



THE
HISTORY OF
MODERN EUROPE,
FROM 1763,
BEING A CONTINUATION OF
DR RUSSELL'S HISTORY,
BY WM JONES,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES, &c.



THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE:

FROM

THE PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763

TO THE

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER, OF RUSSIA,
IN 1825.

(INTENDED AS A CONTINUATION OF DR. RUSSELL'S HISTORY.)

BY WILLIAM JONES,
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES, &c. &c.

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THE following pages have been drawn up with a view of furnishing a *CONTINUATION TO DR. RUSSELL'S HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE*,—a work of great merit, and of deserved popularity. Although the space of time that has elapsed since the termination of Dr. Russell's labours is comparatively short, being rather less than seventy years, yet such are the stupendous events which are crowded into it, and such their extraordinary importance, as to render a succinct and luminous exhibition of them a matter of general interest. Nor is it possible that they should ever cease to interest the inhabitants of Europe: posterity will find in a faithful record of them, not merely matter of surprise and astonishment, but materials of instruction to the Statesman, the Philosopher, and the Philanthropist. In detailing them to the public, the author can lay claim to no praise but that of fidelity in the narration. "Sacrifice only to truth" has been his constant motto, and the reader may assure himself that, while perusing these pages, he is not amusing himself with the "Romance of History."

*Hoxton, June 11th 1828.**

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART III.

THE PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763, TO THE TREATY OF
AMIENS IN 1802.

LETTER I.

A view of the situation of Great Britain consequent on the termination of the late war. Approaching dissensions with the American colonies. A. D. 1764—1775.

THE peace of 1763, left the nations of Europe under the pressure of an enormous taxation, one of the many and never failing results of a protracted war. The reduction of the armies at the same time dispersed a number of men whose military habits had now rendered them but little calculated for the employments of honest industry, many of whom, in various countries, swelled the catalogue of crimes; while others sought their livelihood on the Ural and the Volga, in the colonies of Russia; but America became the chief receptacle for the superfluous population of Europe. In addition to these circumstances, the booty procured in war, the treasures of the East Indies annually imported, the rapid accumulation of fortunes from the plantations in the West Indies, with a thousand instances of successful enterprise and good fortune which the chance of war had thrown in their way, had multiplied the wants of life, and the capricious claims of luxury in Great Britain had increased in an incredible degree.

The conquests which the British arms had achieved, added to the policy of Government ever fond of increasing its patronage, had greatly augmented the number of lucrative offices; and as the desire for obtaining such places could only be gratified at the pleasure of the court, a much larger proportion than heretofore of the country gentlemen and landed proprietors took up their residence in the metropolis, committing their estates to the care of their stewards; and as they thereby unavoidably enlarged their expenses, and involved themselves in debt, they were reduced to the necessity of raising their rents. The consequence of this was that the oppressed people was soon driven to despair, while their superiors were deaf to their complaints. Upwards of twenty thousand Irishmen in a short time transported themselves to America, and many thousands from the Highlands of Scotland and the islands of the Hebrides, also sought an asylum where they might perpetuate the customs of their ancestors and obtain the means of subsistence in the Western world. This multitude of recent emigrants to America,

adopting a mode of life conformable to nature and the principles of primitive equality, contributed much to the cultivation of the lands, and in various other respects, helped by their influence to accelerate that disruption with the mother-country, which was now rapidly approaching.

Great Britain, which already governed with one arm the banks of the Ohio, and with the other those of the ancient Ganges, at this time fitted out several expeditions in quest of new objects of dominion. In the year 1764, Commodore Byron was sent to take as correct a survey as was possible of the straits of Magellan. He traversed the Pacific Ocean, in which he discovered two islands, which he named King George's islands, after which a third presented itself, which was denominated from the Prince of Wales; and a fourth from the Duke of York. In May 1766, the expedition appeared in the Downs, after an absence of twenty-two months, from the time it had first sailed. This paved the way for the celebrated voyages of Captain Wallis, Carteret, Cook and Mulgrave, which followed each other in quick succession, and of the result of which we shall give a more detailed account in its proper place.

The British empire, whose foundations were laid in freedom, which was great in arms, and still more celebrated for its civil institutions, the object of universal admiration, and the envy of the most powerful nations, appeared to many to be almost exempt from the ordinary causes of the decay of nations. Yet this empire was in a few years from this period reduced so low, that it continued to excite admiration only by its constancy under an adverse state of affairs occasioned by the evil genius of its rulers. The power of Great Britain dissolved itself, nations sprang from her own bosom, and nursed in the cradle of freedom, disdained for that very reason to obey her oppressive demands.

Although the British people were generally dissatisfied with the terms of peace; though the French were expelled from the continent of America, and the disorderly court of Louis XV. could not be an object of serious apprehensions, the English government established a permanent military force in America, under the order of a Commander-in-chief. This army supported the executive power, which had reduced the judges to a state of dependance on itself by means of their salaries, and on that account appeared to the friends of freedom, to possess more than the influence to which it was entitled by the constitution. If we reflect for a moment on the vanity of men, and consider how few individuals, even under free governments, know how to combine the dignity of office with the necessary attention to popularity, we may readily conceive that many of the American governors became disagreeable to the people, and were, justly or unjustly, considered as arbitrary. When complaints were made to the ministers at home, they paid little attention to them, perhaps because they were fearful of betraying any degree of apprehension, but either disdained to reply to them at all or did it with severity. About this time party leaders began to arise among themselves, who excited, in the minds of their countrymen, the deepest resentment of the haughtiness of the English government.

Under these circumstances, the ministry attempted to deprive the Americans of their commerce with the French and Spanish colonies, by the profits of which the British colonists were chiefly enabled to pay for the manufactures of the mother-country. They now adopted the resolution of accustoming themselves, as much as possible, to do without the commodities of England; and during this period of dissatisfaction, the stamp-tax was introduced among them by the parliament of England. This was an extremely obnoxious measure to the Americans, who contended that the British House of Commons were disposing of the property of a great people who were not represented in it, and over whom it had no right: they maintained that the colonies were founded at the expense of the colonists, while the advantages arising from their preservation had been shared by England in common with themselves. Thus the epoch of the decline of the British dominion in America, like that of the destruction of the Stuart dynasty at home, was the moment when the nature and origin of the right of government became the

subject of investigation. The Americans were driven, by the imprudence of their adversaries, from a timid opposition to particular proceedings, to the declaration of their independence.

They refused to submit to the Stamp Act, alledging that the territory which was under their own regulations, defended by twenty thousand of their own troops, and sufficiently productive of taxes to defray the expenses of that force, belonged of right to them, and that they would suffer no arbitrary taxes to be imposed on it. The colony of Massachusetts's Bay, one of the most considerable of the whole number, and in which the spirit of republicanism was especially prevalent, encouraged all the rest by its example. The Americans assembled a general congress, and the ships of their harbours exhibited the tokens of mourning and of indignation. Amidst all these proceedings, the leaders, who were anxious that no immoderate or overstrained measures should be adopted, carefully restrained the people from all excesses; and their writings were composed in the language of the weaker against the powerful, but at the same time in that of united and resolute men. The hour of final separation, however, was not yet come; and the English parliament, after much violent discussion on the impolicy of the measure, at length rescinded the Stamp Act, in consequence of a majority of votes against the minister. When the intelligence reached across the Atlantic, the Americans fixed upon a day for the purpose of celebrating the event as an annual festival. The clothes which had been manufactured in the colonies were distributed among the poor, and all the people of property appeared in garments of English manufacture.

Before we proceed to prosecute the narrative of the unhappy dispute which had now commenced between the mother-country and her transatlantic colonies, it may be allowable, if not to digress, at least to pause, while we offer a few cursory remarks on the actual condition of these colonies, shewing the prosperous state, in a commercial point of view, to which they had attained at the period we are now describing.

The first thing that strikes our minds on this subject is the rapid increase of her population. In most of the European states it has been found that, for the last five hundred years at least, the population has doubled itself only once in a hundred years:—in North America the population has been doubled in twenty-five years. Eight thousand Englishmen originally emigrated to that country, and their descendants had multiplied to half a million at the commencement of the last century. In 1790 the population of the United States amounted to three millions nine hundred and fifty thousand; in 1800 to five millions three hundred and fifty thousand; in 1810 to seven millions two hundred and thirty thousand. It follows that in twenty-five years, namely from 1790 to 1815, the population had more than doubled itself; (1) and at the present period (1827) the population is little, if any, short of twelve millions. The wealth of the country has increased with equal rapidity. The exports of New England, at the commencement of last century, amounted to £70,000; and seventy years afterwards it was equal to £800,000 sterling. More than a thousand ships, and thirty thousand Englishmen were engaged in the trade with America, at the period when the differences between the two countries commenced; and the latter country rewarded them with the profit of her trade with the West Indies, Africa, Spain, and Portugal.

