so far removed from the active hostilities of her enemy, was preserved by the native energy of the British in that quarter, against the inveterate efforts of Tippoo Saib. Since the event already related, which had deprived the Mysorean prince of a part of his dominions, he had secretly meditated revenge, and cultivated the friendship of the French republic with the same zeal that he had formerly sought that of the monarchy. Very soon after the pacification of 1792, he began to increase and improve his military establishment. The preponderating power of Britain at sea repressed for a while his hostile disposition, though naturally daring and impetuous; but the successes of Bonaparte, and the rising fortunes of France, encouraged him to take some formal steps towards a confederation against his most hated enemies. On the intelligence being ascertained of his dangerous communication with the French, the governor-general of Bengal assembled a large army on the coasts of the Malabar and Coromandel, and the capital of the Mysore became immediately the object of their joint attack. Tippoo was thus reduced to the necessity of standing a siege in his own capital, with no other foreign aid than about 400 volunteers from the isle of France. The trenches being opened, and the cannonading continued for three days, orders were given for assaulting Seringapatam by storm, about noon on the 4th of May, at a time of the day when, according to their usual custom, the Asiatic troops were resigned to repose, and unprepared for resistance. Crossing the rocky bed of the Cavary, the troops

under General Baird ascended the breaches in the fosse, and rampart of the fort. Tippoo, taking his station at one of the gates of his capital, shared the dangers of his troops, and was found, after the engagement, among a heap of the slain. The capital was carried, and the dominions of the sultan were partitioned, a small part being allotted to the Nizam of the Ducan, but by far the greatest part assigned to the British East-India company.

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In another hemisphere, the British arms were equally successful. The flourishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the Dutch by a body of troops which had been collected in the islands of Grenada, S^t. Lucia, and Martinico, and embarked on board a small squadron commanded by Lord Hugh Seymour. Aug. 20.

So uninterrupted was the success of the British arms at sea during the present year, that although England did not lose a single vessel of war during the present war, no less than twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers belonging to France, and ten belonging to Spain, were either taken or run ashore. The Dutch navy might be said to be annihilated and its spirit and discipline wholly extinguished. In addition to the twelve ships of war seized by Admiral Mitchell in the Nieu Diep, and an equal number which surrendered within the Texel, the Batavian republic lost a fifty-gun ship in the straits of Sunda, and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all farther exertions by sea were given up by that republic.

The situation of affairs on the continent occasioned the extraordinary convocation of the British parliament so early as the 24th of September. On that day his majesty informed them that he had called them together at that early season, to consider of the propriety of enabling him, without

delay, to avail himself to a farther extent of the voluntary service of the militia, at a moment when our force abroad might be productive of the most important consequences. He concluded by informing them, that in pursuance of their recommendation, he had judged it proper to communicate to his Irish parliament, at the close of the last session, the sentiments which the British legislature had been pleased to present to him, on the subject of the incorporate union.

The proposal respecting the militia occasioned but a slight debate. The object of the bill was to repeal so much of the act of the last session, as limited the number of voluntary recruits from regiments of militia to one fourth of their strength, instead of which, three fifths of the number which was furnished by the county or district, were to be permitted to enlist into certain regiments of the line, receiving a bounty of ten guineas, and subject only to serve in Europe, and not to be draughted from the regular corps into which they should first enlist. The bill was passed into a law on the 4th of October.

Several measures of commercial consequence were also enacted during this early session. A vote was passed for granting £500,000 in exchequer bills, as a loan to the West-India merchants in Liverpool, to avert the impending distresses which were dreaded from a series of failures in Hamburgh. Another bill was passed, for granting relief to planters connected with the islands of Grenada and S^t. Vincent, by allowing goods to be imported from the West Indies to be warehoused, after regulating the allowance on drawbacks, and allowing merchants a farther time for the payment of their debts. A melancholy accident occurred in the conveyance of another sum, which was farther voted for supporting the credit of the mer-

chants of Hamburgh. The frigate La Lutine, conveying £200,000 to that city, for the relief of the merchants, was lost on her passage, and every soul on board perished. The supplies voted during this short session amounted to near £7,000,000. The duties that were voted in the committee of ways and means, were on malt, mum, cider, per-ry, sugar, tobacco, and snuff. £2,500,000 were to be raised by exchequer bills.

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State of France on the arrival of Bonaparte. . . . The government dissolved, and a new constitution framed. . . . Bonaparte made first consul. . . . His proposal to the king of Great Britain for peace rejected. . . . Discussion of the conduct of government, on the opening of parliament. . . . Farther proceedings of parliament. . . . Ratifications of treaties. . . . Question respecting the continuance of the war. . . . Proposal of inquiry into the Dutch expedition. . . . Military and naval supplies. . . . Ways and means, and taxes. . . . Discussion of the Irish union. . . . Articles of the union. . . . Suspension of the habeas corpus act. . . . Inquiries of parliament after the possible remedies of the scarcity. . . . Lord Auckland's motion for amending the laws against adultery. . . . Prorogation of parliament. . . . Fortunate escape of his majesty from the attempt of the maniac Hadfield to assassinate him.

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GREAT and numerous disasters at this time threatened France, from the weakness and timidity of its government. No less danger was apprehended to the country, from the irresolution of the moderate party, who possessed the authority, than could have been feared from the violence of the discomfited jacobins. The exertions of the executive power were paralyzed; the greatest abuses existed in every department of the state; and jealousies and divisions subsisted in all the councils. A civil war raged in different parts of the republic;

and the armies on the frontiers experienced the greatest reverses of fortune, often from the want of supplies. Italy was lost, from that corrupt influence which led to the appointment of a man to a chief command, who had on every other occasion betrayed the greatest incapacity, and who had, even when war minister, ruined an army on the Danube. On every side the republic was threatened with annihilation, if not by foreign enemies, at least by domestic faction and the venal principles of its rulers. A momentary success, it is true, contributed to uphold for a time the falling fortunes of the state: her army in Holland had succeeded in repelling the invasion of the British and Russians; Switzerland had been subjugated; and the army under Massena in that country, had defeated the allied forces of Russia and Germany, in several decisive battles, or rather in a continuation of battles, for fifteen days. But these advantages, important as they were, both in their proximate and remote consequences, were rather to be considered as the expiring efforts of the republican energy, than as a promise of future glory to the councils and armies of France. The generals who so powerfully contributed to obtain them, were, mostly, indebted for their appointments, to the imperious necessity of affairs, rather than to the sober selection of government.

At this eventful period, the appearance in Paris of a character so popular, and so distinguished, as Bonaparte, could not but lead to some important change. On his arrival there, he was received with the highest honours by the Directory, the two legislative councils, and by the people, who looked up to him as the saviour of the country. He was beheld with the greatest favour by all parties; and the leaders of every faction endeavoured

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to interest him in their views. He found there, (if not before), a friend in Sieyes, one of the Directory;¹ a man of great, but impracticable views; who had preserved his life through the various scenes of the revolution by disgraceful submission, and who now flattered himself, that his metaphysical ambition would be gratified in subjugating the conqueror of Egypt, and the leader of the arms of France, to his speculative views. A plan was accordingly formed by Sieyes and Bonaparte, which was communicated only to Lucien Bonaparte, president of one of the legislative councils, and about twenty others, for seizing on the government. Their project was accomplished without much difficulty. Those members of the directory who shewed some spirit of resistance, were imprisoned. The legislative councils were dissolved, one of them at the point of the bayonet. Bonaparte obtained the command of the army; and a provisional government was appointed, composed of himself and two members of the directory, Sieyes and Ducos, who were denominated consuls, while two commissions of twenty-five members each, were nominated to frame a new constitution. This change gave satisfaction to every party, except the jacobins, who had long disturbed France by their machinations, who were thus deprived of all prospect of obtaining an opportunity of displaying their active, but dangerous spirit, and whose doom appeared to be now sealed, by the imprisonment or banishment, of all the most distinguished leaders of their party. Thus was accomplished, without bloodshed, what may be called the last revolution which has happened in the government of France. In itself this

¹ The directory at this time consisted of Sieyes, Gohier, Ducos, Moulins, and of Barras, who was the only one that remained of the number originally appointed.

revolution is of importance, as terminating the convulsions and calamities which had so long afflicted that country, but it is more deserving of attention on account of the consequences with which it has been attended in other respects. Mankind will not fail to pause at this era in the history of France; and while they contemplate the events which have already had such an important influence on the destinies of Europe, to guess at those future consequences which political science dares not to foresee.

The new rulers of France did not remain long inactive. Several salutary regulations were immediately passed; but none of them was of more importance than the repeal of the law of hostages, which had made the relations of emigrants responsible for the peace of the district in which they lived. This law had been the cause of a civil war, that threatened to extend its influence to the extremities of the country. Bernadotte was dispatched with a large army to the revolted provinces; and, by the concessions which were made, soon restored tranquillity. Every effort was now used to conciliate and unite the different factions; the proscription of the catholic priesthood was no longer continued; the freedom of general worship was established; and the churches, which had been converted into places of municipal festivals, were restored to their primitive uses. As a proof of the growing respect for religion, it was even ordered, that the body of the pope, which had for some time lain at Valence, should be honourably interred, and a monument erected to his memory. The consuls seemed to be actuated by the most earnest desire to redress the injuries committed by their predecessors, and to remedy their errors. A decree was passed, restoring the greater number of those in-

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CHAP. XXXVII. 1799. individuals who had been proscribed and banished by the revolution of the 18th Fructidor. Among these were Carnot and Barthelemi. The register of emigrants, which had afforded room for such vexatious proceedings, was finally closed. Men distinguished for their probity or talents were appointed to preside in the courts of justice, and to fill the different offices of government. Talleyrand was reinvested in his post of minister for foreign affairs; and Lucien Bonaparte was constituted minister of the interior.

Dec. 24. After some delay, the new constitution was submitted to the people of France for their approbation, and was approved of by 3,012,659 citizens, and opposed by only 1562. It was then proclaimed with great solemnity. The executive power was now composed of a first and two subordinate consuls, aided by a council of state. Bonaparte being supported by the military, as well as by the popular opinion, preserved the supreme authority against the struggles of Sieyes, who was at last content to receive a national domain, of the value of £600 a-year, for his submission.² Ducos, the other consul under the provisional government, whose only merit was a despicable servility, and who originally gained his appointment as a director on account of his insignificance, received a lucrative appointment for his ready acquiescence in the new order of affairs. It may serve to give some idea of the sincerity of the numerous declarations which were made by Bonaparte, of his resolution to establish a perfect system of liberty, that these two men, Sieyes and Ducos, with the two newly-appointed consuls, Cambaceres and Lebrun, were empowered by the constitutional act

² This domain was afterwards discovered to be private property. Sieyes therefore received an equivalent in money. He was also admitted a senator, and received a pension.

to nominate a majority of the conservative senate. It must, however, in justice be acknowledged, that men the most distinguished in France for their virtue and talents, found their way into this senate, as well as into the other councils.

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To consummate a peace, or to justify the continuance of war, appeared to Bonaparte to be yet necessary for the consolidation of his power and popularity in France. He addressed the following letter, dated the 25th of December, to the king of Great Britain and Ireland.—

‘ Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

‘ The war, which, for eight years, has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

‘ How can the most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their independence requires, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the peace of families? How is it that they do not feel, that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

‘ These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of making it happy.

‘ Your majesty will see, in this overture, only my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, full of confidence, and disengaged from those forms, which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove, in those which are strong, only the mutual desire of deceiving one another.

‘ France and England, by the abuse of their

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strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted ; but I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations depends on the termination of a war, which involves the whole world.'

The answer to Bonaparte's letter was not confidential, but official. Our secretary for foreign affairs intimated to the French secretary in the same department,² that his majesty could see no reason for departing from the accustomed forms of diplomatic communication. The king of England, it was stated, had no object in the war, but the security of his own dominions, of his allies, and of Europe in general : he would seize the first favourable opportunity for peace ; but, at present, there appeared to be none. The same vague assurances of pacific dispositions had been successively employed by the changing powers who had governed France ; and the same system of depredation on other nations had been continued. What country, it was asked, had not experienced the hostile aggressions of France ? Switzerland, Italy, Holland, and Germany, had been desolated by her rapacity. The war of the allies would therefore necessarily continue until the necessity which gave it birth should have subsided. The French consul, in a counter-declaration, charged the British government with the injustice of continuing war for the mere object of forcing the government of the Bourbons on France, or dismembering the commonwealth ; and invited, or rather challenged, our government to send plenipotentiaries to Dunkirk, if they seriously wished for peace. This proposal was declined by our court ; but the wish to dictate a government, or dismember France, was solemnly disavowed.

² Talleyrand.

A correspondence of this nature could not but attract the early notice of parliament, when it next assembled. On the 28th of January 1800, after a message had been received from his majesty respecting the overtures of the first consul, Lord Grenville entered into the merits of the proffered negotiation at great length. He portrayed, in the most expressive colours, the odious character and conduct of the French republic, as well as of the personal atrocity and perfidy of Bonaparte. The object of the chief consul, in this hollow proposal of peace, he said, was to divert Great Britain, in the first place, from the prosecution of the war; and, in the next place, to sow distrust in the bosoms of her allies. It might be urged, that it was the peculiar and personal interest of Bonaparte to make peace; but it was the interest of Bonaparte, in the first instance, to consolidate his own power. In turbulent republics, it was an axiom of policy to preserve peace at home by war abroad; and this axiom had been the standard of French policy since France had become a republic. By an armistice and negotiation, France would have much to gain, and England nothing. France would gain by a renovation of her commerce and manufactures: her blockaded harbours would be thrown open, for the purpose of introducing naval stores, and putting into her hands resources for future wars; while fleets would be sent out to bring back her troops, now deprived of all intercourse with the republic.

‘But from whence,’ said the noble secretary, ‘can the slightest confidence arise in the professions of Bonaparte, that he wishes for peace? Did he not, as lately as the declaration of the treaty of Campo Formio, announce to the directory, that the French republic and England could not exist together? Yet this is the man, who now declares

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a peace with England to be the most anxious wish of his heart.' From these views, Lord Grenville deprecated the idea of abandoning our present energetic system of conduct, or stooping to negotiation, when it could yield us no solid advantage. He therefore moved for a resolution of the peers to concur with the sentiments expressed in the royal speech.