The constitution of the American colonies bore the original impress of liberty. The British monarch appointed the governor of New England, and the whole body of land proprietors elected a council of twenty-eight members. Military force was almost unnecessary; for the isthmus, and the islands which cover the entrances of the harbours, afforded natural defences. In Rhode Island the governor and his deputy, as well as the council, were elected by the people; and in all criminal cases, except those of high treason, murder, and piracy, they also exercised the privilege of pardon. In the midst of beautiful gardens, under a mild climate, and in a healthy atmo-

(1) Dwight's Travels, vol. iv. p. 501.

phere, arose Philadelphia, the establishment of the virtuous Penn. The inhabitants of the city were supported by the produce of the neighbouring country, and enriched themselves by their industry. Their manners, in process of time, began to suffer from the effects of prosperity; the affection that had been hitherto testified for the family of Penn, was in a great measure lost, and some symptoms of confusion began to appear in the interior of the country. The administration of Maryland belonged to the descendants of its founder, lord Baltimore; and was conducted by its governor, with the assistance of a council of twelve, and of the deputies of the districts. Religion was every where free from restraint; agriculture was held in honour; and peace and order were protected against the attempts of parties, and of wild and lawless men. Every colony cultivated in security that species of production which it found most suitable to its soil and climate. New England produced wheat, Turkish corn, rice, and barley. This colony contained noble tracts of pasturage; and six thousand fishermen gained an annual income of more than £322,000 sterling. The healthy colony of Rhode Island produced Turkish corn in great abundance. Nova Scotia, the circumstances of which were less favourable, because its government was military, enriched itself by its coal mines. On the other hand, New York was situated in a beautiful district, and rose to great importance. One hundred and eighty-eight ships, and four hundred and twenty-six sloops sailed from this port; and the banks of the East River were adorned with the residences of superfluity and pleasure. New Jersey was almost a garden. Maryland produced thirty millions of pounds of tobacco; and Virginia could deliver fifty millions. The romantic banks of the Shenando were cultivated by industrious Germans. Farther toward the south, the sun darted his scorching rays on immeasurable tracts of sand. North Carolina, however, rose to prosperity. South Carolina, the cherished object of solicitude to Coligny, Shaftesbury, and Locke, no longer dreaded the Indians, whose people were now entirely subdued,—this colony, in which the cultivation of the vine and the silk succeeded as well as in Italy, was second to none in value. At a still greater distance, where Savannah, situated between sand and forest, endures a degree of heat as great as that of Africa, Georgia was now rising to importance. In Florida, only the first beginnings of cultivation were visible in a few spots.

Such was North America at this interesting period: under the protection of Britain, she stood in fear of no foreign enemy; and the consciousness of her native strength was already too great to permit her to feel much apprehension even of her mother-country. The territory itself, its extent, and its climate, formed the protection of the Americans. The nation, like the country which it inhabited, appeared to be in the full vigour of youth; ardent, independent, and capable of astonishing exertions when stimulated to them.

In first imposing and afterwards rescinding the Stamp Act, the English ministry performed neither justice nor injustice to any good purpose. They were goaded to the former evidently by compulsion, and they committed the latter without energy. Some lawless proceedings had taken place at Boston, but compensation had been spontaneously tendered to those who suffered by them. The offer was rejected, and ministers demanded that as a duty which they were inclined to perform voluntarily. The community was thus excited to suspicion respecting the official reports of the governor's council, and they took the first opportunity of choosing other individuals into office. The governor reprimanded them for this exercise of their elective franchise; and they, in their turn, drew up a representation of the case, and sent it to the king. The document could not have the signature of the governor, as usual on such occasions, because it was directed against his own proceedings; and this informality furnished a very plausible pretext to the court for not receiving it, while the governor took occasion from the circumstance to discontinue the holding of those assemblies. About this time a reinforcement of troops was sent to America, and all New England was anxious that the commons should be assembled.

While the minds of the colonists were in this state of fermentation, the

British parliament imposed a duty on tea, for the purpose of relieving the East India company of a tax of 25 per cent, in order to enable the company to sell that article as cheap as the Dutch. This occurrence manifested that the English government, when it allowed the Stamp Act to be repealed, did not intend to abandon its right to tax the colonies. The Americans, however, were extremely enraged, and refused to pay the duty on its importation to their harbours. Nor can we wonder that the popular leaders should avail themselves of the circumstances of the times to promote their own designs; but the imprudent conduct of the English ministry furnished them with all they wanted.

It was under these circumstances that some young men of Boston, dissatisfied like Mohawk Indians, threw into the sea three cargoes of tea, in the presence of the governor, the council, the garrison, and even under the cannon of Fort William Henry, without the slightest resistance being offered to them. Such proceedings were matter of rejoicing to the ministerial party, who viewed them as affording a favourable pretext for effecting the complete subjugation of the colonies; and many, even of the friends of liberty in England, considered it utterly improbable that America would be able effectually to resist the power of the mother-country. When the ministers were warned by the opposition, that the colonies would make common cause against them, they replied, that were such the case, the colonies would only have to ascribe their misfortunes to their own imprudence! but despised enemies are dangerous.

On the principle of affording the necessary protection and indemnification to commercial rights, the British parliament now suspended the privileges of the harbour of Boston; adjudged the inhabitants to make compensation for the property destroyed; revoked the original charter of Massachusetts Bay; and, since a resolution of the council was necessary to enable the governor to employ the military force, an election of that body was taken from the community and vested in him. He, at the same time, received orders with regard to such persons as should be obnoxious to the displeasure of colonial authorities on account of their attachment to the government of the mother-country, to send their causes to England for adjudication. And in order to keep the Americans more effectually in check, the boundaries of the newly-acquired province of Canada were extended behind the other colonies; the council of that province, which, was nominated by the king, and of which half the members were Catholics, was provided with more extensive powers; and the civil jurisprudence of the despotic government of France was established as the law of all the inhabitants of the province, not excepting those of English birth; while, on the other hand, the milder criminal code of England was introduced even with regard to the native Canadians.

A general congress of the Americans having been convened, it was resolved, That the parliament of Great Britain had the right of enacting general laws, and the king that of refusing to confirm the provincial statutes; but that in all matters relating to property, none but the owners, or their representatives, had any power to legislate. With these temperate resolutions, they, however, united measures of defence; and it was agreed that the cultivation of tobacco should be exchanged for that of the articles necessary for food and clothing. Obedience to the governors appointed by the king of England was disallowed, and these gentlemen saved themselves by a precipitate flight. Representations were nevertheless continually made to the mother-country; but those documents were invariably rejected by the parliament, because they were signed by order of the congress.

In this state of things, New York endeavoured to obtain the honour of effecting a compromise between the mother-country and the colonies; but the documents transmitted to the British parliament with a view to this desirable end, were rejected because they emanated from a body not recognised in England. The parliament declared, That in pursuance of the fundamental law of 1689, only the lords and commons in parliament assembled, and no other body in the British empire, had the right of making any regulation with regard to taxes! It cannot be doubted that it would have been very

possible to give to the British empire a constitution, in which its provinces should be admitted to their reasonable share of influence; in which case, the freedom and power of the state would have been established on new foundations, and Great Britain would still have continued at the head of the empire, until the maturity of the New World should at length have rendered it necessary to transport the seat of supreme power across the Atlantic: but a measure of this kind required more wisdom and foresight than swayed the British councils at this period.

During all these occurrences, lord North, who at that time swayed the destinies of the empire, seemed to have as little apprehension of interference on the part of the house of Bourbon, as if the court of Versailles had been wholly inaccessible to the suggestions of jealousy or revenge; or as if the cause of a government against its subjects was invariably considered as the cause of all governments. Deaf to the warning voice of the earl of Chatham and his associates in opposition, and reckless of consequences, he compelled the Americans to withdraw from the British dominions, by prohibiting all commerce with them; by excluding them from the fishery of Newfoundland; by extending a correctional law to all the states which had sent deputies to congress, and finally by declaring their ships to be lawful prizes to the English letters of marque. The result of these unwise and odious proceedings will come to be detailed in a subsequent letter. Before we close the present, it may be proper to take a brief survey of the domestic state of affairs, and notice a few of the principal incidents which occurred during this period.

From the first moment of the accession of George III. to the throne, the earl of Bute had become an object of jealousy, and his conduct was vigilantly scrutinized. This nobleman had been much about the person of the prince before his elevation, and the attachment of his royal master to him was no secret. On the resignation of lord Holderness he was appointed to the office of secretary of state, and his influence in the cabinet was for some years paramount. But satisfied with having restored peace to the country, and finding his popularity much on the decline, he retired from office, resigning the seals on the 8th of April 1763. His partiality for the Scotch people was a common topic of complaint; but would have been less censurable had he promoted or rewarded only persons of worth and merit. His political principles were those of Toryism, with which he was thought to have inoculated the mind of his royal master. His attachment to them, however, might have been easily pardoned, had he only opposed the licentiousness of the Whigs, without inculcating arbitrary and unconstitutional principles.

The earl of Bute was succeeded in office by Mr. George Grenville, who had scarcely got seated in the cabinet, when he found himself involved in a contest, which drew the marked attention of the whole country. John Wilkes, member for the borough of Aylesbury, perceiving that ministers were not much in favour with the public, and that the king, in consequence of his partiality for the Tories, was less popular than he had been, commenced a career of vigorous opposition against both, in the hope of profiting by the embarrassment of the cabinet, and the discontents of the country. His first onset was an attack of the speech delivered by his majesty at the close of the session, charging it with containing infamous fallacies, and affirming that the whole was a most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery. A warrant, directed generally against the authors, printers, and publishers of this abusive paper, was instantly issued and delivered to the messengers of the secretary of state's office, who having ascertained that Wilkes was the writer of the libel, seized his papers, and carried him before the earl of Halifax, who committed him to the Tower; but, on application to the court of Common Pleas, he so successfully pleaded his privileges as a member of parliament, that he procured his release.

The case of Wilkes now became every where the chief topic of conversation, and the meeting of parliament was anticipated with extraordinary interest. It involved two questions, highly important to British subjects, the extent of parliamentary privilege, and the legality of general warrants. The lords and commons, after several animated debates, denied that privilege

extended to the case of a seditious libel; but they left the other point undetermined. Wilkes was expelled the house of commons for the offensive publication; and, as he was then-residing in France, a sentence of outlawry was issued against him. The cause of an individual thus became that of the public. The populace almost idolized the man, regarding him in the light of a martyr to liberty; and even those who despised his character were ready to support him for what they called the general interest. His name was now familiar to politicians of every class. His personal appearance was far from prepossessing, and in his manners he was not only dissipated but licentious. His exertions, however, against an unpopular ministry seemed to atone for every deficiency and every vice; and when he returned to England, he was saluted wherever he appeared. In short this contest so occupied the public mind, that it now took precedence of every other subject. Wilkes brought his action at law against the under secretary of state for seizing his papers; the cause was tried before lord chief justice Pratt and a special jury, when he obtained a verdict in his favour, with a thousand pounds damages. In his charge to the jury, the learned judge explicitly declared his opinion against the legality of general warrants, or those in which no names are specified. We shall now turn our attention for a while to the Continent of Europe.

LETTER II.

A View of the Affairs of the Northern States of Europe—Russia—Prussia—Austria—and Poland; from the Treaty of Hubertsburg to the Treaty of Teschen, in Upper Silesia, A. D. 1763 to 1779.

AFTER the death of Elizabeth Petrovna, empress of Russia, Peter the Third recalled to his councils, general Münnich, L'Estocq, Bestucheff, and Ernest von Biren, who had been the favourites and victims of the preceding administrations. Münnich had been twenty years in a state of exile, during which time he had occupied himself with instructing young men in geometry and engineering, and in projecting a number of plans for the service of the empire. This hero, now eighty years of age, was triumphantly received by the officers whom thirty years before he had led to conquest. He addressed the emperor on the qualities of the Russian army in these words: "Where is the people to be found who, like the Russians, are able to penetrate through all Europe with no other provision than the flesh of horses, and no better drink than their blood or the milk of mares? who can pass the widest rivers without the help of bridges; as compact as our battalions, as light as our cosacks?" The veteran who found his ruling passion strengthened with his years was reinstated in all his dignities.

It was the favourite object with Peter the Third to destroy the power of Denmark, and thus revenge the family of Holstein from which he was descended. He offended the nobles of Russia whose power he was desirous of circumscribing; the clergy by his regulations against images and their long beards; and his own soldiers by the preference which he gave to the guards of Holstein. Having thus created a host of malecontents, and neglected to deprive them of the power of injuring him, he furnished a leader to his enemies in the person of his own consort. With Catharine he had lived on every indifferent terms; and, displeased with her conduct, probably not without sufficient cause, he certainly intended to divorce her; nor was it certain whether he would declare her son, Paul Petrovitch, as his successor. Hence, individuals of totally dissimilar characters, as count Paulin, Rasumofsky, the brothers Orloff, the procurator-general Globoff, prince Barjatinsky, and others, were associated in a conspiracy against him.* They gained over the

senate and the synod, and towards the end of June, 1762, Peter the Third was deposed, as has been already related. (1)

The empress Catharine now confirmed the clergy in the enjoyment of their images, beards, and revenues, and discharged the German guard. A manifesto was published, in which the empress proclaimed the danger to which the holy traditions of the church had been exposed; that the honour of the Russian army had been compromised by a hasty peace with Prussia; that Peter the Third had been so ungrateful as not to weep for the death of his very dear aunt, the empress Elizabeth; so ungodly as to neglect to attend sermons; and so absurd as to clothe the troops in different uniforms, as though they had more than one master; and lastly, this singular piece of fitness all-verted to the fate which Catharine herself had narrowly escaped when "it pleased Providence to take away the emperor Peter by an hemorrhoidal cholick."

The innocent Ivan, who had received the title of emperor of Russia while yet in his cradle, was now in his twenty-fourth year, and had been retained a captive in the prison of Schlüssenburg. In 1764, the holy synod thought proper to recommend this unfortunate youth to the empress as a husband; a proposal which put her in remembrance that Ivan's rights might yet possibly be advocated. Some person, whether with a good or bad intention is not certain, at this period incited the cossack Mirowitz to attempt the liberation of this unfortunate youth. The empress was absent from the residence when Mirowitz gained over some soldiers to his views, and broke into the prison by night. Ivan was asleep; and when the two officers who were guarding him perceived the object of the attack, they recollected the orders which they had received to put him to death in the event of any such attempt. Awaked by the noise of fire-arms, and observing the menacing looks of the guards, he sprung up and endeavoured to defend himself. He seized the sword of one of the assassins and broke it; he implored mercy—but he was dispatched by four wounds! He was a youth of fine person, but necessarily ignorant and uninformed, from continued solitary confinement. When Mirowitz saw his blood, he wept aloud, and immediately surrendered himself. The two murderers fled into Denmark for a short time; they then returned to Russia, and received promotion for their villany. Public opinion ascribed the arrangements of this affair to the empress, who, though she rewarded the murderers, could not prevent their becoming the objects of general abhorrence. Mirowitz was tried as a perturbator of the public peace. He faced his judges with coolness, from a confident expectation of pardon; and after he had been condemned to decapitation, he walked to the scaffold with the same appearance of unconcern. He was then miserably disappointed, for no reprieve was announced.

In order to obliterate the impressions which these foul deeds might leave on the minds of her subjects, Catharine now undertook with great eagerness to prosecute the works commenced by Peter the Great; and in these affairs she employed general Münnich, the only public officer now alive who had served under Peter, and had attained the age of eighty-four. One of his former adjutants said of him, "He was a severe master; but I felt myself greater as his adjutant, than in my present independent command."

THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND. A. D. 1764.

The demise of Augustus the Third, king of Poland, who was of the family of Saxony, occurred a short time after the accession of Catharine to the throne of the czars. At this period the empress had entered into a treaty of alliance for eight years with the king of Prussia; a treaty which obliged each party to assist the other, in any war in which either of them might be engaged, with at least ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and not to make peace except by mutual concurrence. This treaty made it the interest of Austria to have a Saxon prince on the throne of Poland, who

(1) See Vol. II. Part II. Letter XXXIV

might not be entirely dependent on Russia and Prussia. Saxony had a party in that country; but that of Russia which was still more powerful, and especially the family of Czartorisky, favoured the pretensions of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, who had acquired the confidence of the empress. His understanding and character were generally received in so favourable a light, that even his adversaries still wished that at least he might remain the second person in the state. A third party was formed, perhaps under the secret guidance of the Prussian monarch, by Zamoisky, which, from a professed regard to the interests of the country, seemed to wish to avoid all foreign interference with its concerns. The diet was tumultuous; and this afforded a pretext to the empress Catharine, as a *neighbour* and *friend* of Poland, to send some troops to Warsaw. The party of Czartorisky had the best concerted system; whatever they wished to accomplish was proposed by others. They guided all the decisions, while in appearance they only accommodated themselves to the universal will: and their language was so moderate and obliging, that any opposition to it had the appearance of violence and rudeness. The king of Prussia left these affairs to the empress of Russia.

On the day of election, general Mocronofsky interposed his vote against any transaction that should take place under such circumstances, but was compelled by the ill treatment he met with to withdraw his opposition. Prince Adam Czartorisky, grand cup-bearer of Lithuania, became marshal of the diet; upon which the two generalissimos of the crown, two Potockys, prince Radzyvil, Poninsky, and four thousand of their adherents, quitted Warsaw, followed by the grand treasurer with the *vayvode* of Volhynia. But Branicky, who was regarded as the head of this party, was deprived of his dignity, as a man who had withdrawn from the service of his country, and the duties of his office at so critical a moment. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, with thirty senators and sixty deputies, gave their free votes; and some regiments refused to obey any new generalissimo. But Branicky, who was an old man, surrounded by hordes, who were neither unanimous nor could be kept in order, was unable to maintain his cause; and prince Radzyvil, Potocky of Kyow, and others, dispersed to their several fortresses. The diet now decided that the new monarch must be a *Piast*, a native of the country, possessed of estates in Poland, young, strong, handsome, and friendly to the customs of his country. Stanislaus was elected.

A. D. 1766.—In the second year of his reign, the friendship subsisting between the new king, Stanislaus, and the Czartorisky, began already to cool. The latter seemed to wish to exercise the sovereignty under his name, and complained that he abandoned himself to favourites. The French politeness of his manners formed a striking contrast with the rough simplicity of the prevailing habits of the Poles. The tolerant principles of the king were condemned in the sermons and pastoral letters of the clergy, because he had assented to the demands of Russia and Prussia, which, supported by Great Britain and Denmark, required that the dissidents, consisting of Christians of the Protestant and Greek churches, should be re-established in their ancient and natural equality of rights. These powers also demanded that the boundary between Russia and Poland should be more accurately determined, and that Poland should form an alliance with Prussia. Under pretence of imparting a greater degree of order and consistency to the constitution, they proposed that only a majority of votes, instead of unanimity, should be requisite at the elections; that the revenues should be augmented by bestowing on the king some new duties, and a fourth part of the income of the *Starosties*; and that these regulations, with respect to which the king was obliged to coincide with both the powers, should be executed by forty deputies, elected by a majority of votes.