After considerable opposition from the duke of Bedford and Lord Holland, the address moved by the secretary was carried by a majority of seventy-nine against six.

The same subject was ably investigated in the commons. The defence of ministers, for refusing the proffered negotiation, rested chiefly on two considerations; the insincerity of the offer, and the unfavourable consequences of permitting the enemy to recruit his strength in the leisure of negotiation; whilst the allies, who had come to fight at our side, would be left to scramble for a separate peace. 'Is it a matter of indifference,' said Mr. Dundas, in his speech upon this occasion, 'that we should leave ourselves without an ally in Europe; yet such must be the inevitable consequence of our accepting a separate overture. Negotiations for a separate peace, it is true, were opened at Lisle; but no part of administration was insensible to the dangers of a peace, had it followed that negotiation. Experience may convince us, that if peace had been at that period concluded, we should have now been again at war. The correspondence of France with the rebellious part of Ireland, would have gone on just as it did since. The expedition to Egypt would have taken place, whether there had been peace or war. If a treaty of peace were actually signed, would Britain venture to disarm? How did Prussia stand? She had to maintain a large army, to maintain her line of

demarcation. How should we stand? We should have a garrison in every foreign colony; all the expence of keeping up a large force, without the power of exercising it. Would not a peace engage us to restrain from all hostilities against France, leaving her at liberty to act against the different kingdoms of Europe, while our hands were tied, and nothing left to us, but the expence.'

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The chancellor of the exchequer entered into the same views, at great length. Before any man could approve of negotiation at present (he said), his opinions must come within one of the three following descriptions:—he must either believe that the French revolution neither does now exhibit, nor has any time exhibited, such circumstances of danger, arising out of the very nature of the system, and the internal state of France, as to leave to foreign powers no adequate ground of security in negotiation; or, secondly, he must be of opinion, that the change, which had lately taken place, had given that security which was wanting; or lastly, he must be one of those, who, believing that the danger existed, nevertheless thought, from his view of the present pressure on this country, from his view of its situation and prospects, compared with those of the enemy, that we were, with our eyes open, bound to accept inadequate security for every thing that is valuable and sacred, rather than incur the risk that may arise from persistence in the contest. On the first supposition, Mr. Pitt dwelt but shortly: the monstrous spirit of the French revolution had shewn itself by its works, by its aggressions on neighbouring nations, and by a system of crimes, which even had recently been acknowledged by some of the most distinguished of its agents. He came next to shew, that security had not yet been afforded by the change which had

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lately taken place; that we could derive no confidence from the frame of the government, or the just character and conduct of the person who was now the absolute ruler of France. The name of Bonaparte would be recorded along with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797; and in the Milanese, in Genoa, in Tuscany, in Modena, in Rome, and in Venice. He considered, lastly, whether any thing in the circumstances of the present moment could justify the acceptance of a security confessedly inadequate, against so great a danger as was threatened by France; and, *venturing to pronounce, that we might rely on certain success in the farther prosecution of the war*, concluded that we should be inexcusable, if at this moment we should relinquish the struggle on any other terms than complete security.

‘If I am asked,’ continued Mr. Pitt, ‘how long we are to persevere in the war? I can only say, that no period can be accurately assigned before hand. Considering the importance of obtaining complete security for the objects for which we contend, we ought not to be discouraged too soon; but, on the other hand, considering the importance of not impairing and exhausting the radical strength of the country, there are limits beyond which we ought not to persist. I see, however, no possibility, at this moment, of such a peace as would justify that liberal intercourse, which is the essence of amity. As a sincere lover of peace, I will not sacrifice it, by grasping at the shadow, when the substance is not within my reach. *Cur igitur pacem nolo? quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest.*’

Mr. Erskine, having read over his majesty’s message, said, it was plain that the house was not called upon to advise his majesty on the fitness of

an armistice, or of an immediate negociation ; but to ratify or condemn the specific answers which ministers, on their own authority, had sent to France. No materials had been laid before the house, to enable it to judge of the fitness of an immediate armistice, or even of an unqualified acceptance of an immediate negociation ; because the one and the other might depend on our engagements with other countries, and the actual state of the war. But to judge of the unfitness of the answer, the answer itself furnished sufficient foundation. Under no circumstances, and at no time, could such an answer be either wise or decent, from the ministers of any nation to another, professing wishes for peace. It was rash, insolent, provoking, and without necessity ; it was dangerous, as a precedent, to the universal interests of mankind ; it rejected the very idea of peace, as if war were an inseparable adjunct to the prosperity of nations. The question was not, whether the original or present effects of the French revolution were beneficial or dangerous ? but what was our own policy and duty, as connected with their existence ? When the American revolution broke out, it had been, like the French revolution, the subject of much invective ; but it had been asked, very properly, by an eloquent member of the house (Mr. Burke), what, in God's name, are you to do with it ? Had ministers been able, by eight years invective, to mitigate the evils of the French revolution ? On the contrary, our enemies had increased in strength.

But a new era now occurred in the war : Bonaparte was at the head of a new and untried government, ruling over a people, whose interests called aloud for a peace with England. It was the interest of Bonaparte to gain peace, even by important sacrifices ; and it would be his interest to

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preserve it, because his own popularity depended on the prosperity of France, and a renewal of the war with England would upset his popularity, unless it were accompanied with the grossest provocations on the part of England. Did we look for a better government than that of the first consul? If we did so, let us consider how his authority could be subverted: either by another internal revolutionary convulsion in France, which must arise from the prevalence of democracy, and create a government, which, according to the minister's doctrine, must undergo the probation of time, to make it worthy of being trusted; or his power must be subverted by the restoration of the Bourbon family, which, supposing, in the teeth of all history, that it could prove a blessing to this country, was plainly impossible to be restored. In every way, he disapproved of the answer that had been sent by ministers to Bonaparte.

Mr. Fox concluded a long and animated speech upon the address, with the following peroration: 'Sir, I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made to you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have declared your wishes to Bonaparte. But I believe you was afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. You took that method before. Yes; but you say the people were anxious for peace in 1797: I say they are still friends to peace, I am confident you will one day own it. Believe me they are friends to peace, although by the laws you have made, restraining the expression of the sense of the people, they dare not shew it. I know that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be as much for peace now, as in 1797; and I know that it is only by

public opinion, not by a sense of duty, that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace. I ask for no gentleman's vote, who would have reprobated the compliance of ministers with the proposition of the French government, or who would have voted against ministers, if they had come down and proposed to enter into a negociation with the French; but I have a right to ask; I know, that in honour, in consistency, in conscience, I have a right to expect, the vote of every gentleman, who would have agreed with ministers, in an address to his majesty, diametrically opposite to the motion of this night.' On a division of the house, the address was carried by 260, against 64.

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An address, approving and assenting to a message of his majesty on the subject of the Russian troops, was also voted.

On the 13th of the same month, a message was brought to the two houses from his majesty, requesting their support to the measures in contemplation, for enabling the allies to bring a numerous army into the field. Negotiations were in a short time concluded, by which the troops of the emperor of Germany, of the duke of Wirtemberg, and the elector of Bavaria, of the prince of Condé, and the Swiss regiment of Rovera, were taken into the pay of England, and £500,000 voted in advance by the British parliament. It occasioned, however, some surprize to find that the Russian forces, who, after serving in Holland, had been quartered, during the winter, in Guernsey and Jersey, were not mentioned upon this occasion; and some began to surmise, that the Emperor Paul was already tired of a war, from which he had hitherto derived neither benefit nor glory.

The question of the expediency of continuing the war, was not only incidentally introduced in most of the debates respecting the foreign sub-

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sidies, but was made the subject, on more than one occasion, of direct and formal motions by the opposition. On the 28th of February, Mr. Tierney moved, ' that it was the opinion of the house, that it was unjust and unnecessary to continue the war for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France. Though the abettors of the war strenuously rejected the insinuation conveyed by these words, and denied that the restoration of monarchy was the object of the war, they opposed Mr. Tierney's motion, and it was negatived by a very large majority. Two other motions of similar tendency underwent the same fate in the course of the session.³

The late expedition to Holland, which had terminated in many respects so inauspiciously to the British, became another subject of inquiry and censure against administration, on the side of their opponents. On the 10th of February, Mr. Sheridan prefaced his motion for examining into the causes of the failure of the late expedition, by a very copious speech, in which he acquitted the commander in chief, the officers, and the army, who had been sent to the Helder, of all blame; and attributed their misfortunes solely to the impolicy and rashness of ministers. Mr. Dundas took the lead in opposing the motion: ' he insisted on the advantages which had accrued to Britain from the Dutch expedition, particularly the capture of the Dutch fleet, and the diversion of the French arms from the Upper Rhine to Holland: he objected to the motion, however, on more general grounds, as it consigned to parliament the task of publicly criticising military operations, which was not their duty or department. Such investigations

³ Viz. a motion by Mr. Jones by Mr. Western on the 9th of on the 8th of May, and another July.

could produce no good, and would only clog and harass the measures of government.

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Mr. Tierney, in supporting the motion, declared ‘ that the capitulation seemed to fix an indelible stain on the national character and inflict a deep wound on the British soldier’s honour. A king’s son who commanded 40,000 men, capitulated to a French general, who had only 31,000.⁴ We owed it to our sovereign and our country, to inquire into the causes of the disgrace; and if the expedition had failed from the folly of those who had planned it, to drag their delinquency into full light.’

Mr. Percival allowed, ‘ that capitulation abstractedly considered, was not an honourable conclusion to a military expedition: but this was a mere abstract consideration. Two of the grand objects of the expedition had been attained. The Dutch fleet was captured, and a strong diversion effected in favour of the allies. The third object had been found unattainable, and the expedient, which had been adopted for saving the troops, was not disgraceful, because it was merely an adaptation to the imperious necessity of circumstances, and because much benefit had been already reaped from the invasion of Holland.’

Mr. Sheridan’s motion was negatived by 216, against 45.

The subject excited a still more animated discussion in the house of peers, where a similar motion was introduced by Lord Holland. ‘ We know,’ said his lordship, ‘ that it is natural to impute the blame of unsuccessful expeditions to the commander in chief. In this country it may not be so imputed; but in Europe the charge will be

⁴ The statement made by Mr. Tierney was corrected in the course of the debate. The French being confessedly more numerous, and the allies considerably fewer.

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made, and it stands supported by the statements of a Russian general in the Petersburg gazette. It is necessary to demonstrate the truth by a fair investigation. At a moment especially, when it is decided that the war is to be renewed, and when new expeditions are rumoured to be in view, it is more than ever important to prove how much, or how little, of the public confidence is due to the errors of those who are to sketch the outlines of our future warfare.'

Lord Moira coincided with the sentiments of the noble lord, who had made the motion respecting the conduct of the illustrious personage who had headed the expedition, but objected to the motion as tending to elicit information respecting the state of our secret friends in Holland, which ought not, in justice to them, to be brought forward. The hopes of the expedition were confessedly built on the co-operation of the Dutch; to determine the peculiar causes why the expected aid from that quarter had been disappointed, would produce the disclosure of wants and circumstances, which would be cruelty to our own partizans in Holland to make public, and impolitic with regard to ourselves, as it might defeat the eventual success of similar operations.'

Lord Holland's motion was rejected.

The military and naval force appointed for the service of the year 1800, was nearly the same as in the former year. Mr. Pitt, in detailing the means for raising this supply, estimated the income tax at £5,300,000, but he expressed the strongest expectation, that it would turn out to a better account. He had negociated a loan of £18,000,000, but the assignment of £1,700,000 out of the income tax, to the payment of a part of the interest, rendered £313,000 sufficient for the remainder. This last demand was answered by

a new duty on tea, rum, and brandy. These, with the malt, sugar, and tobacco taxes; the exports and imports; the lottery; the tax on income; renewal of the bank charter; vote of credit; surplus of the consolidated fund; and the loan, made up a sum of £39,500,000. The financial proposals underwent a variety of strictures from the vigilant observation of Mr. Tierney.

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The Irish parliament having assembled on the 15th of January 1800, it was moved by Sir Laurence Parsons in the house of commons, that they should, in their address to the viceroy, declare their disapprobation of an incorporating union. This motion was negatived by 138 voices against 96. On the 5th of February, the whole plan of the union was detailed in the Irish parliament by Lord Castlereagh, the principal secretary of state, who, after displaying the general principles of the measure, proposed eight articles as the foundation on which it should be established.

The first imported, that from the 1st day of January 1801, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should, forever after, be united into one kingdom. The second, that the succession to the imperial crown should continue limited and settled according to the act of union between England and Scotland. The third, that the united kingdom should have one parliament. The fourth, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal, should be the number of Irish peers who should sit in the united parliament. The fifth, that the churches of England and Ireland should be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called the united church of England and Ireland; the doctrines and discipline to remain for ever the same. The sixth article provided for a fair participation in commercial privileges, for which end, however, it

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was thought necessary, to impose certain counter-vailing duties. The seventh article, left to each kingdom, the separate discharge of its public debt, already incurred; and ordained, that for twenty years from the union, the national expence should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts out of seventeen for Great Britain, and two for Ireland. The eight article ordained, that the laws and courts of both kingdoms, civil and ecclesiastical, should remain as they were now established, however, subject to future alterations of the united legislature.

After delivering these outlines of the intended union, the Irish secretary thus concluded, by describing its advantages. 'Such an union is at once honourable for Britain to offer, and for Ireland to receive. It is one which will certainly remove from the executive power, those anomalies which are the perpetual sources of jealousy and discontent. It will relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland, in consequence of the union, was to be burdened with the debts of Britain. By establishing a fair principle of contribution, it will release Ireland from an expence of £1,000,000 in time of war, and £500,000 in time of peace. It will increase the resources of our commerce, protect to us our manufactures, secure to us the British market, and encourage all the produce of our soil. It will terminate religious jealousies; it will establish such a representation for the country, as will forever lay asleep the question of parliamentary reform, which, along with religious jealousies, has been the chief cause of our calamities.'