All the great prelates, with the exception of the primate and two bishops, thirty senators, and one hundred and eighty country deputies, protested against these arrangements: and the king at length renounced the new duties, contenting himself with an indemnification of two hundred thousand florins, which he also promised to expend exclusively among the nobles, in the establishment of a guard of honour. This project, by means of which it

was proposed to attach the nobles to his interest, was decried as tyrannical, and of dangerous consequence to the country. As the ferment continued to increase, two thousand eight hundred Russians were quartered in the estates of the bishop of Cracow; and one thousand five hundred in those of the bishop of Wilna; while four thousand were encamped around Warsaw. Many of the senators, however, were not yet discouraged, but resolved, as they said, rather to die than to sacrifice the republic to him who had been elected for the purpose of maintaining it. "Speak then," said the bishop of Moravia to the archbishop primate.—"Speak, wretch, for the religion by which thou art fattened, or retire into thy primitive nothingness." The same prelate, also, thus addressed bishop Paaskofsky. "Thy heart is capable of all manner of corruption—sell thyself therefore to the highest bidder!" The popular indignation compelled the king to abandon all thoughts of introducing the proposed regulations. The dissidents were indeed allowed to exercise their religious duties in places where they already possessed churches: but this was only on condition that those buildings should not be enlarged; and the clergy of the Greek church were permitted the liberty of performing baptisms, marriages, and burials, on condition that the customary fees should be previously paid to their Catholic brethren.

From this period the parties entered into confederations: in the first place at Sluck, in the vayvodship of Novogorodek, situated in Black Russia, under major general Glabofsky; and afterwards at Thorn, under lieutenant Goltz. Twenty-four confederations were formed in Lithuania, the professed object of which was resistance to the influence of foreign states; but they were probably as much directed against the dissidents. Prince Radzyvil, who was at the head of these Lithuanian confederations, procured, in 1767, the assembling of an extraordinary diet at Cracow.

The first sittings of this assembly were so tumultuous, that it was impossible to collect the votes; upon which the Russians entered the town, seized Solytk, the zealous bishop of Cracow, the bishop of Kyow, the vayvode of Cracow, count Rzovusky, and several of the senators, all of whom they sent as prisoners into Russia. The terror which this measure inspired served only to increase the tumult; and the diet separated, after having chosen sixty deputies, who were commissioned to treat with the Russian ambassador on the present state of affairs.

It was now agreed to grant the king one million five hundred thousand florins, and prince Radzyvil, to whom the republic owed three millions six hundred thousand, as a first installment in payment of his demand; to entrust all business which had hitherto been conducted by the pope's nuncio to a synod, to which his holiness should be pleased to give the permanent authority of a *legatus à latere*: and faithfully to observe the alliance with Russia, according to the treaty concluded in the year 1686, and deposited in the archives of the country.

The partisans of this compromise were threatened by the nuncio with the great ban; and the pope himself wrote to the king, that he ought rather to abandon his crown than countenance such scandalous proceedings. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the compact was confirmed by the diet, the public taxes were fixed at twenty-three millions, and a treaty of guarantee was renewed with Russia.

The dissidents were detested, as the party which had given occasion to the injuries inflicted on the independence of the country, and were subjected to all possible oppressions. A confederation was formed against them at Bar, under marshal Krazinsky; one at Halriz, under Potocky; and another at Lublin; which latter place was, on that account, set on fire by the Russian artillery. Civil war now arose in all its horrors: the Russians increased their force to a degree which could not be a matter of indifference to the Turks, and conquered Bar, seizing all the wealth of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine. Krazinsky and Potocky threw themselves into the Turkish fortress of Chotin. The terrors of this war of religion was augmented by the incessant incursions of the Haidamaks, who entered the country from the Russian vice-royalty of Elizabethgorod. On one occasion, they burnt ten

towns and one hundred and thirty villages ; and on another, three of the former and fifty of the latter. The Jews were every where committed to massacre and the flames, and the roads were covered with dead bodies, until at length neither man nor beast was to be found alive within sixty miles of the borders. The Russians in the mean time were besieging Cracow, where the confederates for a long time held out against famine and pestilence. Martin Ludomitzky, in the utmost extremity, made a sally, in which he lost one half of his followers ; but he made good his retreat with the rest through the midst of the enemy. The Russians extended themselves over all the *vayvodeships*, in order that the confederates might be prevented from forming an union in any part. That party, however, brought reinforcements out of Turkey, and the detestation inspired by their wanton cruelties, exceeded the terror of their first revenge. In the year 1769 the king proclaimed the rebels ; and they declared his authority illegitimate. Thirteen contests took place in the course of one month, and the progress of the war was only arrested by the devastations of pestilence. Two hundred and fifty thousand men died within the space of a few weeks in Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia. Kaminiok was abandoned by its garrison, and all its inhabitants, and the whole force of the confederates crowded toward Great Poland.

While the Russians favoured the dissidents, the court of Vienna appeared to incline to the cause of the confederates. It refused, however, to take part in these disturbances ; and even in the beginning of the Turkish war occasioned by them, that court declared, that it would adhere to its neutrality, and only placed troops in a few districts immediately bordering on Hungary. But when the confederation of Bar earnestly entreated the empress Maria Theresa not to take any advantage of the disasters of a people who had been compelled to take up arms for the liberty of their country, and for the religious rights of their forefathers, she declared publicly, That she was willing to protect those communities only which were not foreign to her as queen of Hungary, from the evils of this dreadful period ; and gave verbal assurance, that she was affected with the misfortunes of the confederates ; and that although the situation of political affairs did not allow her to assist them with an armed force, they might nevertheless depend on her for all the favour it was in her power to show them.

This declaration was almost immediately succeeded by a movement of the Austrian army, which inspired the confederates with the most flattering hopes ; but on the other side a body of Prussian troops approached the frontiers, as if to form a cordon against the pestilence which was now exercising its ravages in Poland. Frederick collected a tribute from the *vayvodeship* of Great Poland, under the pretext of obtaining compensation for the expense which he had been obliged to incur by the defective condition of their police ; but the compassion of mankind was excited, when he afterwards tore twelve thousand families from their native country, in order to transplant them into his colonies in the Mark and in Pomerania. He proceeded to strike coins of silver and gold, under the title of the king and republic of Poland, of far less than their nominal value ; and compelled all those from whom his subjects made purchases to take them in payment, while he refused to receive any other than the good old coin of the country for the stores which he accumulated. He oppressed commerce by the imposition of new duties, and gave occasion to the plundering or shutting up of the granaries of Poland, during a period of almost universal famine in Europe. The oppression and distress of Great Poland, rose to such a height, that the peasants, with their wives and children, and accompanied even by capitulars from Gnesna, fled in troops toward the forests of Lithuania, and the frontiers of Austria. Many perished in the journey by the hands of robbers, or of the enemy, or fell exhausted by their sufferings. The aged parents of the fugitives were fettered and ill-treated in their native country, because they could not prevent the emigration of their children ; and those who had daughters were obliged to deliver up a certain number, provided with portions, for the Prussian colonies.

These proceedings at length opened the eyes of the confederates, and mar-

shal Zarembo first offered his services to king Stanislaus, in order to effect an union between the conflicting parties, for the preservation of their common country; but the king in all probability considered this proposal to be already too late. The party of the emperor Joseph in the court of Vienna was about this period engaged in combating the religious adherence of Maria Theresa to her promises, and the rights of others. She in vain represented the consequences of infringing the public morality; and the salt works of Wielitschka, which yielded an annual produce of six hundred thousand cwt. were now taken possession of by the Austrians.

At length, on the 26th of September 1772, thirteen hundred years from the period when a system of co-existent states began, after the destruction of the western empire, to be formed in Europe, the first important blow was given to the maxims and compacts on which their existence and the balance of their power had been gradually established. The ambassadors of Maria Theresa, of the empress and autocrat Catharine the Second, and of the king of Prussia, in the name of their respective courts, informed the king and the republic of Poland, that the three powers, in order to prevent farther bloodshed, and to restore peace to Poland, had agreed among themselves to insist upon their indisputable claims to some of the provinces of that country; and therefore demanded, that a diet be held for the purpose of settling the new boundaries, in concert with them.

It pleased the great governor of the universe, at this time, to allow the crowned heads of the north of Europe to give the world a striking exhibition of their courtly morality. The iniquitous scheme of the dismemberment of Poland, is said to have originated in the mind of Frederick. Having added Silesia to the dominions which he inherited from his father, he professed to be greatly alarmed at the progress of the Russian arms, in wresting the province of Moldavia from the Turks. Peace, if he might obtain credit for knowing his own mind, was the chief wish of his heart, as he was now in the decline of life, and was no longer inflamed with martial glory! but he concluded, that the disorders of Poland would afford him an opportunity of strengthening his dominions, which it would be unwise in him to neglect. The emperor of Austria was equally apprehensive of danger, and therefore did not scruple to make advances to a prince with whom his mother had long been at variance. He visited Frederick at Neiss in Silesia, in 1769.(1) and a confidential intercourse of sentiments took place between the monarchs. They pledged themselves to unite for the maintenance of the peace of Germany; and it was hinted by the Prussian monarch, that if the czarina could not easily be brought to reason, a threefold partition of Poland might remove all difficulties. The emperor Joseph had no qualms of conscience on the subject; he was neither so disinterested nor so just as to resist or condemn the proposition, though prudential reasons were in favour of keeping it secret for a time. In the following year, the two crowned heads had another meeting; and prince Kaunitz had also long conferences with the king, to whose interests he promised to attend. Prince Henry, soon after visiting Petersburg on pretence of amusement, disclosed the project to Catharine, by whom it was not disapproved. As, however, she still insisted on extravagant terms of peace, Maria Theresa and her son ordered military preparations; and an armed party entering Poland, seized the lordship of Zips.(2)

This invasion accelerated the adjustment of the treaty. Frederick drew the outlines of a plan; but Catharine, in her *contre projet*, demanded a much greater portion of the spoils than he was willing to allow, and exacted new terms of alliance, more favourable to herself than to her royal confederate. These requisitions delayed the settlement, and the various parties were busily employed in making out each his own preferable right to the spoliation. Prussia could go back for several centuries, and demonstrate, by an appeal to treaties, that certain provinces of the Polish territory had belonged to his ancestors, the electors of Brandenburg. A treaty had been concluded in

(1) Gillet's view of the reign of Frederick II. chap. vi.
 (2) Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.