Mr. Ponsonby made a warm attack on the Irish minister, and summed up his objections to the union in these words. 'Your peerage is to be disgraced, your commons purchased. No addi-

tional advantages will arise to your commerce. For twenty years a little saving in contribution ; but if the cabinet of England think that we contribute more than we should, why not correct that extravagance now ? If any thing ought to be conceded in the way of trade, why is it not conceded now ? Are any of those benefits incompatible with our present state ? No. But the minister wishes to carry his union ; and no favour, however trifling, can be yielded to us, unless we are willing to purchase it with the existence of our parliament, and the liberties of our country.'

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Mr. Grattan said, that the project of the union proposed by the noble secretary, was as much a counter-revolution as if he were to introduce a bill for deposing the house of Hanover and re-establishing the house of Stewart. He proposed to restore the domination of the British parliament, which abdicated Ireland, and to depose the Irish parliament, which had saved her ; grounding the proposition on the opportunity, the weakness, the divisions, and the martial law of the kingdom, but concealing those grounds, because a disclosure of them would display the real character and perfidy of the measure. In this proposition, the minister had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannical acts of a century ; to apologize for the oppressive proceedings of England, for a system which had kept Ireland in a state of thralldom and misery ; to prove that the British parliament had undergone a metamorphosis of disposition ; to disprove two consequences, which were portended by the odium of the union, and the increased expences of the empire, namely, a military government for a considerable time, and at no distant period, an augmentation of taxes ; to deny or dispute the growth of the prosperity of Ireland, under the maternal

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wing of her own parliament; to controvert the sufficiency of her own legislature for imperial purposes, or commercial objects, though facts were against him; and to explain or recal his repeated declarations in its favour.

He urged the very serious importance of the question. It was not such as had formerly occupied their attention. It was not old Poyning's, not a peculation, not an embargo, not a catholic bill, not a reform bill. It was their being; it was more, it was their life to come. They were to decide, whether they would go to the tomb of Charlemont and the volunteers, and erase his epitaph; or whether their children should go to the graves of the anti-unionists, saying, a venal, a military court, attacked the liberties of the Irish, and here lie the bones of the honourable men who saved their country. Such an epitaph was a nobility which the king could not give; it was a glory which a crown could not give to a king.

The desultory and inconclusive arguments of the antiunionists, were ably answered by successive speakers in favour of the motion; and when the question was put, 158 votes were found for the motion, against 115. In returning from the house, some of the unionist members were insulted by the populace, but no serious mischief ensued. It was thought necessary, however, to place a military guard in the neighbourhood of the parliament, in their subsequent debates on the different articles of the union; a measure, against which the opposition in the Irish parliament and their adherents loudly exclaimed, as an unconstitutional check on the freedom of debate.

In the house of peers, the nobleman who signalized his zeal beyond all the other peers in opposition, was the marquis of Downshire. He had, indeed, opposed the whole progress of the plan

with indefatigable industry, with some eloquence, and the weight of a fair character for sincere attachment to his native country. Neither his exertions, nor those of the other lords, were of any avail. The measure of the union was agreed to by a large majority.

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The subsequent debates of the Irish commons were more remarkable for the personal asperity of the contending orators, than for any new light that was thrown upon the subject of debate. On the 13th of March, Sir John Parnell,⁵ wishing to have the sense of the nation more decisively ascertained than it could be in the present parliament, moved, that his majesty should be requested to dissolve it, and convoke another, and a kind of conventional parliament.

Mr. Saurin, a barrister, distinguished himself by his zeal and spirit in support of the motion, and strongly urged an appeal to the people. The solicitor-general of Ireland accused Mr. Saurin of unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion. Mr. Egan, a distinguished antiunionist, insinuated, that the solicitor-general, and other members of his party, had unfurled the flag of prostitution and corruption. The motion was negatived by a large majority. After some alterations, dictated by the court party, the plan of the union, as had been foreseen by the British government, was approved by the same parliament which, the year before, had rejected it; and an address was voted by the two houses on the 27th of March, informing his majesty of the result of their deliberations.

On the 2^d of April, the resolution of the Irish legislature was the subject of a message from his majesty to both houses of the British parliament. The measure was opposed in the house of peers by

⁵ A descendant of the poet Parnell.

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Lord Holland. He contended that an union would not operate as a remedy for the discontents of the various descriptions of the Hibernian community. It would not ensure a redress of grievances, but would increase that influence which was already the object of general complaint. It was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish ; and if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connection between the countries, and might produce irreparable mischief. Lord Grenville thought it unnecessary to debate the principles of an union, as no question had ever been more amply discussed in the history of parliament. He defended the measure as beneficial to both kingdoms. Adverting to the argument of the noble lord, that the introduction of Irish members would fortify the influence of the crown, he observed, that the mode chalked out for the election of members was such, under the genuine principles of the British constitution, as would render them free from the shadow of corrupt imputation. The mode of electing the peers was equally unobjectionable; it rendered their seats as independent of the crown as those of the British aristocracy, as they were chosen to sit for life. On a division, only three peers, the earl of Derby, and the lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, while eighty-two supported it.

On the same day, Mr. Pitt delivered his sentiments in favour of the union to the house of commons, assembled in committee. Assuming the sense of the house to be determinately favourable to the measure, he proceeded to discuss the particular manner of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing 100 Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament, though the particular number might not be of the first importance, he thought it sufficiently suited the proportional con-

tribution of the two countries to the public exigencies of the empire. The mode of selection was the next point. He wished not to augment the influence of the crown. The selection adopted by the parliament of Ireland was rather calculated to favour the popular interest. The members for counties and principal cities would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth. Thus, the choice would provide at once for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information; and as the proposed addition would not make any change in the internal form of British representation, it would entail none of those dangers which might attend innovation. It would not expose us to the dangers of political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments which, whatever his opinion respecting reform might have once been, he was now convinced would be hazardous in the present circumstances.

As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number entitled to be placemen should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point, as circumstances might suggest.

The number of peers who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility, was fixed, he thought very properly, at thirty. Four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and to the number of the Irish commoners. The election of the temporal peers for life, he recommended as a mode more conformable to the spirit of nobility, than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The right reserved for Irish peers, to

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sit in the house of commons, as representatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain, would furnish them with opportunities of acquiring parliamentary and political experience, and would render them fitter to serve their country, when called to a higher assembly. The permission of creating new peers for Ireland he also justified; for though in Scotland the peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents, there was a risk of the Irish peerage fast diminishing, unless it were recruited, on account of the very limited nature of the successions.

In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the catholics to future emancipation.

The next article, he observed, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular fears and prejudice. It was stipulated, that almost all prohibitions should be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a small amount should be imposed on some few articles. If the British manufactures should sustain partial loss in consequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to consider it as compensated by general advantage.

These observations convey the substance of many of the leading arguments of the great speaker who thus developed the plan of the union, although they are stripped, in their present shape, of those graces which enforced them.

The most elaborate answer to the minister, in

opposition to the plan of the union, was delivered by Mr. Grey. His principal objections were founded on the unpopularity of the union among the Irish people; on the improper means which had been used to accomplish the measure; and the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporating with England; an argument which he chiefly directed against those abettors of the measure who had ascribed the progress of Scottish prosperity to the dissolution of her native parliament. A motion of Mr. Grey, for limiting the number of Irish placemen, who should sit in the united parliament, to nineteen, instead of twenty, was negatived without a division. The resolutions of the British parliament were remitted to Ireland; and being approved by the Irish parliament, after a few slight alterations, were ratified by both legislatures, and passed into a law by the royal assent, on the 2^d of July.

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The suspension of the habeas-corpus act was renewed at an early period of the session. About the same time, another bill, of a similar nature, was passed, namely, to continue the act for better securing and punishing such persons as should attempt to seduce his majesty's subjects from their allegiance.

February.

The uncommon failure of the preceding harvest, made the concluding year of the century unfortunately memorable for the pressure of wide and real distress, as well as the gloomy anticipation of severer scarcity. The interference of the legislature, in attempting to remedy, or at least to palliate, the public calamity, and to avert the consummation of their worst fears, was judiciously confined to recommendatory, rather than coercive, measures. The committee, which deliberated on this subject, suggested such methods as appeared

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the most effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn, by economy and substitution, and held out encouragements to foreign importation. They suggested the granting of bounties for the encouragement of fisheries; and proposed, several regulations to prevent exactions in the price of grinding, and the temporary prevention of distilleries.

A bill introduced into the upper house by Lord Auckland, for preventing the marriage of persons divorced for adultery, was negatived by a large majority. The attempt of the maniac Hadfield to assassinate his majesty, by discharging a pistol at the royal person, as he sat in the theatre of Drury-lane,⁵ occasioned the addition of some clauses of amendment to the insanity laws, by which the freedom of bail allowed to alleged lunatics was considerably abridged, and the personal safety of the sovereign, so often endangered by the mischievous attempts of the insane, was specially consulted. The session rose, after these acts, on the 29th of July.

³ When his majesty had entered his box at the theatre in Drury-lane, on the 15th of May, a pistol was fired from the pit, apparently at his person. The man who had fired it was immediately dragged into the orchestra, and carried behind the scenes. On examination, he discovered some symptoms of insanity, though some of his answers were rational. The veneration and love which the nation bore his majesty was, by this accident, awakened into enthusiastic joy at his escape. Addresses of

congratulation were presented by both houses of parliament, by the universities, and, in general, by all the corporations and counties of the kingdom. Hadfield was tried in the court of king's bench, for high treason. It was proved, that he had been for some years insane, in consequence of wounds which he had received in his head, when he acted as a serjeant in the British army in Holland, in 1794. He was therefore acquitted, but not discharged.

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Situation of the French in Egypt. . . . Campaigns of the French in Germany and Italy. . . . Continental armistice, granted in July 1800 . . . Resumption of hostilities. . . . Battle of Hohenlinden. . . . Armistice of Styer. . . . Treaty of Luneville . . . Operations of the British. . . . Capture of foreign settlements by their arms.

WHILE Bonaparte signalized his usurpation by ameliorating the fortunes of France, by the final pacification of the discontented provinces, the tenure of his late conquest in Egypt grew daily more precarious. Shut out from connection with Europe, unaccustomed to the food and climate of the country, and exposed to its deadly pestilence, the fidelity of the army of Egypt was put to the severest test. The successor of Bonaparte was, however, a general of those exalted virtues, to which an army clings, with confidence, under the worst distress. General Kleber had sufficient influence to keep up the courage of his soldiers in this situation, deserted, as they were, by the commander who had taught them to expect a speedy career to glory and security. The Turks, in the meantime (although some partial attempts which they made at Cosseir and Damietta had proved unsuccessful, and Mourad Bey was again overthrown), were preparing to cross the desert, under the grand vizier, with a numerous army. Alarmed by this intelligence, and by the returning symptoms of the

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plague, General Kleber opened negotiations with Sir Sidney Smith. The capture of the fortress of El Arisch by the Ottoman troops contributed to hasten the progress of the negociation, which terminated in a treaty, denominated from that place. The French were to return home, with the honours of war; Egypt was to be restored to the Ottoman Porte. To prepare for the embarkation of the French army, an armistice was allowed for three months; and they were not to be molested till their arrival in France. To this treaty the British cabinet thought proper to refuse its sanction; and secret orders were sent to Lord Keith, by no means to allow the French to abandon Egypt, without an entire surrender to the arms of the allies. Kleber, on the first intimation of this refusal, turned his arms against the numerous hosts of the vizier, whose advanced guard he first defeated at Heliopolis, and then drove the whole army fugitives across the desert. Cairo, which had been abandoned by the French, was soon after retaken; and the army of Egypt began to wear a better aspect than before the convention. The friendship of a formidable enemy was also conciliated, by a favourable treaty being concluded with Mourad Bey, who agreed to hold the provinces of Girge and Assuan as a vassal of France, and to pay the yearly subsidy which had been formerly yielded to the Porte.

Amid these events, the powers of Europe were preparing for the fatal campaign, which was destined to conclude the continental war.

While Bonaparte was taking measures for the relief of Genoa, and for carrying his arms into Italy, he determined also on the invasion of Germany; and, consulting his own impetuous genius, as well as that of his people, he resolved to make the contest offensive on the side of France. The plan of

his campaign was to make the armies of Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, act by combined movements. On the 25th of April, the army of the Rhine crossed that river, and General Kray, who inauspiciously for the Austrian arms, had succeeded to the Archduke Charles, retreated before the assailants. General Lecourbe, with the army of Switzerland, arrived to augment the invading army, and thus General Moreau, in a short time, numbered a force of 110,000 men strong, and concentrated between the Rhine and the Danube. The hostile armies again encountered at Maeskirch, on the 3^d of May, when the imperialists gave a temporary check to the enemy. The combat being renewed on the 4th and 9th of the same month, the Austrians were obliged to retreat under the cannon of Ulm. The whole circle of Suabia was made subject to the invaders. Augsburg, Kempten, and Memingen, were occupied by the French; and Moreau, having penetrated into the heart of Germany, levied contributions, and fed his army at the expence of the empire. Having now on his right wing the lake of Constance, on his left the neutral territory of Prussia, and in his front an unequal enemy, who dreaded his approach to the capital of the empire; he totally prevented the Austrian commander from affording the slightest diversion to the army of Italy. It was sufficient employment for General Kray, at so perilous a juncture, to keep his own army from surprize, and to protect the hereditary states.

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The contemporary career of Bonaparte was still more brilliant. To attack the rear of the Austrian army, the chief consul determined on forcing the passage of the Alps; and, rivalling the efforts, as April 15. much as he surpassed the successes, of Hannibal, he crossed the steep and stupendous pass of S'. Bernard, a narrow defile, where two men could

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scarcely pass a-breast, with all his artillery, within a few weeks, in the face of an opposing enemy. Having thus led 60,000 men along the sinuosities of mountains, he ascended the height of S^t. Bernard, when his soldiers saw the clouds beneath their feet.

The invaders then entered Piedmont, and seized Masserano, Chivasso, and all the towns between the Chiusella and the Sessia to insure their success, 25,000 men arrived from the army of Moreau, who entered the Cisalpine territories by the route of Simplon, and mount S^t. Gothard; while Bonaparte, after entering Milan, was employed in re-establishing the Cisalpine republic. On the 4th of June, Genoa capitulated to the imperialists. A population of 100,000 inhabitants had consumed the provisions within this city, whilst a close blockade by the British squadron intercepted all supplies by sea. The troops, having consumed their own horses, were reduced to a few ounces of bran and flour per day; and many of the miserable inhabitants had died of hunger. General Massena, however, did not surrender his famished garrison, but on terms the most honourable, and, considering his circumstances, the most advantageous that could have been concluded.

But the Austrians were about the same time obliged to evacuate Milan and Pavia. The French immediately pushing an advanced guard across the Po, engaged them at Montabello, and defeated them; but, as the main body of another army, containing an immense host of excellent cavalry, were coming from Genoa, the imperialists prepared for another and more decisive battle. Bonaparte drew up his troops between Alessandria and Tortona, advancing, on the 14th of June, as far as the village of Marengo, when he joined battle with the imperialists, whose line extended six miles in

his front, sometime before Dessaix had arrived with the rear division of the army. After sustaining four attacks of the Austrian horse and foot, aided by the incessant grape shot of 100 pieces of cannon, the consular army were at length forced to give way, first their right wing, and then their centre and left. The French General, Victor, afraid of a total route, and having learnt that the village of Marengo was carried, ordered a retreat with all his division; General Lasnes did the same. The event of the battle seemed to depend upon the defence of one post, a defile flanking the village, where the consul, with a chosen body, opposed the enemy bayonet to bayonet, in spite of their superior fire of artillery, their numbers, and renewed enthusiasm. Here the consul attempted to find a rallying point for his discomfitted army: he endeavoured to bring back the fugitive battalions, and rode actively along the line to keep men and officers at their post, where he saw the ranks losing their firmness. It is highly probable, that his zeal and activity would have been exerted in vain, had not Dessaix come up at that crisis with the rear guard, and the weight of a new army being thrown into the scale, the Austrians in their turn were assaulted. Still, however, the bravery of these unfortunate men, though tired by a long day's fighting, kept the French at bay, in spite of their accession of strength; and might have obtained a triumph for the interests of Europe, had not their general, imprudently confident of victory, spread out his wings to surround the French. The eagle-eye of his antagonist saw this error, and ordered a charge of cavalry, which broke their extended ranks. The first, second, and third, lines of the imperialists were successively forced, and retreated in confusion across one of the bridges of the Bormida. Their rear guard, after behaving

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with extraordinary gallantry, were cut to pieces in covering the retreat. This battle lasted from morning till night; and, although it is difficult to ascertain the numbers lost on each side from the contradictions of their mutual accounts, it is clear that neither side could have lost less than 10,000 men in killed and wounded. Dessaix fell on this day at Marengo; it was the same day that his illustrious brother-officer Kleber was assassinated in Egypt. Such a victory needs no commentary to point out its effects. General Melas submitted to a capitulation, such as the perilous nature of his situation could alone justify. It was agreed that a truce should take place, until a messenger should arrive from the court of Vienna; and, in the meantime, the fortresses of Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzigitone, Arona, Placenza, Coni, Ceva, Savoni, Urbino, and the city of Genoa, were to be delivered up to the French, who, to insure the fulfilment of the conditions, would only permit the Austrian army to march by divisions, and at different epochs.

July.

Moreau no sooner heard the important tidings from Italy, than he renewed his efforts for penetrating to the capital of the Germanic empire. With the main body of his army, he, therefore, crossed the Danube; and, meeting the enemy on the same plains which had been rendered so memorable by the sword of Marlborough, he gave a signal defeat at Blenheim to the army of General Starry: he then fixed his head-quarters at Munich, but the armistice being extended to Germany also, gave a temporary check to his career of victory. This armistice left to the French a continuous chain of military posts, from the borders of the Rhine near Frankfort, to the shores of the Mediterranean at Lucca. Towards the end of this month, so disastrous to the Austrian arms, the preliminaries of a

peace, founded on the treaty of Campo Formio, were agreed to at Paris by the imperial minister, the count de S^t. Julien ; but his imperial majesty, faithful to his engagements with Great Britain, immediately disavowed the transaction. Another negotiation was attempted in the month of September, in which it was proposed to include Great Britain, but this also proved abortive, from the high pretensions of the French, who demanded an unqualified armistice by sea, and the relief of all blockaded places. The British ministry declared their readiness to grant an armistice, but not on such unfavourable terms.

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The first continental armistice expired in September, and Austria, unable to renew the combat, immediately purchased a farther prolongation of the German truce for forty-five days, by surrendering the three important fortresses of Philippsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt. Precisely three weeks after the plenipotentiaries had met at Luneville for renewing the negotiations, a rupture of the armistice took place. The French, unable to force the emperor to a separate peace, determined on another campaign. The first hostilities in Italy proved too ominous to the imperial arms of their future humiliation, and though a partial success attended them in Franconia, the contest was speedily and disastrously closed. The archduke John collecting all the emperor's forces that could be concentrated in Bavaria, marched in search of Moreau's forces. The rival armies met at seven in the morning of the 3^d of December, between the rivers Iser and Inn, near the village of Hohenlinden, on the heights which extend from Bierk-rain to Neumark. A heavy shower of snow, which had fallen all night, and covered the roads, by which the Austrian columns had to travel, occasioned the deviation of a great part of their forces,

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 ment of a French column, under General Riche-
 panse, who boldly breaking the hostile line assailed
 the Austrians at once in front and flank, pro-
 duced irretrievable confusion in the archduke's
 army. At three in the afternoon, the Austrians
 had retired, and were supposed to have lost be-
 fore sunset, at least 10,000 men in killed, wound-
 ed, and prisoners.

About three weeks previous to this important
 battle, the count de Bellegrade in Italy, had been
 driven before the French army of Brune, from the
 borders of the Mincio, with immense slaughter, and
 the victors were now encamped a few miles from
 Venice. While General Brune was thus ready to
 join his victorious standards to those of the con-
 queror of Hohenlinden, Macdonald held possession
 of the Tyrolian mountains, and could turn either
 to Italy or to strengthen Moreau, who, invested
 with these subsidiary armies, and having the Gallo-
 Batavian army of Augereau near the coasts of the
 Danube, had triumphantly crossed the Inn and the
 Ips, and approached within seventeen leagues of
 Vienna.

The British court now saw it necessary to re-
 lease his imperial majesty from his promise respect-
 ing a separate peace. Negotiations were therefore
 again revived, of which the first was an armistice
 with General Moreau at Styer in Upper Austria,
 and the conclusion of the treaty of Luneville.

Thus were extinguished the last hopes of humili-
 ating France by German subsidies and continental
 hostilities. The defensive resources of Britain,
 were still, however, vigorous, and her efforts, in
 consequence of maritime supremacy, were, in many
 instances, bold and successful. In the West In-

dies, the important island of Curaçoa was taken from the Dutch. In the east, the war of the Mysore was successfully crushed under the arms and government of Lord Mornington, now marquis of Wellesley. - The western departments of France were kept in continual alarm, by the squadron of Sir Edward Pellew. That gallant commander even made debarkations on the coast of Quiberon, and destroyed some batteries. Sir John Borlase Warren kept up hostilities in the same manner, by partial landings, by intercepting the coasting trade of the enemy, and by cutting off supplies on their passage to the naval armament at Brest. The combats of our single vessels with those of the enemy, were attended with the usual proof of British gallantry. Of these, there is one memorable instance in the annals of the year; the exploit of a subaltern officer, Jeremiah Coghlan of the Viper cutter, who, with a midshipman and eighteen sailors, in a ten-oared cutter, actually boarded and took by storm, a gun-brig of the enemy, having three twenty-four pounders and four six-pounders, with her full complement of men. The encounter took place within pistol shot of three French batteries, and the prize was not won till eighty-seven French were overpowered by twenty of our countrymen.

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The fort and island of Goree, in the spring of this year, surrendered to Sir Charles Hamilton, commanding the Melpomene of forty-four guns, accompanied by the Ruby and Magnanime. Towards the middle of summer, a secret expedition was fitted out, which in no degree realized the hopes it had excited. Belleisle was supposed to have been the first object of the enterprise. Deterred, (it is probable), by the strength of the place, the armament, consisting of Sir J. B. Warren's squadron, with a convoy of troops under

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command of Sir James Pulteney, sailed for the coast of Spain, and arriving at Ferrol bay, seized on the heights which overlook the town of that name, and its capacious harbour. In this state of affairs, General Pulteney had an opportunity of surveying the strength of the place, and of calculating the probable consequences of an attack. The information he received induced him immediately to reembark, and proceed on his farther destination. Some severe censures have been past on General Pulteney's conduct on this occasion; it appears, however, that the blame, (if there was any due), did not rest with him; it was imputable solely to those who had instructed him to land without sufficient information of the place he was ordered to besiege.

An armament of still greater magnitude appeared before Cadiz, and departed after the same fruitless shew of hostility. That city was at the time afflicted with a contagious distemper, similar in its symptoms and mortality to the plague. A squadron of 143 sail, of which twenty-two were ships of the line, and twenty-seven frigates, under the command of Lord Keith, with 20,000 land troops on board, under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, having summoned the governor to surrender, were warned to desist from the seige of a place afflicted by the plague, as a violation of the common usages of nations and humanity. To this message, the admiral and general sent a joint reply, that unless the armed vessels in the harbour were surrendered, their orders must be obeyed, which were, to proceed to hostilities. An attack appeared to be inevitable, when a gust of severe weather came on, which made a landing appear unadvisable; and the plague that raged in the place, presented an additional motive for retiring. The armament then proceeded to the Me-

diterranean, where a detachment, in a short time, reduced the island of Malta. The garrison of this island obeying the summons to surrender, were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and embarked for France, on condition of not serving either against England or her allies, until exchanged. Two Maltese ships, a frigate, and some gunboats, became the property of the captors.

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Terms proposed to the British as the price for being included in the treaty of Luneville. . . . Rejected. . . . Hardships of the country under severe scarcity. . . . Meeting of the last parliament of Britain, and proclamation for the first meeting of the united parliament of Britain and Ireland. . . . Efforts of Bonaparte to excite a coalition of the maritime powers against Britain. . . . Complaints of the northern allies of British tyranny over the seas. . . . Promulgation of their new maritime code. . . . Discussion of the dispute with the northern powers in the British parliament. . . . Expedition of Admiral Parker against the northern powers. . . . Battle of Copenhagen. . . . Death of the emperor Paul. . . . Accommodation of Britain with Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. . . . Resignation of ministers. . . . Finances. . . . Parliament prorogued.

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WHILE negotiations were proceeding between Austria and France, the French government, through the medium of Mr. Otto, who acted as agent for the exchange of prisoners, offered to include Britain in the treaty of Luneville, on condition of an armistice taking place by sea as well as by land; of Malta and Alexandria being delivered up as pledges of our sincerity, and the blockading squadrons of our navy retiring from Flushing, Cadiz, Brest, and Toulon. As the British secretary for foreign affairs gave a decided refusal to such preliminaries, the inclusion of Britain in the continental peace, was found to be inconsistent with the mutual pretensions of the belligerents; and the British cabinet, with sufficient dignity,

declined for the present to enter on a separate treaty.

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After a season of gloom and disquietude in the public mind, occasioned by the uncommon dearth of the necessaries of life, the British parliament again assembled towards the close of 1800. Before the meeting of parliament, the increased price of provisions had exhibited such distress among the lower orders of the people, as had not been equalled since the dreadful famine at the close of the seventeenth century. The crop of 1800, like that of the preceding year, had been generally deficient over Europe. The scarcity was great and deplorable, and bore every symptom of long continuance. Rumours of monopoly and forestalling increased the feeling of the evil, by giving it the aspect of injustice, rather than misfortune; but whether monopoly was in the least to be regarded as an aggravation of the scarcity, it is well-known, that no alleviation of it could follow from the legislative and judicial invectives which were uttered against these invisible agents of public mischief. The war was blamed, (more justly), as a collusive cause, that increased the scarcity; for who can deny, that 500,000 of unproductive consumers, (the army and navy), can be fed at the public expence, without diminishing the common stock of provisions? The sober classes of the laborious poor, bore this hardship with laudable, silent patience. There were some riots, indeed, in the metropolis and other places, but no general ebullition that required bloodshed to quell it.

Parliament wisely declined the propositions that were made for their interference in regulating the price of corn. Instead of compulsory means, so inconsistent with the security of property, and the free spirit of the British constitution, the legislature confined its efforts to the remedy of the evil, by

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suggesting expedients for diminishing consumption, and encouraging foreign supply. Bounties were granted on importation; the baking of mixed and inferior flour was enforced by acts of parliament, and the distillation of spirits from grain was prohibited. These were in general the enactments or exhortations of the legislature at this crisis of distress, during which, to the eternal honour of the wealthier part of the community, the hand of private charity was more liberally opened, than at any period, which the history of human suffering has to record.

The discussion of the late negotiation, which occupied a part of this short and last sitting of the English parliament, produced no debates of memorable importance. The supplies being granted, the houses were prorogued about the end of December; and the Imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland was appointed to meet on the 22^d of January 1801.

Disengaged from continental hostilities, our great enemy was at liberty to wield his whole resources of power and intrigue against England alone. The circumstances of Europe, the insanity of a once-devoted ally, and the accidental exasperation of the other powers, completed his designs for a while, as successfully as military skill had given success to his continental career.

Though the weak and insane character of Paul Petrowitch afforded ample materials for the French to exercise their talents for intrigue, it does not alone account for the mutability of the Russian cabinet. Since the issue of two campaigns, the one in Switserland, and the other in Holland, so disastrous to the Russian arms, the sharpest criminations had mutually passed between the sharers in those unfortunate contests. The Russians attributed to their allies of England and Austria, the

whole blame of their misfortunes. They taxed the cabinet of Vienna with treachery, and the army of England, who had fought in Holland, with cowardice in the field. On the policy of Austria it is not here the place to indulge reflection; but the history of the Dutch expedition fully repels the falsehood of the latter reproach. This disgust of the Russians at the Antigallican allies, which in the first instance pervaded more than the individual breast of the sovereign, it was the policy of France to aggravate by the most insidious arts. Above all, it was the effort of Bonaparte to irritate the mind of Paul to the utmost pitch of provocation against England. While the English press and print-shops teemed with insults to the person and character of the capricious emperor, the French loaded him with adulation. They received his ambassador with pomp, and fairly fixed his capricious affections. They pretended to spare the Neapolitans at his intercession. In the puerile ambition of Paul, it was a favourite wish to enjoy pre-eminence in the titles of chivalry, by presiding over the knights of Malta, and obtaining possession of that island. The refusal of England to surrender this acquisition, kindled his indignation, while the promise of France, that the island should be ceded to him as soon as it could be wrested from Britain, converted him into an ally of France, before peace had been formally proclaimed between the French and Russian empires.