1657, by which the Poles assigned the sum of four hundred thousand dollars on the security of the city of Elbing, to the elector of Brandenburg, who was to deliver them from the Swedish arms; but the promise then made had never been fulfilled!

But Frederick, with his well known goodness and moderation, only desires, *in satisfaction of all these claims*, to be now put in possession of Pomerellia, the districts on the Netze, the vayvodeship of Marienburgh, the bishoprick of Ermeland, the district of Michelau, and the bishoprick and vayvodeship of Culm. As he leaves Poland in possession of Dantzic and Thorn, he trusts that the republic will grant him, as a friend and good neighbour, (which it is consonant with his system always to remain) a suitable compensation for the sacrifices which he thus offers to make. He has only one thing more to add, which is, that while the king abandons his claim to Dantzic as a property, his majesty does not mean to renounce the harbour of that city, nor the customs collected in it; for Dantzic had only enjoyed by sufferance, the use of that harbour, which was a monastic estate belonging to the abbey of Oliva, and had been made, by permission of that establishment, in the year 1647, because the Neufahrwassar was no longer capable of admitting ships. Dantzic had promised to pay the abbot an annual rent of one hundred dollars during ninety-three years; a period which had long since elapsed. Besides, neither the city nor the abbot possesses any territorial sovereignty: the whole country belongs to the lord of Pomerellia, and the king is the successor of Mistewyn, duke of Pommern-Dantzic. The king of Poland, indeed, who was at that time sovereign of the country, approved the contract; but that circumstance cannot be binding on a king of Prussia; and the abbot as an ecclesiastic, was forbidden by the cannon law to grant any lease for a longer period than ten years. Dantzic, it is true, has erected the harbour at an immense expense; but that process, after all, was only an inundation of a portion of land, and could not possibly prejudice the territorial rights of the sovereign. Besides which, according to the Roman law, the harbour could not belong to Dantzic, because the coast on which it is situated is the property of another power. The king, consistently with the moderation which characterizes all actions of the monarch of Prussia, will not forbid the city to make use of the harbour; but to expect him to forego the profit arising from its use, would be a most impudent demand. Culm and Wermeland can only be considered as a very small indemnification for his magnanimous renunciation of his claims to Dantzic itself, to Thorn, and to a compensation for several centuries of unjust dispossession!

The whole of Polish Prussia, together with the district of the Netze, was therefore occupied; by which transaction, the state of Prussia became a continuous territory from Glatz to Memel, and acquired the fertile districts of Culm, Elbing, and Marienburgh. The king became master of the cathedral of Wermeland, and possessed an annual income of 300,000 dollars, and of the only mouths of the Vistula which yet remained navigable. All the inhabitants of these districts were compelled to take the oath of allegiance within fourteen days.

Austria had equally weighty reasons to allege for the conduct she was now compelled to adopt. It was now five hundred and ninety years since Cassimer, the second king of Poland, transferred the two royal Polish fiefs of Zator and Auschwitz to his cousin Mscislaf, duke of Teschen in Upper Silesia; but as the edicts of Poland became afterwards so tumultuous, that the princes of Silesia could not attend them consistently with their own dignity, Casimir of Teschen, in 1289, transferred his feudal duties to Venceslaf, king of Bohemia; and Poland finally consented to the transaction. "It is true that Casimir the Fourth, by the fortune of arms, had three hundred and twenty years ago re-conquered, on behalf of Poland, these territories which his ancestors had formerly forfeited to the military superiority of Bohemia, in the year 1462. But Zator and Auschwitz were conferred on him only for his life. It must be confessed, that these territories have always remained in the hands of his successors, and there is no record that they have ever been required to give them up; but this must be ascribed to the pecu-

“ liar and well-known magnanimity, and moderation, and goodness, of the illustrious archducal family. It is to be lamented, that under the present constitution of Poland, there is so little ground to hope that the republic will manifest such a sense of justice, as spontaneously to restore Galicia, Lodomeria, Zator, and Auschwitz. The empress-queen, however, will employ the power conferred upon her by God, with the mildness which is hereditary in her family; and instead of rigorously demanding the whole of her rights, will content herself with a very moderate equivalent—consisting of two-thirds of Upper Poland. Pokulia, and some districts of Podolia and Volhynia; which contain in the whole about two hundred and fifty cities and large towns, fifty smaller places, six thousand three hundred villages, and two millions five hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants.” So much for the conscience of Maria Theresa, and the pleas on which her claims were founded.

The empress of Russia took possession of an important part of the grand principality of Lithuania, and of the vayvodeship of Minsk, Vitensk, and Mscislaf, with so little embarrassment, that it did not even appear necessary to her to publish the grounds of her proceeding. She allowed the inhabitants three months to remove themselves.

The king and senate of Poland lamented this unhappy destiny of their country, attributed the origin of the party dissensions to the influence of foreigners, displayed the evidences of their rights, alleged the compacts, and referred to the guarantee under which they had been concluded, appealed from the violence of the superior power and unjust arms of their enemies, and protested before the Almighty Governor of the Universe against this crying oppression.

The king of Prussia continued to raise the tolls collected in the harbour of Dantzic to an intolerable height, and the city was urged, by all possible means, to surrender itself voluntarily to his sway. He summoned a diet at Lissa, to counteract that of Warsaw, and confiscated the estates of all such nobles as refused to acknowledge their allegiance. The empress of Russia also took possession of the wealth of prince Charles Radzyvil, and of Constantine and Adam Czartorisky. When an offer of restoration was made to Radzyvil, he replied, “ I am a free-born man; my ancestors were free; and though in adversity, I will also die free.” The countess Vielopolska died by her own hands; and all those who were worthy of their ancestors, quitted their country, now subjected to a foreign yoke. But the complaints of the oppressed were not necessary to the judgment passed by all Europe on this transaction, and it will be confirmed by the latest posterity.

The subjects of the republic were reduced from seven or eight to four millions, and its revenues were proportionably diminished. Instead of one hundred senators, only thirty-eight were assembled at the diet. The archbishop primate, the grand chancellor of Lithuania, the grand marshal, and their friends, absented themselves from the servile assembly and repaired to Cracow. The diet, although surrounded by an armed force, began with a protest by all the deputies of Podolia and Volhynia. The consequence was, that the foreign soldiers were quartered by hundreds upon all those nobles who were attached to the cause of independence. Eight days were allowed to the diet to conform to the wishes of the allied powers; and it was declared, that in case of refusal, thirty thousand men should enter the city at the expiration of that period, and their obstinacy should be subdued by all possible means. On the seventh day, a great number of the deputies left the city, and the remainder subscribed the terms by which Poland was compelled, not only to renounce all claim to, and all connection with, the district of which she had been deprived, but to engage to protect the three confederated powers in the possession of the countries they had seized.

The latter now established a permanent council, which was dependent on themselves, and could easily be influenced according to their pleasure. The king of Prussia declared, that if the republic did not place this council in actual existence on a certain day, he would consider its refusal or delay as a declaration of war; and he, at the same time, demanded possession of a

district on the Netze, not usually bounded by the river, but which was occasionally covered with its waters during extraordinary floods. The Austrian commissioners of boundaries drew a line from the mouth of one river to another, and demanded all the districts comprised within the windings of the streams, as the shores of these rivers. Instances frequently occurred in which a district was usurped, without assigning any reason whatever. And a similar proceeding often took place out of pure philanthropy, in which the object of the appropriation was to relieve the country people from illegitimate authority. The permanent council was established: it consisted of forty senators and noblemen, nominated by the diet, who continue in office until the succeeding session of that assembly, and transact all military and foreign affairs, with the business of the high police. It can expound the laws, but cannot make them.

Prussia was in some instances obliged to abandon a part of the districts which it had seized; but before these temporary possessions were relinquished, the flocks were driven away, the forests cut down, the magazines emptied, even the most necessary implements taken away, and the taxes raised by anticipation.(1)

LETTER III.

Rupture between Russia and Turkey.—English fleet under admiral Elphinstone assists the Russians, and defeats the Turks.—Dreadful ravages of the plague at Moscow and the country adjacent. A. D. 1768—1774.

THE protection which the confederates received in Turkey, and mutual complaints concerning the incursions of the wandering hordes of Tartars and Cossacks, had some years before furnished a pretence for war between the Porte and the Russians. It was in reality impossible that the Turks could contemplate with indifference the transactions which took place in Poland: and the French court, in the miserable condition in which it was at that time placed, possessed no other means of assisting the Poles than by giving occasion to some diversion which might otherwise engage the attention of the Russians.

The padisha Mustafa, at the first entrance of the Russians into Poland, announced that his attention was aroused by that movement: and the empress on her side declared, that the republic had requested assistance from her, in order to quell some internal commotions, which her native magnanimity, and her neighbourly friendship towards that unhappy country, did not permit her to refuse; that these troops were neither numerous nor well provided, and were not even commanded by a general, as they received all their orders from prince Repnin, who was the ambassador of Russia at Warsaw.