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Next to Russia, the power of the greatest consequence of the north was Prussia; and at the court of that kingdom the influence of Bonaparte was too successful, while the efforts of Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Paris, seemed to have no other object than to draw a closer union between the cabinets of Berlin and Versailles. Thus were the two leading powers of the north devoted to the inte-

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rests of France, independent of another cause of rupture with England, in which new accessories were to join them.

The favourite invective of the French against England, was the tyranny of the latter over the natural liberty of the ocean. Proclaiming the necessity for establishing the freedom of neutral trade, and inviting the maritime powers to a confederacy against Great Britain, France renewed the same demands, and promulgated the same maritime code which had been the leading principle of the armed neutrality in 1780. 'England,' (said the chief consul), 'must be forced to permit that neutral nations shall carry on the coasting trade of the belligerent powers, and sail freely for this purpose from one port to another of the same country.' The policy and pride of Britain forbade such an admission. 'Secondly' (said the consul) 'France and Europe must support the maxim, that free ships make free goods, with the exception of goods confessedly contraband, and articles of war.' Britain neither admitted this maxim, nor limited contraband goods to the articles so denominated by the enemy. Thirdly, the consul required, that those ports only should be considered as blockaded, at the entrance of which the blockading ships were actually anchored, and that so near as to create at all times an evident danger to those ships which might attempt to enter. The English insisted, that blockades might be constituted by neutral squadrons, answering in a naval war to those real or virtual lines of circumvallation which belong to a siege by land. These ideal lines by sea, though not defended by an equal force, they held sufficient to exclude all right of commerce with the invested harbours. It was by this system only that many towns belonging to France, and particularly that of Brest, could be effectually blockaded.

The merits of the question respecting the liberty of the seas, and the right of search, will probably in no instance be decided by metaphysical arguments ; but if arguments were to decide it, it seems to be no weak one on the side of England, that the very code of maritime laws which were set aside by this new coalition, had been since the era of the armed neutrality solemnly acceded to by some of the northern powers.

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But, before the northern coalition had been formally cemented, the loudest complaints had been made by some of the maritime neutrals, not of the general principle of the right of search, as established by Britain, but of injuries undeservedly inflicted, of captures made where no contraband goods had been found, and of the tedious vexations in our courts of admiralty, attending the recovery of ships illegally detained. Sweden remonstrated against the illegal capture of many of her merchantmen bound for the Mediterranean, and of one of her merchantmen having been seized, without a cargo, and manned by English sailors, in the bay of Barcelona, for the purpose of surprising two Spanish men of war, by approaching under a neutral guise.

Denmark complained of similar injuries ; and an event occurred which had nearly precipitated immediate war. The captain of a Danish frigate, the Freya, having refused to permit the vessels under his protection to be examined by an English squadron at the mouth of the Channel, some broadsides were exchanged, in which several men were killed and wounded on both sides ; and the Dane, after striking his colours, was conducted into the Downs.

A temporary accommodation indeed took place with Denmark, on the mission of Lord Whitworth to Copenhagen ; but so fruitless did the negotiation prove, that an invitation of the Russian sove-

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reign to secure the liberty of the seas by an armed neutrality, was unanimously acceded to by Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden; and a convention was formally signed on the 16th of December 1800, by which the regulations of the maritime code were traced out, on the principles avowed in the late armed neutrality. The description of a blockaded harbour was limited by a new definition; the right of search was denied; and a support more powerful than arguments was destined to fulfil their resolutions, in the equipment of formidable fleets. The emperor Paul, exceeding all his allies in violence, laid an embargo on the British vessels in his harbours, and sent many crews of unfortunate seamen to the bleak regions of the interior of his dominions, under circumstances of wanton severity.

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The parliament of the united kingdom assembling on the 22^d of January 1801, proceeded to elect a speaker, and confirmed Mr. Henry Addington in the chair, which he had so long and so honourably filled. The speech from the throne was not delivered till the 2^d of February. The subject of the legislative union, the hostile convention of the northern courts, and the refusal of Russia to give satisfaction for the seizure of his majesty's vessels and subjects, were the leading topics of the address. The motion for address in the house of lords was made by his grace the duke of Montrose, the descendant of that illustrious family who had been so eminently instrumental in promoting the union between England and Scotland. The speech of the noble duke, which, along with a strong panegyric on the plan of the union, contained a vindication of our maritime rights, in the dispute with the northern powers, and the general conduct of ministers in the present season of war, preparation, and scarcity, was seconded by Lord Lucan. Lord Fitzwilliam rose to amend, or, in other words, to op-

pose the motions. To the subject of the Irish union his lordship scarcely made any allusion ; but expressed his astonishment, that at a crisis so awful, when we were about to be plunged into a new war, his majesty's ministers, instead of giving information to the house, had called on them for implicit confidence and blind support. The war into which we were now to be plunged, he said, was a war of our own seeking, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned. We had it in our power to suspend the discussion of the question disposed of in the neutral code, for it was suspended without any evil consequences in 1780, when surely this country was not in the very difficult situation in which she now stood. He advised an examination into the conduct of the war, before an address, promising support to the intended measures, should be proffered to his majesty. On a division of the house, the amendment fell by seventy-three votes against seventeen.

Sir William Watkins Wynne, following the topics of his majesty's speech, congratulated the house of commons on the happy consummation of the union between Great Britain and Ireland. As to the renewed claims of the maritime rights in neutral nations, he observed, that the emperor of Russia, not contented with abandoning the common cause of order, and the balance of Europe, had committed such outrages on the persons and property of Britons, as must unite every individual in these kingdoms to avenge and redress the indignity. The hostility of the northern powers, he observed, by cutting us off from supplies of grain, might aggravate the dearth of corn and provisions, but the mildness of the season afforded hopes of relief at no distant period ; and from the power, the loyalty, and the valour of our navy, we might augur success in our just and defensive efforts.

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Mr. Grey, at considerable length, opposed the sentiments expressed in the royal speech, and by those who proposed to return it as an echo. His opinion of the Irish union he avowed to be still unfavourable. With regard to the threatened war of the confederates, he could not indeed acquit the emperor of Russia of violent and hostile conduct, but he begged a distinction might be drawn between the case of that potentate, and the other powers in dispute with us. He expressed his doubts of the justice, as well as the importance of our claims on these neutrals, and moved an amended address, of which the purport was similar to Lord Fitzwilliam's in the peers. Dr. Lawrence addressed the house in behalf of Mr. Grey's amendment, and quoted, as precedents of forbearance applicable to the present time, the moderate policy of Queen Elizabeth, of Charles II, and of the administration of 1780, on the subject of searching neutral vessels. Mr. Pitt, in reply, expressed his regret for the singular circumstance, that members of the legislature should increase the difficulties of the country, by starting a doubt on the question of right; and observed, that it was unfortunate indeed, that the honourable gentleman and his friends should have begun to doubt, when the enemy had begun to arm. He defended the practice of searching neutrals, which it might now be incumbent upon us to vindicate by force of arms, on the plea of right, as well as of expediency. The principle on which we were now acting had been universally admitted, and acted upon as the law of nations, except in cases where it had been restrained and modified by treaties between particular states. Those very exceptions were proofs what the law of nations would be, if absolute, and unrestrained by such particular treaties. And with regard to the particular treaties between us and the

present hostile confederates, they inculcated the right of search in strict and precise terms. Arguing next upon the question of expediency, Mr. Pitt demanded whether we were to permit the navy of our ancient enemy to be supplied and recruited? Whether we were to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions? Whether we were to suffer neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or Toulon? He required his opponents to answer, whether the navy of France would have been left, and its strength and numbers as it now was, if the commerce of that power had not been destroyed, and the fraudulent trade of neutrals prevented? The question was decided by 245 votes for the original address, against 63 for Mr. Grey's amendment.

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At the commencement of the year, an embargo had been laid on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the ports of Great Britain; but the court of Berlin, although a party to the league, was treated, for particular reasons, with deference and respect. Preparations were also made to send a fleet into the Sound, and to hazard all the evils of war, in preference to the degradation of the national flag. It was resolved to strike with decisive promptitude, since the combined fleets of the north, had they acted by simultaneous movements, would have amounted to near eighty sail of the line, besides gun-boats and floating batteries; a power which was increased by the narrowness of their seas, and the dangers of their impervious coasts. In the meantime, the Danes entered Hamburgh, and without resistance held possession of its walls and gates. The king of Prussia, irritated at the capture of one of his vessels, had already seized on the bailliwick of Rizebuttle, and

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the port of Cuxhaven, under pretence of securing the independence of the north of Germany. His Prussian majesty soon after ordered the ports of the Elbe, the Wezer, and the Ems, to be shut against British vessels; and entering Hanover, seized on the capital, and levied contributions from the states of the king of Britain, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburg.

March 11. A British fleet of eighteen line of battle ships, with a number of inferior vessels, proceeded from Yarmouth roads early in the month of March, under the command of Admiral Parker, assisted by Vice-admiral Nelson and Rear-admiral Totty. The chiefs of the armament were instructed to direct their efforts against the capital of the Danish dominions, if the new plenipotentiary, Mr. Vansittart, should fail in detaching the court of Copenhagen from the northern alliance. The prince-regent, who was the actual head of the executive government in Denmark, frankly avowed his resolution to stand by the neutral confederates, and was zealously supported by his people in his efforts to fortify Copenhagen.

On the arrival of the English fleet in the Catte-gate, Sir Hyde Parker demanded, by letter, of the governor of Cronenberg, whether he might pass that fortress without molestation; declaring at the same time, that he should consider the firing of a single gun to be a declaration of war on the part of Denmark. The governor's answer was, that as a soldier he could not meddle with politics, but that he was not at liberty to suffer a fleet, whose intentions were not yet known, to approach the guns of the castle. The British admiral replied, in a second note, that he, after this answer, was bound by his instructions to proceed to hostilities.

On the 30th of March, the wind having come

to the northward, the British fleet passed the Sound, and anchored about five or six miles from the island of Huen. During the passage of the strait, which occupied four hours, a remote cannonade was exchanged between the castle of Cronenberg and our fleet, which did no execution on either side. There was no firing from the Swedish coast, which enabled our ships to pass at a greater distance from the Danish fortress. The commander in chief, accompanied by the Vice-admiral Nelson, and Rear-admiral Greaves, reconnoitered the formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire-ships, and gun-boats, stationed in the road of Copenhagen. They were flanked and supported by the batteries on the two islands called the crowns, which contained a numerous force of artillery. These islands were again commanded by two ships of seventy guns, and a large frigate in the inner road to Copenhagen, while two sixty-fours, without masts, were stationed in the entrance to the arsenal. The day after, the wind being southerly, the admirals again examined the enemy's position, and came to the resolution of attacking them from the southward.

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Lord Nelson having offered his services for conducting the attack, after having examined and buoyed the outer channel of the middle ground, proceeded with twelve ships of the line, and all the frigates and fire-ships, and on the evening of the 1st of April, anchored off Draco point, to make his disposition for the attack, and wait for the wind to the southward. It was agreed between the admiral and vice-admiral, that the ships remaining with the former should overawe the crown-batteries. The disappointment of this expectation was, however, no small obstruction to the subsequent operations of Nelson.

The prospect opened to the British fleet on en-

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tering the Sound, was fitted to excite a variety of emotions of the liveliest and most affecting nature. A splendid theatre appeared for war and victory; but the face of nature, and the recollection of the common interest, the common religion, the common origin and character of our countrymen and the nations on the shores of the Baltic, could not but inspire regret in the awful preparations for battle.¹

On the morning of the 2^d of April, Lord Nelson made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line, and eleven floating batteries. These were supported by the Crown-islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and other batteries on the island of Amack. A bomb-ship, and some schooner gun-vessels of the enemy, fled at the approach of Nelson, and made their escape. The other seventeen sail, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown-islands, after a battle of four hours, were sunk, burnt, or taken.

But the success of our fleet was limited and imperfect. From the very intricate navigation, two of our ships, the Bellona and Russel, unfortunately grounded, and although they performed considerable service, could not take their station in the place assigned. The Agamemnon could not

¹ In the north of Europe, there is not a finer prospect than the channel of the Sound, which presents on one side the land of Denmark, a continued succession of rich plains, woods, meadows, mansions, and pleasant gardens, adorned with all the arts of an industrious people; while the Swedish shore exhibits corn lands and pastures, over a mountainous and picturesque coast. The island of Huen, crowned with the observatory of Tycho Brache, arrests the attention of the passing voyager. To the spectator

looking back from thence, the fortresses of Elsinour, Cronenberg, and Helsinberg, seem to unite, and to bound on the north a vast lake; but as he advances, he discovers the sea, and the whole extent of the plain of Copenhagen; its ports filled with ships, and its cultivated environs. The fortresses, Gothic spires and towers, and the whole majestic outlines of a town, containing 90,000 inhabitants, are visible at a great distance over the level of the sea.

weather the shore of the middle, and was obliged to anchor. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by those three ships, which Lord Nelson was confident would have silenced the batteries of the Crown-islands.

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The action began at five minutes past ten. The van was led by Captain George Murray of the *Edgar*; and his example of intrepidity was quickly followed by every captain, officer, and man in the British fleet. The loss in such a battle was naturally very heavy; it was estimated at 943 wounded and slain. Among the killed was the gallant Captain Riou, and Captain Moss of the *Monarch*. Among the wounded was Captain Thomas B. Thompson, who lost a leg. As soon as the fire of the Danish line had slackened, and Lord Nelson perceived that the ships and floating batteries of the enemy were in his power, he sent a letter to the prince-royal of Denmark, addressed to the Danes, the brothers of Englishmen. The words were,—‘ Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson must be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them.’ His royal highness immediately sent his adjutant-general Lindholm on board the British admiral’s ship, the *Elephant*, to ask the particular object of sending the flag of truce. The vice-admiral’s answer was,—‘ Lord Nelson’s object in sending the flag of truce, was humanity. He therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the prince of Denmark, will consider this

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the greatest victory he ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the king of Denmark.' Hostilities ceased after this correspondence, which led first to an armistice, and afterwards to a compromise between Britain and Denmark, the secession of Denmark from the northern league being commonly understood to be the primary condition of the treaty. A few days previous to this engagement, the Danish and Swedish islands in the West Indies had been reduced by a squadron under Admiral Duckworth.

The Swedish fleet had left Carlescrona on the 31st of March, but were prevented, by contrary winds from joining the Danes. On the arrival of the British fleet before that harbour, the English admiral sent in a flag of truce, intimating the armistice of Denmark, and requiring an explicit declaration from the Swedes of their intentions with regard to adhering to the league against England. The Swedish admiral Cronstedt replied, in the name of the king, that Sweden would be faithful to her allies, but would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals from England, if they came through regular plenipotentiaries. The British admiral left Carlescrona without firing a gun, declaring, however, that if he met with the Swedish fleet before an accommodation took place, he must give them battle. The pacific intentions of Sweden were not announced till the 19th of May. In the interval, it was fortunate for the saving of human blood, that no meeting of the fleets took place.

But an event, important to the welfare of Europe, occurred a few days before the battle of Copenhagen, which, if destined to happen a short time sooner, might have saved the lives or limbs of 2,700 brave combatants in that engagement. The demise of Paul, emperor of Russia, by a well-

known death, in his own palace, and the accession of a wise and good successor, opened the path to conciliation between the northern powers and England. England, by a few salutary concessions, maintained the right of searching neutrals; and maritime commerce and harmony were immediately restored to their usual channels.² The negotiation opened by our ambassador, Lord St. Helens, at Petersburgh, terminated in a convention, signed on the 17th of June, to which Denmark and Sweden acceded, receiving back from England their captured ships and colonies.

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The fate of a great nation, like that of a great individual, never becomes so deeply interesting, as when their virtues are called forth, in the hour of adversity. Whatever opinion posterity may form of the origin of the war, they will look to the first year of this century with admiration for the heroic fortitude of England, which, bereft of every ally,³ sore pressed by a scarcity, almost amounting to famine, still presented a dauntless front to the hostility of combined Europe.

The pressure of the scarcity was at its hardest pitch, when the ports of the Weser, the Elbe, and the Baltic, were shut against our commerce. The threats of foreign invasion were confidently renewed. To fill the climax of calamities, the executive council of the kingdom was on the eve of dissolution, at a time when the visitation of a severe indisposition rendered it impossible for the retiring

² The right of search was permitted to belligerents, by the new arrangement, by ships of war, but not by privateers. Raw or manufactured commodities of the country engaged in war might be purchased and carried away by the neutral powers; but, by a subsequent explanatory declaration, that the

commerce between the mother country and the colonies was excluded from the benefit of this arrangement. Contraband articles were accurately defined.

³ The fate of Portugal, during this year, was such as to render her alliance rather a subject of regret than a source of assistance.

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ministers to return into the hands of their sovereign the badges of their offices.

The minister, and his high colleagues, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Dundas, having determined to resign, Mr. Pitt declared, that their inability to propose the full emancipation of the catholics was the motive of their secession. So much had been already granted to the catholics, that, until the union, Mr. Pitt had deemed it unsafe to make farther concessions; but, when that glorious measure had been accomplished, every obstacle seemed removed that stood in the way of emancipation. But one obstacle had not been foreseen: the coronation oath appeared to the conscience of his majesty to be inconsistent with those concessions to the catholics; and though the difference of his majesty with his ministers, on so important a case, was a subject of delicate discussion, yet it was, without ambiguity, avowed by the resigning cabinet to be the cause of their resignation. Of his majesty's scruples, no favour or wish for the abolition of religious intolerance, ought to bias our opinion. Religious oaths are sacred even in their scruples: the right of interpreting an oath must assuredly lean to him that takes it; and the conscience of a king admits of no absolution.

The subject of the resignation of ministers was, early in the session, brought before parliament; while they, or rather their friends, deprecating an immediate inquiry into many points of a delicate nature, connected with their retirement, did not disavow the cause. In speaking of the intended new cabinet, Mr. Pitt declined pledging himself to announce any anticipation of what measures were likely to be pursued by his successors; while Lord Grenville, in the peers, confidently predicted, that

the same measures would be pursued as in the system in which he had the satisfaction to think that he had taken a share. This difference of language was the more remarkable, that the new ministry had scarcely been formed, when Mr. Pitt seemed to stand in their confidence, and, by his conduct, did not appear anxious to refute a very popular suspicion, that he held, unavowedly, an influence over their councils. Lord Grenville and his friends, who had predicted a similarity of conduct in the new ministry, left, by their manly conduct, not a shadow of doubt, that, far from trusting the Addingtonian cabinet, they thought the nation unsafely placed in their hands.

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The enemies of Mr. Pitt exercised no more than their usual charity, in commenting on the causes of his resignation. It was not, they said, produced by the question of catholic emancipation. He had abandoned, with his colleagues, the public service, at a time of imminent danger, when those claims might have been postponed. The claims of the catholics did not press them: no degree of disquietude appeared on the subject.

These were plausible insinuations, but not proofs. Whatever were the motives of Mr. Pitt's retiring, there was confessedly a disdainful elevation in his character, which little accords with the supposition of his uttering a falsehood.⁴ His declaration to the Irish catholics, which accompanied his apology for resignation avowedly circulated in his name, in which he talked of himself and his party, as the only characters who could, or in future would, support the pretensions of the Irish catholics, was more open to objection than the credibility of his statement. In that paper, he spoke

⁴ This trait in the character of Pitt does not less apply to the pride of Lord Grenville, in repelling the insinuation; and must also to the undisguised enthusiasm of Windham.

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as if the candour of the people of England, and all the other champions of popular rights, were sources from which the catholics had nothing to hope; all their hopes were to be centered in him. This language betrayed the fault of his character, which was not duplicity, but solitary ambition; his ambition was solitary, not selfish. The public good was the sincerest worship of his heart, next to his being himself its chief administrator.

On his retirement, the eulogies and censures of friends and foes were naturally drawn to a point from different views of his long ministerial career. His supposed desertion of the cause of reform; his having plunged the nation into a war with France which grew necessary and defensive in its progress, but was asserted to originate in mismanagement, and the arbitrary measures of himself and colleagues, in having abridged the liberties of the subject, were some of the criminations urged by his enemies as faults that overbalanced all his virtues. It is needless to say how much his resistance to the dangers of reform, his preservation of our Indian empire, his energetic efforts against the French revolution, and his strong coercive measures at home, endeared the memory of his ministry among those who thought reform our only danger, and war our only preservation. The management of the war, though a matter of fact, rather than opinion, no less divided the suffrages of the nation. While our naval glories were justly extolled, and the acquisition of colonies proudly enumerated, the friends of ministry were reminded, that our efforts by land had been deeply drenched in disaster, and that the war had disappointed most of their predictions.

In the less disputed merits of the minister's character, it was a praise not confined to the language of his dependants, that he was the first financier of the age, and among the first of its orators.

The subsequent arrangements of the cabinet placed in the situations of a Grenville and Spencer, men considerably less illustrious for their political talents. At the head of the new administration, was the honourable Mr. Addington, a member of parliament long respectable for the manner in which he had filled the situation of speaker. Lord Grenville was succeeded by Lord Hawkesbury, eldest son of the earl of Liverpool. Most of the other situations were filled by gentlemen who had belonged to the late administration.

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Shortly before his resignation, Mr. Pitt submitted his budget for 1801 to the committee of finance. The supplies to be required, he stated at £42,197,000; to be supported between Britain and Ireland, in the proportion of fifteen seventeenths to the former, and two seventeenths to the latter country. For this, the ways and means amounted to £16,746,000, arising from existing imposts and duties, the surplus of the consolidated fund, the saving of subsidies and other sources. £25,000,000 were to be raised by loan in England, and £2,500,000 in Ireland, for the interest of which, new taxes on different articles of use and luxury were voted, to the amount of £1,796,000. In addition to the contents of Mr. Pitt's budget, the new minister proposed and carried some commutations of these taxes, and the substitution of others, which, along with the lottery, exceeded a sum of £234,000. The most important of the new imposts was an additional duty of ten per cent. on paper.

The propositions of the minority for inquiries into alleged misconduct in the management of the war, fell as usual to the ground. These motions related to the expedition to Ferrol and Cadiz, and the refusal of government to ratify the convention of El Arisch, which were negatived by

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large majorities. A humane measure, originating with a nobleman of independent principles in the peers, was, however, successful. A bill for the release of insolvent debtors, whose debts did not exceed £1500, who had not fraudulently incurred the debt, and who were willing to yield their whole effects to their creditors, passed in the first session of the united parliament. By a select committee of the commons, for examining into the state of disaffection still subsisting throughout the kingdom, an elaborate statement was given of the facts which had been discovered by the vigilance of government. Respecting the lurking spirit of rebellion, the contents, as far as they related to Ireland, were sufficiently serious: they shewed that conspiracy, though crushed, was not extirpated. With respect to England, the facts reported of a few inebriated toasts, and the skulking orgies of a few contemptible politicians of the rabble, formed so small a taint on the general loyalty of the people, that, however just and proper the inquiry into them might be, the ostentatious display of them as the ground of alarm, was unworthy of a great legislature. The suspension of the habeas corpus act was renewed; and a bill of indemnity, in favour of government, respecting political prosecutions and punishments, was passed before the rising of the session.

The remaining business of the session chiefly related to propositions for encouraging the importation of provisions into the kingdom, and relieving the pressure of that scarcity, which lasted till the plentiful harvest of 1801 was gathered in.

At the conclusion of a long and laborious service in superintending the affairs of the East-India company, Mr. Dundas delivered a very flattering statement of the prosperity of that corporation, and the stability of our Indian empire. According to

Mr. Dundas's statement, the resources of the company were better by £11,000,000 than they were thirteen years before, in spite of the arduous wars which they had maintained and terminated. This statement did not pass without unqualified contradiction: a member of the commons, Mr. Hussey, who entered deeply into the subject of the company's affairs, 'maintained that if their debts were paid, they would be £6,000,000 minus.' In the contest, however, on this dubious statement, the merit of Mr. Dundas, as a faithful agent in that laborious department, was not disputed.

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The session of parliament terminated on the 1st of July.

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Situation of the French in Egypt. . . . Plan of co-operation between the forces of the British and Ottoman army for its recovery. . . . Movement of the British fleet conveying the army of Abercrombie. . . . Landing of the British troops on the 8th of March. . . . Battles of the 13th and 21st. . . . Progress of the troops under General Hutchinson. . . . Capture of Rosetta, Rhamanich, and Grand Cairo. . . . Surrender of Menou in Alexandria. . . . Naval campaign. . . . Attempt of Sir J. Saumarez to cut out a French squadron near Algesiras. . . . Subsequent action with the French and Spanish fleet. . . . Attempt on the flotilla of Boulogne by Lord Nelson. . . . Unexpected conclusion of preliminaries of peace. . . . Treaty of Amiens. . . . Conclusion.

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THE victory of Heliopolis, the suppression of the insurrection in Cairo, and a system of judicious arrangements, had wrought an auspicious change in the affairs of the French in Egypt, when the poniard of an assassin deprived the army of Kleber, their respectable general, while he was walking in his garden among some workmen. The assassin was punished by the dreadful death of impaling. Upon the strictest examination, it did not appear that this act was connected with any general conspiracy of the natives.

General Menou, the successor of Kleber, possessed neither the confidence of the army, nor talents of any description sufficient to compensate for the want of popularity. Dissentions, which had broke out during the command of Kleber, were not likely to be appeased under the auspices of the new leader. To augment the misfortunes of the

French, the plague had again appeared at Cairo, after a temporary cessation. Their finances could be collected only by force; their military chest was nearly exhausted.

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Amidst these misfortunes, however, they were not hopeless of farther assistance from France. The aid already thrown in had been insignificant. A few vessels, with some troops of the line, a company of comedians, and a supply of women of pleasure, had stolen in to Alexandria, when Lord Keith withdrew his squadron from that port to Aboukir. A large squadron, under Gantheaume was, however, known to be intended for the relief of Egypt. The object of Gantheaume was two-fold, to elude all meeting with a British fleet at sea, and to throw supplies into Egypt. Never did a French admiral so completely effect the desired object of shunning an interview with our navy: he was constantly in motion, and constantly invisible to the British fleet for the best part of a year; but his changes and elusion never brought him to Egypt.

To rouse the efforts of the Ottoman government, and to avail ourselves of our own superiority at sea, was now the hope and policy of the British government. The barbarous indiscipline, the superstitious jealousy, and the feebleness and timidity of the Turkish government, distracted by the rebellion of Passwan Oglou, presented serious obstacles to the recovery of Egypt. The memory of Heliopolis, and the threats of the Russian emperor to invade them, made a deep impression on our allies, and disposed them to wish for a compromise with Menou; fears which that commander fortunately had not skill to turn to his advantage. After several negociations with the Mahometan powers, the French general refused to come to terms with the vizier, and confined his stipulations with

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the Mamelukes, to the latter maintaining neutrality, as he could not trust them in the state of auxiliaries. The French force in Egypt, distributed in the posts, garrisons, and hospitals, were, by an estimate, probably exaggerated, computed at 30,000. Their allies the Copts, Greeks, and Arabs, on whose bravery little reliance could be placed, and whose fidelity still less to be depended on, were computed at 15,000.

General Regnier admits that the French had 21,800 men fit for service, at the time of the arrival of the English.