A body of Russians who were pursuing some of the confederates, afterwards burned the Turkish town of Balta, and put all its inhabitants to death without distinction. This deed was represented by the Russians as merely an irregular proceeding of the Haidamaks, but was considered by the Turks as an act of direct hostility. Obreskoff, the Russian resident in Constantinople, was required by the divan to give an explicit assurance, that the Russians should immediately abandon all the cities and territories of Poland; and as he had no commission to make any such promise, he was arrested, and conveyed to the Seven Towers. The mufti gave his fefta: war was declared, Mahommed Emin Pascha Kaimakan, nominated grand vizier, and the European and Asiatic dominions of the Porte summoned to arms. While all the officers who were to compose the suite of the grand vizier were preparing at

(1) Wraxall's Memoirs of the courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna.—Tooke's life of Catharine the Second.—Gillies's life of Frederic the Great.—Coxe's Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.—Posthumous Works of the king of Prussia, by Holcrot.

Constantinople for their departure, the multifarious hordes of militia assembled themselves out of Asia, and covered the Bosphorus and Hellespont with numerous transports. On the other hand, the different nations composing the extensive empire of the autocrat of all the Russias, most of whom were barbarous, put themselves in motion, and sent a three hundredth part of their whole population to open the campaign on the Dniester, under the command of general Rumjanzoff; and a body of troops selected from among the corps dispersed over Poland was assembled on the side of the Ukraine and Podolia, under Soltikoff. The capitation tax of the Russian empire was raised, a war contribution of twenty per cent. levied on all salaries, and an impost of five roubles laid on all coach-horses.

Two hundred and fifty thousand men, without including the Tartars, marched from Constantinople towards the Danube; and twenty ships came to the assistance of the padisha from Mahammed el Husin, sheriff of Morocco, and fifteen from the republics of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. The frontiers were defended by prince Galitzyn and Rumjanzoff: the army of the former consisted of thirty-one regiments of infantry of two thousand each, forty regiments of cavalry each eight hundred strong, and a park of one hundred cannon: the force under the command of the latter amounted to forty-one thousand men. The numbers engaged in these modern contests are, however, subject to as great suspicion of exaggeration as those which are said to have composed the hosts of Darius and Xerxes.

The first hostile procedure was the devastation of the frontiers, which occasioned want of provision; and the immediate consequence of this was a prodigious desertion from the Turkish army. It is said that the Tartars burned one hundred and fifty four towns and villages in the course of the winter, and carried more than fourteen thousand families into slavery.

In the spring of the year 1769, the standard of the prophet was carried through the streets of Constantinople: but the progress of the visier was so difficult and tedious, that at the end of April he had advanced no further than Adriannople. The first operations of the war, which took place at Chotin, were so unfavourable to the Russians, that prince Galitzyn was compelled to recross the Danube. The visier was incessantly employed in exercising in the plains of Isakschia his undisciplined troops, whom he wished to convert into soldiers before he led them against the enemy. Chotin was suddenly attacked by the Russians, but was reinforced by the visier, and defended itself with such spirit that Galitzyn was again obliged to give way.

The calumnies of Molodowni Ali Pasha, effected the recall of the visier, and his successor crossed the Dniester: just at this period torrents of rain fell in the mountains, the rivers rose to a great height, the bridge of boats was destroyed, and the Turkish army found itself divided by an impassable stream. That part which had already passed over, withstood the attack of the Russians with the greatest courage: their brethren, who were spectators of the affair, looked on with silent admiration; and the visier was utterly at a loss what steps to take. When this part of the troops had almost entirely fallen, the whole army on the opposite bank raised a loud cry of execration; they forgot Chotin, and retreated hastily to the Danube: in fourteen days, forty thousand men deserted the standard of the visier, "with whom God and his prophet were not." The Russian armies now effected a junction, and took possession of Chotin, where they found a plentiful provision of artillery: the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia were the fruits of this victory; and Elmpt and Proserofsky entered Yassy, Bukoräschtzy, and Gallatich, without resistance.

While the late visier was sent into banishment, Rumjanzoff hastened to attack Halil his successor; and count Panin supported the field-marshal, and covered the frontiers. A. D. 1770. It was determined to separate the Turkish army, and to intercept their supplies: the war was therefore carried on both by land and water; and as it was not sufficient to have the command of the Euxine Pontus, so long as the Bosphorus remained open to the Turks, a Russian fleet sailed round Europe, and appeared in the Archipelago.

The visier took advantage of his superior numbers to disturb his enemy

on all sides ; he drove them out of a part of Moldavia and Wallachia, and opened a communication with the fruitful plains of Bialogorod. But the appearance of the enemy in the south compelled him to dismiss the Macedonians, who were his best troops. * Rumjanzoff and the visier came in contact near the confluence of the Pruth with the Danube, and remained during a whole month contemplating the situation of each other. Halil was strong and well posted ; but the excessive eagerness of a part of his army gave occasion to a contest in which they were defeated : both the visier and his army were obliged to yield the palm of superiority to the veterans who had stood in the field against Frederick. Prosorofsky now effected a junction of the districts situated between the Dniester and the Dnieper, and thus facilitated the siege of Bender, which was undertaken by count Panin. This place was garrisoned by a pasha, at the head of sixteen thousand soldiers, and was provisioned for two years : the sallies made by this officer were executed with heroic courage : the Russians lost a great number of men, and their artillery was but ill-served ; they suffered for want of provisions ; and of the fourteen regiments encamped before the place, ten were newly raised. The fortifications were very extensive, and held out for two months : but at the end of that time, a compression ball, (which is a complication of several mines, charged with four hundred poods of gunpowder,) produced a large breach : the Russians now entered the place by storm, and the contest was maintained in all the streets and gardens till they reached the citadel ; and during the massacre a fire broke out from several quarters, which continued to burn during three days and nights. All the myrses of Budjiak now submitted, in order to save their beautiful villages, the work of a long course of industry, from devastation : Kilianova and Bialogorod opened their gates, and Brahilow was burned. The visier retreated into the mountains of Hæmus. Panin had retired from the service, because the promise which he had made to his soldiers before Bender, had not been fulfilled ; and general Baur his successor, made himself completely master of Moldavia and Bessarabia, which consists of beautiful and uncultivated steppes, interspersed with luxuriant pastures and forests and possessing abundant salt-works and mines : between Akjermann and Bender, the country is an uninterrupted garden. Moldavia contains about one thousand square miles of territory, and Wallachia is still more extensive ; this district is depastured by 500,000 Transylvanian sheep, and abounds in wine, Turkish corn, tobacco, and all the useful species of animals ; and here, where despotism, war and pestilence, have depopulated the country, forests of fruit trees have grown spontaneously.

The Peloponnesian war was begun with success not less brilliant. Greece, long accustomed to subjection, was but ill provided with troops ; and the inhabitants pursued their own business almost without interference on the part of the inactive and usually mild government. But when they received intelligence of the enterprise of the Russians, a Christian people of the Greek church, to deliver the Greeks from the yoke of the barbarians, the love of liberty was rekindled in many of their hearts, developed itself rapidly and irregularly, and stood only in need of proper discipline and a good leader, to produce the most important results. Alexej Orloff made his appearance with only six ships, while Navarino, the native country of Nestor, was conquered by Hannibal. All Laconia, the plains of Argos, Arcadia, and a part of Achaia, rose in insurrection, and spared none of their former rulers : and the islands under the dominion of Venice, manifested equal impatience. The Turks in the mean time, crossed the isthmus in order to relieve Patra. The war in Peloponnesus was always attended with considerable difficulty, on account of the great number of important posts which required the presence of the Russians and of the armed Greeks, who were but few in number, in too many places at the same time. The Mainottes fought one unsuccessful battle on the isthmus ; upon which the seraskier pasha of Bosnia, with thirty thousand Epirots, Illyrians, and Albanians, advanced with little resistance into the ancient Messene. The rising cause of freedom met with the most severe blow at Modon : the Mainottes were not possessed of that degree of military skill which enables a small body to vanquish a much more

numerous enemy : the seraskier compelled Orloff and the Kaás Dolgorukoj, to retreat to Navarino. Two thousand Greeks, full of valour but unacquainted with discipline, made another vain attack upon Modon ; the Mainottes now retreated to their mountains ; and it was manifested to the view of the whole world, that freedom without order is a vain idea.

But admiral Elphinstone, after having cast anchor near Tánarus, sailed to the coast of Laconia, and defeated the Turkish fleet, which was far more numerous than his own, in the waters of Epidaurus, and afterwards pursued it into the canal between Chios and Asia. The Turks had fifteen ships of the line and an equal number of xebecs and gallies, which they placed in a position defended by rocks and islands. The Russian fleet, with four frigates and fire-ships, was arranged opposite to them in three lines. Spiritoff commanded the van, Frederick Orloff the middle division, and Elphinstone the rear. Spiritoff suddenly attacked the Turkish admiral, whose ship presently took fire : Sesir Beg endeavoured to save his vessel, but the anchors had become entangled, and the mainmast in flames fell on Spiritoff's ship : the men now jumped into shallows or into the sea, and in a moment both the admirals' ships were blown into the air. This terrific spectacle kept both sides for a short space of time in astonishment : the Turks, however, by the advice of Hassan Bey, retreated with their vessels into the straits, under Tschesmé, upon which lieutenant Dugdale, with four fire-ships filled with bombs and red-hot balls, protected by admiral Greigh, approached the Turkish fleet in the night of the 26th July, and set it on fire. Three nations contended for the honour of this scheme : the Russians and the English disputed it with each other ; and another competitor appeared in the person of Rau, a Hessian. The Turkish fleet, pent up in the narrow bay, continued to burn for five hours ; but Hassan escaped with his ship through the midst of the enemy : while the conflagration of the vessels was going on, the magazine at Tschesmé blew up, and destroyed both the town and the citadel. The sailors, peasants, and soldiers fled in the utmost disorder to Smyrna ; where Kara Osman Oglu, a powerful chief in that country, was scarcely able by the utmost exertions of courage and authority to quiet the disturbance.