In the plan of wresting Egypt from the French, it was concerted that three armies should co-operate. The grand vizier was to lead the army of the Ottoman empire across the desert; a body of English troops, commanded by General Baird, were to be brought from India by the Red sea; and the main army of the English were to be landed on the opposite shores. This last and most important body, which had long harassed and kept up an alert on the coasts of France, Spain, and Italy, assembled in November 1800 at Malta. The command of them being declined by General Stuart, devolved on Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Embarking from Malta in December, they rendezvoused for sometime on the coast of Carmania; and, after encountering the westerly gales, reached Aboukir on the 2^d of March. From the time of their arrival to their landing, which a dangerous coast and a heavy swell of the sea did not permit for several days, they beheld the gathering of the French troops on the adjacent shore, their batteries increasing, and their defences growing daily more formidable. But the name of Aboukir, and the remembrance of Acre,¹

¹ The presence and aid of Sir Sydney Smyth, was no unfortunate circumstance amidst the preparations for invasion. His first landing to reconnoitre the lake Maadie, produced a trivial, but

did not permit such a scene to inspire desponding sentiments; and on the evening of the 7th, as the wind changed, and the sea abated, the shores were reconnoitred, and the spot for landing determined upon. The high spirits of the troops seemed a favourable prognostic of success.

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At three o'clock in the morning of the 8th of March, the signal rocket was sent from the admiral's ship, the boats which conveyed nearly 6000 men,² and amounted to 150 in number, proceeded to rendezvous near the ship *Mondovi*, which was anchored about a gun-shot from the shore. It was nine when they advanced in a body to the beach, under the direction of the honourable Captain *Cochrane* of the *Ajax*, protected by the necessary vessels, and attended by the launches and field artillery under *Sir Sydney Smith*. The French, occupying a steep hill at the point of landing, chosen by the engineers, received them with a storm of shot and shells from fifteen pieces of artillery, and 2,500 muskets. Our troops reserving their fire till they should form on the beach, rowed determinedly forwards, preserving the most perfect order, and answering the cannonade of the French by an exulting huzza. On their approach to the shallow water, the French dragoons rushed in many places into the sea, and wounded our men in the boats.

When the reserve of the army,³ which is usually first landed, was put ashore, they immediately advanced with fixed bayonets, drove the enemy's artillerymen from their batteries, and chased their infantry from the sand hill. During the attack,

laughable capture, which excited the pleasantry of the whole fleet: these three first captives in the Egyptian expedition, which that officer brought from the shores, after driving the enemy from a

small battery, were a French colonel, a jack-ass, and an Arab driver.

² Under General Coote.

³ Commanded by General Moore.

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the seamen, in the face of a hot fire, harnessed themselves to the artillery, and drew it up to support the vanguard of their victorious countrymen. The French employed 4,000 men in this engagement; their loss was, as usual, concealed or undervalued. On the side of the assailants 554 were killed or wounded; a considerable loss, but which rather enhances, than diminishes the glory of the achievement, considering the position of a fortified enemy, and that the greatest part of the service was performed, while only 2,000 British had yet landed. The possession of eight pieces of artillery, and of a strong and fortified station, were the acquisitions of this day. By night, the whole of the army had landed, and from the 9th to the 12th were engaged in landing the stores and provisions, while the French had retreated to Alexandria.

On the 12th, the whole army moved forward, and arrived within sight of the enemy, who, to the number of 6000, were now encamped between the canal of Alexandria and the sea. On the morning of the 13th, orders were given to attack the French, with an intention to turn their right flank. The English left wing approached by the edge of the lake Maadie. Their right acting as a reserve, covered the movement, and kept in a parallel with the first line. The centre marched on the other side of a height, which concealed them from view, so that the French general Lanusse supposed the right wing to be insulated. The spirited charge of the French was received by the 90th and 92^d regiments with the greatest gallantry, and they were kept at bay till the centre of the British appeared on the height, when Lanusse began his retreat to the heights of Nicopolis. This position, it was judged improper to attempt, and the victors were ordered to halt in their pursuit. On the retreat of the British, the French renewed

their fire of artillery from the fortified heights of Nicopolis, and did considerable execution. Not less than 1,200 men fell on the side of the British, on a day which was indeed dearly won, but which amply contributed to farther successes.

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Leaving a strong guard on the heights of Nicopolis to impose on the English, the French employed themselves in repairing the works of Alexandria. On the 18th of March, fort Aboukir surrendered to the English, while Menou arriving from Cairo with the whole of his disposable force, was on the 20th concentrated at Alexandria, and prepared for giving battle on the following day.

The English occupied about a mile in extent, nearly four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the lake of Aboukir, and the canal of Alexandria, at that time dry, on their left. The front of the right wing was composed of the 28th and the 42^d regiments, and Stewart's foreign brigade. This front was supported by the 23^d, 58th, and some other regiments. Against this wing, the efforts of twelve French demi-brigades, and all their cavalry, except one regiment, were to be directed. The enemy meant, at the same time, to penetrate the centre, while the left wing was to be amused with lighter troops.

The action began two hours before day-light, and the faint attack on the left was immediately succeeded by a dreadful onset on the other wing of the British. No pains had been spared to inspire the assailants with courage; brandy had been plentifully distributed, and louis d'ors promised to the men if they should succeed. They were commanded by Lanusse, and contained, among other corps, the renowned regiment which had obtained at Lodi the title of invincible. In the conflict, this corps became engaged with the 42^d regiment

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of highlanders; the greater part were cut to pieces, the remainder fled to a ruined fort, where, on being pursued by the highlanders, they surrendered as prisoners, and delivered their standard to Major Stirling, of that gallant regiment.⁵

The support afforded by the 42^d to the 28th regiment, had checked the French infantry, and regained the ground which had been lost by the first onset of the French; but to confirm the strength of the right wing, it was necessary for the foreign brigade to advance. By the spirited movement of this body, both the 28th and 42^d were saved from imminent danger, when they had been nearly surrounded by fresh troops of the enemy, and a charge of cavalry had been made on the highlanders, which broke their ranks: still, however, the native spirit of the regiment was not subdued. The men of that part of the regiment which was broken, fought by threes and fours, hand to hand, with the French cavalry; and it was in one of these personal combats, that a highlander killed a French officer in attempting the life of Abercrombie. The repulse of two impetuous attacks left the British masters of the field, and the French retired under the protection of their cannon. The deficiency of ammunition prevented an effective pursuit on the side of the victors, but the fire of some vessels of war, in the adjacent harbour, quickened the retreat of Menou.

⁵ The standard was given by Major Stirling to serjeant Sinclair of the same regiment, who, on retiring to the rear as ordered, was wounded, and fell into a swoon; when he recovered, the standard was gone. The standard was brought into the camp by a private of the Minorca regiment, Anthony Lutz. The question of glory respecting the taking of the standard, engaged more discussion than it was worth. In the heat of a bat-

tle, the greatest coward may be the accidental bearer of such a trophy. The question of more honourable importance to be ascertained respecting the 42^d was, whether they were or were not the regiment who were chiefly engaged with the French regiment, so justly renowned? That the 42^d regiment had the honour of chasing those invincibles into the ruined fort, is fully proved by a statement of the battle published by authority.

Perceiving the advantages of the French position, and unprovided with cavalry, the English were contented to harass their retreat, and at 11 *a. m.* they reoccupied the heights of Nicopolis. From 11,000 to 12,000 of the enemy were said to be engaged in this battle, a number nearly corresponding to our own. The loss of the former probably exceeded 3,000, that of the British was little more than 1,200; but among these, the army and the empire had to regret the loss of one of her best and most beloved commanders, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who died of the wounds he received on this day, after a life spent in the service of England, to which his name was endeared by every virtue of the man, the soldier, and the patriot. In private life he had been amiable. In his profession he had forced promotion by merit. In the West Indies he had gained acquisitions, and might have been enriched with plunder, had his sense of honour permitted him. In Ireland he had distinguished his clemency.

On the death of Abercrombie, the chief command of the Egyptian army devolved on General Hutchinson. Although the battles of the 13th and 21st of March had led the way to the conquest of Egypt, they had by no means secured it. General Hutchinson, aware of the difficulties that yet remained, or anxious to save the effusion of blood, offered to the enemy to renew the treaty of El Arisch, a proposal which Menou, with a pride little proportioned to circumstances, haughtily refused. Resolving therefore on immediate operations, Hutchinson determined to reduce Lower Egypt, and make his way to Cairo, leaving Alexandria to be blockaded by a large detachment of troops under General Coote, and a fleet under Admiral Bickerton. In the meantime, he was gratified by the arrival of the Turkish capitan pacha, at the head of

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6,000 men. Rosetta was captured within a few days. A reinforcement of 3,000 fresh troops from England brought a succour of still more importance; and word was brought from Cossire, that the first division of the army from Bombay, under General Baird, had arrived. Mourad Bey, alarmed at the dangers of the French, deserted their cause, and Diezzar, pacha of Syria, dissembling his hatred to the Turks, sent troops to reinforce them.

By the plan of Hutchinson's operations, it was expected that Alexandria, by being completely cut off from relief, would be taken by storm, or compelled to capitulate. To debar the French from communications with the interior country, the canal of Alexandria was cut, to let the sea into the lake Mareotis, and thus render the capital an island. Having effected this change, the British commander proceeded in his plan of reducing Egypt; and while Lord Keith commanded the coast, to intercept communications between France and her troops, Sir Sydney Smith headed a squadron of gun-boats that sailed up the Nile, to co-operate with the army.

After the capture of Rosetta, the main body of our army proceeded to Rhamanich, which commands the entrance into the Delta, and took the place, after a slight resistance. This was an important stage in their progress, since the communication of Menou in Lower Egypt, and Belliard, the French commander in Upper Egypt, was completely cut off. In their course, they intercepted a convoy of 500 camels, with an escort of 600 men, destined for Alexandria; while their flotilla on the Nile captured a valuable convoy of stores and provisions.

Encouraged by the prosperous career of the English, and by their expected junction, the Turks, under their grand vizier, had advanced against

Belbeis. A detachment of 4,600 French, from Cairo, meeting the vizier's advanced guard, received a check, which forced them to retreat seven miles from the field of battle, to El Hanka. On this occasion, the evolutions of the Ottoman troops were performed under the inspection of an English commander, and the artillery was served by English officers. The action, though insignificant, taught the Turks to contemplate, with diminished terror, an enemy whom they had so justly dreaded.

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These successes, and the exemplary behaviour of the troops, encouraged both the Arabs and the Mamelukes to join our army in great numbers. While their progress was marked with victory on the left bank of the Nile, they also made advances in the Delta, and took a very valuable convoy on the canal of Menouf, which joins the Rosetta to the Damietta branch of the river. Possessing both sides of the great river, the army proceeded, with a patience worthy of the character they had upheld, to traverse the burning sands of the desert, which still intervened. At last the pyramids appeared in sight; and, after investing Gizeh, which is opposite to Cairo, the Anglo-Turkish allies prepared for reducing that once-famed capital.

Notwithstanding the repeated defeats of the French, this city was still capable of sustaining a siege; but General Belliard, who commanded in it, sent a flag to the English camp, on conditions nearly similar to those of the treaty of El Arisch. The troops, to the number of 13,000, were escorted to the place of their embarkation by a detachment under General Moore, and carried with them, as a mark of unfeigned regard, the corpse of their late leader, Kleber.

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The capture of Alexandria, and the surrender of the French commander in chief, now alone remained to crown the fortune of the expedition. Menou, far from approving of the capitulation of Cairo, increased the fortifications around Alexandria, particularly at Nicopolis, and avowed his determination of burying himself under its ruins: nor did he yet despair of receiving the reinforcement entrusted to Gantheaume, who, after remaining two days within thirty leagues of Alexandria, was obliged to bear away, for fear of an interview with the English fleet. It was therefore determined by the allies to accelerate their attack. General Coote debarked, with a considerable detachment, to the westward of the city, and seized, without much resistance, the castle of Marabout, at the entrance of the western harbour. On the east of the town, the divisions of Generals Moore and Craddock possessed the fortified heights; while a hill of considerable importance was retained by the bravery of only 200 men, under Colonel Spencer, who closed, in a charge of bayonets, with 600 of Menou's troops, and put them to rout, with great slaughter. The troops under General Coote, aided by the armed vessels, under Captain Cochrane, and the flotilla, under Captain Stevenson, pushed the siege with increasing vigour on the western side. Batteries were raised against the principal redoubt of Alexandria, and their advanced guard was surprised. In this extremity, Menou, despairing of relief, deemed it prudent to capitulate. The garrison was in great distress, and threatened by the approach of famine. Indeed, the protraction of the siege, after the surrender of Cairo, seemed but a parade of resistance, to support the vain threat of Menou, that he would bury himself under the ruins. The conditions which had been

granted to Belliard were not refused to his superior. An attempt was made to include the acquisitions of the learned men among the articles of confiscation; but, on their resolutely declaring, that they would rather burn their papers than resign them to the English, the claim was relinquished. A cargo of Egyptian antiquities, however, which they could neither conceal nor destroy by fire, was brought to the British museum.

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During this arduous and interesting conclusion of the conquest of Egypt, the English lost twenty-four officers, and from 700 to 800 private men, including the naval, as well as the military, service. Different was the fate of France in this memorable expedition, who, besides the loss of the finest fleet in her navy, saw but 23,000 men return from a fruitless invasion, in which nearly 40,000 of her best troops had embarked. They were accompanied by several hundreds of the natives, of both sexes.

The nation was not slow to acknowledge and reward the merit of an army and squadron, who had so much contributed to shed success and glory on the later period of the war. Titles, honours, and well-earned pensions, were bestowed on the most distinguished officers of the service; the thanks of parliament were voted to both army and navy; and every regiment, which had served in Egypt, was permitted to add an embroidered sphinx to its colours, and to have 'Egypt' inscribed in the field.

In the naval campaign of this year, although no grand battle between the fleets of the rival nations took place, our maritime superiority was, as usual, successfully maintained. On the Channel station, Admiral Cornwallis menaced or blockaded Brest; in the south, Sir John Borlase Warren intercepted the trade and communication of Toulon; Sir James

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Saumarez cut off the trade of Cadiz; Dickson and Graves menaced the Dutch shores; Keith and Bickerton possessed the Levantine and Egyptian seas; Rainier and Blanket cruized in the Indian ocean and Red sea; Duckworth and Seymour protected our West-India islands; and Nelson threw back the terrors of invasion on the shores of France.