The conquerors now made their appearance at Lemnos, where they remained instead of forcing a passage, as many thought they might have done, through the ill-defended straits of the Dardanelles, and dictating the terms of peace at the gates of the terrified capital. The garrison of the citadel of Lemnos, in vain requested permission to make an unmolested retreat : and while the Russians were endeavouring to obtain possession of it by force, Hassan, who was now kapudan pacha, inflamed the zeal of three thousand volunteers, who unexpectedly made their appearance in some wretched vessels, and set Lemnos at liberty. The Russian fleet afterwards remained in the harbour of Ausa, and in the waters of Paros. The Porte was entirely destitute of ships ; Syria and Egypt were in a state of insurrection ; and though the war lasted four years longer, the victors of Tschesmé effected no settlement either in the Grecian islands or on the continent.

Toward the end of this campaign, some ignorant or selfish Russians at Yassy, purchased some goods infected with the plague. The commandant of the place thought he displayed his courage by adopting no precautions : the disorder soon raged throughout the city, and men fell dead in the streets. The pestilence arrived at Chotin, and in a short time reduced five regiments of infantry to four hundred men : it was communicated by infected clothes to the grand army, which Rumjanzoff was therefore obliged to separate in the utmost haste. Some soldiers had already conveyed it to the great town of Kyow, where the physicians were either ignorant of its character, or afraid to mention its name : its fury therefore soon became irresistible ; fugitives spread it beyond the Dnieper, and in the mountains ; poor people, and even the officers of the police, plundered the houses whose inhabitants had been destroyed by the disease ; and the remainder of the population was saved with difficulty by the effects of the winter, and the courageous arrangements adopted by major Skippow. Some wool received from the Ukraine in the mean time infected the great manufactory at Moscow, on which account

processions were performed, which only served to spread the disease : all the commanders and nobles quitted the city, and order and authority were entirely at an end. Nine hundred men fell victims daily, and numbers lay unburied in the streets and houses. A merchant who represented himself to have been cured miraculously by an image, gave occasion, by this means, to a most dangerous assemblage of the multitude, who collected to pray to the holy virgin for their lives : and the effect of this practice was so fatal, that the archbishop gave orders that the image should be removed in the night. When this circumstance came to the knowledge of the people, all Moscow became a scene of fury and insurrection, and the archbishop was murdered, by blows of hammers, before the high altar in the monastery of Donsk, which lay without the city. All the sick, in order to enjoy the remaining moment of their lives, quitted the hospitals, stormed and plundered the bishop's palace, and inflamed their own rage with the contents of the cellars. At this moment Jerapkin made his appearance at the head of the garrison : his soldiers marched over corpses ; persons were infected on both sides in the scuffle, and others died under strokes of the knout. The calamity was at last arrested by Gregory Orloff and the cold of winter, after ninety thousand individuals had been its victims in Moscow and the neighbouring villages.

In the year 1772, the entrenchments of Perecop, at the entrance of the Crimea, were forced in the space of four hours by the troops under the command of prince Dolgorukoj, and the Crimea itself was taken possession of by the Russians. The grand vizier was defeated at Babadagh, and forced to retreat into Hæmus ; the janissaries rose upon their aga, put him to death, and set fire to their camp ; and in consequence of their discontent, Mussun Oglu, one of the best officers in the Turkish service, was appointed to the post of grand vizier in the room of Halil : Mussun conducted the fruitless congress of peace at Fokzany.

The Porte in the mean time was delivered from Ali Bey, who was born in Caucasus, and sold in his youth into Egypt ; where, after having served ten years, he succeeded to the power of his commander the bey of that province. From this time he aided the factions with his approbation, if he was not indeed the author of the ruin of Ebn Haman, his first benefactor : he became sovereign of the country, in much the same manner as Psammetichus two thousand five hundred years before, by the murder of eleven beys, and the banishment of an equal number ; the confiscation of their wealth, and the distribution of their officers among his brother-in-law Mohammed, and other confidential slaves : after which he caused the pacha to be put to death.

He concluded an alliance with Scheikh Daher the lord of the land of Canaan, and assisted him in the conquest of Sidon and the siege of Damascus. But his brother-in-law forsook his cause, because, impelled either by necessity or avarice, he had insulted the holy cities of the moalem : Mohammed fled into Egypt, where the people were ill-disposed to the interests of Ali, because the privileges which he allowed to foreigners had alienated their affections. His soldiers deserted to the enemy ; Ismahel, his son-in-law, whom he advanced to an important post, abandoned him ; and Ali lost a decisive battle.

He now took flight through the deserts of Palestine, and arrived at Rama, the abode of the prophet Samuel, where he found his old friend the Scheikh Daher, the conqueror of the Samaritans and the Druses, who, though ninety-three years old, was still full of vigour, and surrounded by his nephews and grand-children. In this country he formed a corps of thirteen thousand men, with which he advanced into Egypt where Mohammed awaited him with an army of sixty thousand. The battle took place on a Friday, which the moalem keep as a holy day, and was contested with such fury, that of four hundred Greeks and Russians in the service of Ali, three hundred and eighty fell on the field of battle, and his army of thirteen thousand men was reduced to five hundred : his head was sent to Constantinople. Europe had taken a more lively interest in his adventures, because he appeared to be elevated above national prejudices : but his fault consisted in manifesting his contempt for those errors too early, and in too decided a manner.

The Russians at length crossed the Danube, A. D. 1773. and the janissaries gave way. Mussun Oglu, however, availed himself of the advantages afforded by the strong regions of the Hæmus; from which he made two descents, and compelled the Russians to abandon the siege of Siliustria and to hasten back to their bridges on the Danube before he should cut off their retreat. They lost a great part of their artillery near Varna: and at length Hassan pacha swore that not a Russian should pass the autumnal equinox on the Turkish side of the river.

This commander, who was remarkable for the manly beauty of his person, was by birth a Persian: he had been kidnapped when a boy, and made the slave of a Turk, from whose service he freed himself by the assistance of a Greek, and escaped to Smyrna, where he entered into the service of the Algerines. His courage and intelligence recommended him to the dey, who entrusted him with the command of the fortress of Constantine; in which situation he would probably have arrived at an inglorious old age, if the malice of a faction had not obliged him to take refuge in Spain. The Catholic king caused him to be conveyed to Naples, from whence he transported himself in a Danish ship to Constantinople. As he was here accused by the Algerine agent, he obtained an opportunity of appearing before the padisha, Mustafa the Third, who was pleased with his intelligence and characteristic vigour, and gave him the command of that ship which afterwards escaped alone from the unfortunate affair of Tschesmé. When he became kapudan pacha, Hassan eagerly promoted every useful institution in his power: he founded schools of naval architecture, astronomy and geography; he patronised men of useful attainments, especially the young Mustafa, a Briton of the family of the Campbells: he kept his oath to the padisha, by compelling the Russians to retreat across the Danube.

The latter were also unsuccessful in their attempt upon Eubœa; but they plundered Crete and Cyprus. The court of Petersburg became apprehensive of danger from Sweden; on which account the Russian fleet returned to the Baltic, after rather showing what might be done, than having really effected much in the Mediterranean. This expedition is said to have cost thirty-two millions of sequins.

During the same period, Pugatcheff the cossack, at the head of many warlike hordes, extended his rebellious enterprises, shook the throne of Catharine, and convinced a great number of persons that peace was become necessary to her empire. But Mustafa died, A. D. 1774 and left the throne, not to his minor son Selim, but to his brother Abdulhamed: and as this change of sovereigns took place without any revolution in the state, and as the finances were in a very exhausted state, the presents which it was usual to make on such occasions to the janissaries, were now withheld. From this time they manifested a tumultuous disposition: they refused to serve any longer; the Asiatics returned to their own country; the visier was abandoned by the cavalry; field-marshal Rumjanzoff, who was now able to act without control, cut off his supplies and reinforcements, inclosed him near Schumba, and obliged him on the 21st July, to conclude the peace of Rutschuk Kanardschy. The mufti said to the padisha, "Since thy people will no longer continue the war, peace must be made!" This intelligence arrived in the Crimea as Hassan was engaged in a contest with Dolgorukoj.

The Russians retained Kinburn, Jenikale, Kertsch, all the country between the Dnieper and the Bog, Asof, and Tagairok, together with the free navigation of the Euxine Pontus and the Hellespont: the Crimea was severed from the political power of the Turkish emperor, though he retained the Caliphate. The greatest loss, however, which the Turks sustained consisted in the degree in which their spirit and confidence was depressed. (1)

(1) Annual Register, vol. xii. and xiii.—Vie de Catharine II. par Costera, tom. ii. Remarques de M. Peyssonel sur les Memoires du Baron de Tott.—Geschicht des Russischen Reichs.—Coxe's History of the House of Austria, chap. 30.

LETTER IV.

Retrospect of the state of Sweden, A. D. 1761 to 1770.—Abdication of the king Adolphus Frederick—Gustavus the Third succeeds to the throne—Revolution of 1772—Dispute for the Bavarian succession, A. D. 1777.