The Dutch colonies of S^t. Eustatia were captured early in the course of the year, by Captain Perkins of the Arab, and a detachment of the third regiment of foot, under Colonel Blunt. Ternate, the chief of the Molucca islands, surrendered to the arms of the East-India company.

July 6. In the Mediterranean, Sir James Saumarez, finding three French ships of the line and a frigate at anchor near Algeziras, embraced the bold resolution of cutting them out. His force consisted of six ships of the line.⁶ Of this formidable force, several ships were for some time prevented, by the failure of the wind, from succouring the leading ships, which began the attack; but the circumstance which proved fatal to Saumarez's attempt, was the French ships being enabled to warp so near the tremendous batteries on the shore, that the British were exposed to an unequal contest. The Hannibal, by a bold and decisive movement, was endeavouring to get between the enemy's ships and the land-batteries, when she unfortunately struck on a shoal, beneath the guns of the Spaniards. Leaving this valuable ship to her fate, the British commander was obliged to retire with the rest of the squadron. She ran aground, and was obliged to strike, after losing 375 men. The news of this disaster occasioned a boundless exultation

⁶ Viz. The Venerable, the Pompée, Audacious, Cæsar, Spencer, and Hannibal.

in France: it was publicly announced in the Parisian theatres, that six ships of the line had been beaten by three French ships, and one of the British taken. No mention was made of those batteries on shore, to which the Spaniards, in the gazette of Madrid, justly ascribed the victory: which stated, at the same time, that the French had lost 800 men; and that two of their ships had been driven ashore, and entirely disabled.

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Eager to avenge the disaster, Sir James Saumarez, on learning that a fleet of the enemy, reinforced by several ships of the Spaniards, had sailed from the same station, with a view to make the harbour of Cadiz, hastened to give them battle with inferior force.⁵ The enemy had cleared Caberetta point, in the neighbourhood of Algeiras bay, with ten ships of the line, of which two carried 112 guns each, and the rest from ninety-six to seventy-four.⁶ At eleven at night, on the 11th July 13. of July, two British ships, a seventy-four and an eighty, bore down upon a cluster of their ships, and opened a severe cannonade. In a short time they perceived that two of the largest of the Spaniards were on fire, and that, confused by the darkness of the night, the enemy were firing on each other. The sight of this dreadful conflagration, in which it was impossible to relieve an enemy in distress, while it afforded the British the satisfaction of thinking their victory more secure, could not but inspire an awful feeling of sympathy in humane and gallant breasts. Two thousand four hundred men were on board these vessels, inextricable from destruction, by either friend or foe.

Passing on to the attack of a French ship of se-

⁵ His force consisted of five ships of the line, a thirty-two gun frigate, a sloop of twelve guns, and another of eight.

⁶ Of these ten, one returned to harbour before they engaged our fleet. They were commanded by Admiral Moreno.

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venty-four guns, bearing the flag of the commodore le Roy, the British admiral found she had struck to an antagonist of equal size. The remainder of the hostile fleet were pursued by Saumarez, in an uncertain chace, during the darkness of a tempestuous night. The result of the pursuit was, that of two French seventy-fours, which were discovered at morning, one effected a narrow escape; the other struck on a bank, from which she was towed off, and carried to Gibraltar.

The boldness and success of this attempt, in which a fleet nearly double the size of the British had been attacked and dispersed, with so much destruction, deservedly entitled the commander to the thanks of parliament, and to the praises of his country.

Of the inferior achievements of our navy, and the engagements of single ships, many memorable circumstances might be found in the events of the year. Of these, instead of commemorating the whole, a single instance of British gallantry will suffice to shew that the invincible spirit of our seamen had not declined. Lord Cochrane, in the *Speedy* sloop, of fourteen guns, and fifty-four men and boys, fell in with a Spanish zebec, of thirty-two guns, and 319 seamen and marines, which he boarded with his gallant crew, and overpowered, without firing a single cannon.

The threats of invading England were never more confidently repeated by France than during the summer of this year; a period at which it is least probable that her intentions were serious, or her hopes or resources adequate to the attempt. But in such menaces, if there was no danger, it was at least an appearance of national degradation, that the fears and circumspection of England should be in constant subjection to the preparations of her enemy. The nature of war merely defensive was

dispiriting ; and, though a general invasion for the conquest of the country might be impracticable, there were yet different points on the coasts of France, Flanders, and Holland, from which deep wounds might be inflicted. It was resolved to attack the enemy in one of their own ports ; and in this expedition it is said that Lord Nelson volunteered his services. It was certainly one of the boldest enterprises which a veteran ever encountered ; and whatever was the issue, the result did no discredit even to veteran valour.

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Embarking on board the Medusa, and accompanied by two sail of the line, two frigates, and a number of smaller vessels, Nelson proceeded to Boulogne, where a fleet of the enemy's brigs and gun-boats had stolen along the coast, and assembled from different harbours of France. Twenty-four of these were anchored in a line in front of the harbour ; of these he destroyed ten in the course of a few hours, by a discharge of shells, which, with great humanity, he ordered to be directed exclusively against the fleet, and to spare the town. Inflamed by this success, the admiral ordered a general and close attack on the enemy's vessels in the harbour, in the night between the 15th and 16th of August. The British vessels were ordered to proceed in five divisions to storm the French line of boats, brigs, and luggers, which lay defended by long poles, headed by spikes of iron, projecting from their sides, and with strong netting moored up to their lower yards. They were moored head and stern across the harbour, with iron chains, and contained each from 200 to 300 soldiers : they were protected also by brigades of musketeers and batteries on the shore. To attack these, Lord Nelson had brought from the Downs a force of nearly seventy vessels of all descriptions ; but it was only with the boats of this armament that the

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present daring attempt could be made. Our men were provided only with boarding pikes, cutlasses, and tomahawks; fire arms were forbidden, for fear of alarming the enemy before they came to close quarters. Four out of the five divisions consisted of flat-bottomed boats and the boats of the different cutters in the squadron, which in general were ten-oared barges. The first was commanded by Captain Sommerville of the *Eugene*; the second by Captain Parker of the *Medusa*; the third by Captain Cotgrave of the *Gannet*; the fourth by Captain Johnes of the *Diligence*; the fifth division composed of howitzer boats, was under the command of Captain John Conn. Each division had its proportionate number of enemies to assault, and at half past eleven at night they proceeded to the attack.

The darkness of the night, however fitted for effecting surprize, was unfortunate for combined movements; and the night, perhaps, on such an occasion, was not more favourable than the day, for surprising an enemy, whose defences shewed how well he was prepared for resistance. Captain Sommerville's division seized a brig, close to the pier-head of Boulogne. On attempting to tow her out, the British found that she was secured by a chain.⁷ In a short time, discharges of grape-shot and musketry made such havoc among our men, that it was necessary to retire. Captain Parker's division attempted to board a number of vessels of different sizes; but their netting, and incessant discharges, baffled every attempt; and the better part of our men and officers were either killed or wounded. Captain Cotgrave's division, on approaching the division assigned to them, were assaulted by incessant volleys, which perforated and

⁷ Most of the French vessels way, and were found immovable had been secured in this unusual after the cables had been cut.

nearly sunk their vessels: the remaining divisions were not more successful. The French accounts confine the damage which the flotilla sustained in this battle, to eight boats and four barges, with an insignificant loss of men. The loss of the English in killed and wounded amounted to 172.

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Nelson ascribed the failure of the enterprize to the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the tide and half-tide, the separation of the divisions, and the circumstance of their arriving at different periods: but it seems to be sufficiently accounted for, by the showers of cutlasses and bayonets poured upon our men, both from the vessels and the shore, while they were employed in clearing away the strong boarding netting, the projecting spikes, and the chains which remained after the cables had been cut. Never was enterprize more unsuccessful; but the loss of success was not loss of reputation; the conduct of no officer or private in the enterprize was exposed to censure.

From the accustomed exaggeration of the French, in relating every advantage of their arms, it was expected that they would have blazoned their repulse of the attempt at Boulogne in the most extravagant colours. The modesty and truth which appeared in the official account⁸ of this affair, could be only explained by the circumstances which at this time disposed the French government to allure the public mind to the expectation of peace rather than war. After consolidating his power, and humbling the great nations of the continent, the establishment of peace with England could not be unwelcome to Bonaparte, to whom it would necessarily bring popularity; while the protraction of the war must eventually expose him to farther losses in his colonies, and demand from him either an attempt at

⁸ Viz. that which appeared in Paris by authority of the government.

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the hopeless invasion of England, or a tacit acknowledgment that it was beyond his power. It is needless to recapitulate the circumstances which made the prospect of peace acceptable to the administration of Britain, as the most precious boon they could confer upon the country.

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While defensive preparations were therefore continued on one side of the Channel, and a show of preparation for invasion on the other, flags of truce were daily passing amidst vessels of war between Calais and Dover, and couriers between London and Paris. Mr. Otto, who had been agent for the release of prisoners, still continued in the British capital, and soon after the preliminaries of peace had been ratified between the French and Austrian governments, Mr. Merry was sent to Paris as an agent on the part of the British ministry. At length the secretary of state for foreign affairs, after a long but mysterious negotiation with M. Otto, suddenly announced the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on the one side, and France, Spain, and Holland on the other. This intelligence was immediately conveyed in a note to the lord mayor, and diffused a general satisfaction throughout the metropolis and the kingdom. The preliminaries were ratified by the French government on the 5th of October; and such was the universal joy, that, when the French plenipotentiaries arrived with the ratification of the terms, their carriage was drawn through the streets by the populace. Never, perhaps, since the restoration of Charles II, was the general joy so extravagant. But while all ranks rejoiced at the tidings of peace, there were many who loudly complained of, and none who did not lament, the conditions on which it was obtained on the part of Britain. Nor were the French less eager, for better reasons, to celebrate a period which might be

considered less as a cessation from the innumerable evils of war, than a solemn recognizance, before Europe and the world, of their independence, and their immense acquisitions. Amiens was the place assigned for concluding the definitive treaty. To the meeting of plenipotentiaries, Great Britain deputed the marquis of Cornwallis; Joseph Bonaparte was sent on the part of France; Don John Nicholas Azara by Spain; and Roger John Schimmelpenninck by the Dutch republic.

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By the peace of Amiens, England ceded all her colonies acquired during the war, the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlements in Ceylon alone excepted. Egypt was to be restored to the Sublime Porte, and the integrity of the Turkish empire was guaranteed. The dominions of our ally, the queen of Portugal, were also to be preserved entire. So were those of the king of Naples. Every other interest on the continent was abandoned to the mercy of France. By an agreement, however, admitted in the course of the treaty, the limits of French Guiana in America were extended, and the dominions of Portugal curtailed, conformably to the treaty of Badajos.

The prince of Orange was to receive indemnities for his losses; but it appeared that the Batavian republic were not made responsible for this indemnity, and from whence the indemnity was to come was by no means distinctly ascertained.

The republic of the Seven Isles, under the protection of Russia and the Porte, was recognized by the treaty. The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, were to be restored to the knights of S^t. John of Jerusalem; but under such stipulations as admitted of ambiguous interpretation, and laid the seeds of future misunderstanding. The French princes, and the unfortunate house of Savoy, were left without indemnity or notice.

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Such were the outlines of a treaty, which gave joy, rather because it seemed to terminate evil, than because it awakened hope, or maintained glory. From the usual opponents of ministry, it neither could deserve nor draw an higher degree of approbation, than that it shewed a disposition more favourable to the interests of the country in concluding, than in protracting hostilities. But the policy of so many concessions could find few advocates beyond the pale of those who had framed the treaty. The members of the late cabinet were divided in their opinion of the terms. The minister who had commenced, and so long conducted the war, with better hopes and bolder promises than the treaty of Amiens realized, declared his approbation of the peace. A party, from whom a new opposition was soon to spring, at the head of which were Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, declared the peace to be degrading, insidious, and insecure. As the first surprise and joy of the nation gradually subsided, the sentiments of the warlike party grew more popular.

But of the terms of the treaty of Amiens, whatever may have been said, it seems now the general opinion, that the cessation of hostilities, by occasioning a new era in the contest, made the succeeding war more popular than the last; and on the side of England, no war can be hopeless that continues to be waged under the auspices of popular favour.

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- Oliver*, Alderman, voted to be sent to the Tower with the Lord Mayor of London, for committing the messenger of the house of commons to prison, i, 244.
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- Ville*, Hotel de, in Lyons, fortified by the Jacobins, iii, 8 ; is taken by the Lyonnese patriots, and the leaders of the jacobins put to death, ib.
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- Wickham*, Mr. the British minister at Basle, sounds Barthlemi, the French resident, on the intention of the French government relating to peace, iii, 129.
- Wilberforce*, Mr. supports a motion for a reform in parliament, ii, 312; moves for the abolition of the slave-trade, 317; proposes the abolition of that part of the slave-trade which supplied the territories of foreign countries with slaves, iii, 20; opposes the address to his majesty, pledging parliament to prolong hostilities till a counter-revolution should be effected in France, 64; his motion for the abolition of the slave-trade, 72; again renewed, 129, 341.
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- Willis*, Doctor, attends his majesty during his illness, ii, 279; receives an annuity of £1000, for twenty-one years, 318.
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- Windham*, Mr. his motion in the house of commons relating to the pay of subalterns, ii, 76; opposes the bill for farming the post-horse revenue, 231; opposes a reform in parliament, 311; opposes Mr. Fox's motion that an end might be put to the war, 455; appointed secretary at war, iii, 28; justifies the interference of Britain in the affairs of France, 65; supports the suspension of the habeas corpus act, 69; moves for a committee to prepare an estimate of the additional allowances intended for the subaltern officers of the militia on the return of peace, 76; supports Mr. Pitt's bill for suppressing seditious meetings, 120.
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- Worms*, taken by General Custine, ii, 407.
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- , Duke of, besieges Dunkirk, ii, 492; is obliged to raise the siege with the loss of his artillery, 493; proceedings of the army under his command in the Netherlands, iii, 32; is pursued into Holland by the French under Pichegru, 35; is defeated at Puffleck, ib; leaves his army, and departs for England, 96; takes the command of the army in Holland, 241; after various engagements with the enemy, is obliged to evacuate that country, 242.
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THE END.