THE constitution of Sweden, since the time of Charles the Twelfth, had been in reality an aristocracy in which factions were more powerful than the laws. Zeal for the new forms of liberty, and a feeling of the wounds which called for a healing and conciliating policy, moderated the evils attendant on this form of government in the beginning; and the welfare of their common country appeared to be the object of all classes of the Swedes. Affairs remained in this state so long as the economical plans of Cardinal Fleury maintained a pacific system in Europe. Twenty years after the death of Charles the Twelfth, the spirit of party began to grow more vehement and to exercise its pernicious influence in blinding the eyes of men to the actual state of affairs. A rupture now took place with Russia, which was attended with unfortunate consequences, because those to whose hands the chief direction of the war was confided, conducted it in a manner alike destitute of energy and of method. The plans adopted were alternately combined and frustrated by the jealousy of the factions; passion on the one hand and discouragement on the other, gave rise sometimes to precipitate measures and sometimes to an equally pernicious inactivity; and Sweden appeared to be suffering at the same time under the evils of democracy and oligarchy.

The royalists maintained the superiority, until Russia demanded an assurance that Sweden should never adopt a mode of government different to the established form. From that time the king was more and more reduced to the situation of a mere spectator, while the secret of the system of policy adopted was in other hands. At this period the boundaries of Sweden, on the side of Norway, were determined in a very disadvantageous manner; and an unnecessary war was entered into with Prussia, which was so ill conducted that the court of France refused to grant any farther subsidies. The council of state at length mediated a compact, by which their exhausted treasury was to receive twelve millions of livres in the course of a few years; but their opponents censured this measure as a sale of their political independence.

As long as the country had been governed by pacific counsels, and the desires of the rulers had been restrained within the bounds of moderation, agriculture, manufactures and commercial enterprise had again flourished; but when the factions arose to importance, a few of their favoured partisans obtained privileges which were extremely injurious to the public welfare; and the number of manufactories, which had previously arisen to eighteen thousand, were within ten years reduced to the half of that number.

The nation was discontented, and complained that the senate bestowed the offices in its gift on the slaves of the aristocracy instead of the friends of the public good; that that body encouraged the factions, for the purpose of rendering itself the arbiter of their differences; that such of the peasants as, like Lars Larsson, manifested an independent spirit, were oppressed by the nobles; while others were bribed and seduced to distort the truth, in order to prevent justice from being done; that in the diets the dignified clergy oppressed the inferior members of their body, and the estate of citizens was entirely managed by four or five demagogues. The spirit of party augmented these defects; and even upright individuals perhaps acceded to the wishes of their friends, instead of rigidly adhering to the welfare of the public, and adopted a line of conduct with regard to affairs of state, which would have appeared to them inadmissible in private life. If we judge them on these principles, it is difficult to say whether the severe punishment

which the council of state had formerly suffered, was owing to the errors of their administration or to the weakness of their party.

The clergy were afterwards offended by the abolition of a tenth, which they had received ever since the period when they had exercised the rites of hospitality, before the establishment of regular houses of entertainment. Severe sumptuary laws were enacted, and the manner of their execution was frequently odious: the stipends were diminished; those who were perhaps unable to pay the taxes demanded of them, had their cattle and the implements of their industry taken away: private houses were subjected to a search, under pretence of smuggling; opposition was punished with public whippings; and persons actually convicted, were condemned to the loss of honour and even of life.

King Adolphus Frederick, perceiving the voice of dissatisfaction from all quarters, demanded the summoning of the diet; which the council of state refused. The king upon this laid down the government, demanded the seals of office, and caused it to be notified through his son to all the offices, that business should no longer be transacted in his name. The council of state, perceiving the danger of violent commotion, ordered the generals to double the guards: but those officers refused to obey these orders issued by their sole authority. The financial department also refused to increase the pay of the garrison, because they had not received the commands of the king for that measure; and all the colleges were reduced to a state of inactivity. The governor and the magistrates of Stockholm now repaired to the senate, and declared that the third estate would be assembled: upon which the council of state was compelled to consent to the summoning of a diet; and on the ninth day of anarchy, the king resumed the reins of government.

The extraordinary diet assembled at Nyköping: a secret deputation prepared articles of accusation: the whole council of state, with the exception of only two of its members, was removed and condemned to pay the expenses incurred by this diet, on the ground that it refused to summon the assembly, had fixed upon Nyköping as the place of meeting, and had endeavoured to exercise authority over the king. The constitution was preserved; but it was evident to every person that it was practicable to change it.

The king died, while Gustavus the Third who was the hope of the nation and had been most carefully educated from his youth, was on his travels. At his return, he declared that he was fully sensible of his happiness in being a citizen of a free country; and that he would never consider the partisans of despotism as his friends. He added, that if he should ever be so unfortunate as to violate a constitutional law, or even a future limitation to his authority, if the estates of the kingdom should think fit to adopt such a measure; he now absolved them beforehand from the allegiance which they had sworn to his person. When they were taking the oath, he said, "it is the established usage to do thus; otherwise it would appear to me unnecessary. I consider him an unhappy king, who is obeyed only because his subjects are compelled to submit to him."

A great commotion soon afterwards took place in the fortress of Christianstadt, situated on the frontiers: the council of state was accused of a treacherous dereliction of its duty; and the nation was called upon to "give to the king what belonged to the king." Charles duke of Sudermania, a brother of the king, who happened to be at Carlscrona, made himself master of that important place, of the magazine and of the arsenal, under pretence of correcting these insurgents: in his manifesto, he summoned every man to his standard against the yoke of "an infernal crew, whose sword was suspended over the head of every citizen in his house, and of every peasant in his cottage." Frederick the king's third brother, armed West Gothland.

The senate, as soon as it received intelligence of these movements, commissioned two of its members with full power to adopt all such measures as might be necessary for the maintenance of the constitution; and as suspicion was entertained respecting the dispositions of the body guard, the regiments of Sudermania and Upland were ordered to Stockholm. The king was required to recall his brothers, and not to absent himself. A letter from

the duke of Sudermania fell into the hands of count Kalling, which left no doubt remaining as to the revolutionary intentions of the princes, or that they were acting in concert with each other. The senate sat during the whole night, and is said to have determined to secure the person of the king. On the following day they invited him to attend their sitting; he came; but his body guard was already prepared to execute the measures on which he had resolved. Gustavus began to complain that so much business was transacted without his knowledge; and the senate, that he withheld from them the public dispatches which came to his hands. The dispute was becoming animated, when the senate was suddenly surrounded on all sides and all its members made prisoners. The colonel of the guard had refused to execute this measure; and had returned his sword to the king, saying, "I am also your prisoner; but am confident that I shall soon be your judge." The commandant of the place in vain summoned the citizens to arms on behalf of what he was pleased to call freedom; they had the good sense not to mistake aristocratic government for liberty. The citizens, the garrison and the guard, were informed by manifestos that "plans had been entertained for subjecting both the king and the nation to the power of a few nobles; but that the king would defend the cause of true liberty, which in his estimation was the greatest good." On the following day, all Stockholm, with the exception of a few of the chief magistrates, took an oath of adherence.

The diet was assembled; the house was surrounded by the garrison and body guard; and the king in his crown and robes, and bearing the silver hammer of Gustavus Adolphus in his hand, appeared among them, and made a speech concerning the dangers attendant on factions and the tyranny of the aristocrats, one of the effects of which they might perceive in the high price of bread. He spoke also of the ancient deliverers of the nation; said that he wished to become a second Gustavus Vasa, that he hated arbitrary power, and intended to reign according to the laws. The new laws were read; in which it was enacted that, in future, the king shall nominate the senate and shall summon and dismiss the diet; that he shall have the power of levying the ancient taxes, and in case of necessity, of appointing new ones: that the whole force of the kingdom, both by sea and land, shall be at his disposal; that the power of declaring war and of concluding treaties of peace and alliance, is also placed in his hands, together with the privilege of appointing to all the offices and dignities of the state. On the following day, the senate was dismissed and corn distributed among the people. Such was the termination of the constitution which had been established fifty-two years before.

THE DISPUTE FOR THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION.

A few years after these occurrences, Maximilian Joseph, son of the emperor Charles the Seventh, and the last elector of Bavaria, died. In him that branch of the family of Wittelsbach, which had now honourably governed Bavaria during nearly five hundred years, became extinct; and left the remembrance of many valiant, politic, and even beneficent princes; but not the reputation of a very wise government, or of a constitution modelled upon noble principles.

Charles Theodore von Sulzbach, elector of the palatinate of the Rhine, and head of the next branch of the family of Wittelsbach, was entitled to the succession by a family compact which had been formerly concluded, and was agreeable to the laws of the empire; he was therefore immediately proclaimed; and repaired without delay to Munich. He had, however, scarcely arrived in that city, when he was informed that the house of Austria had determined to enforce its ancient claims on lower Bavaria; and the new elector, conscious that he was able to oppose no successful resistance to the preponderating power of that dynasty, consented to a treaty by which he secured the possession of the remainder of his new dominions. Maria Theresa was still living; but Joseph possessed the chief influence in all state affairs

of great importance : and the court of Austria, at his instigation, took possession of Lower Bavaria, required an immediate profession of fealty from the states of the country, and declared that the taxes should for the present remain upon the same footing as in the preceding year. The emperor also declared the counties of Schwabegg, Hohenwaldeck, Leuchtenberg, Wolfstein, Hals and Haag, the barony of Wiesensteig, the jurisdiction of Hirschberg, and other imperial fiefs, to have become vacant by the extinction of the family which had acquired them : and the barony of Mundelheim in Swabia, with all that part of Upper Bavaria which is held as a fief of Bohemia, was also pronounced to be forfeited, in the name of the empress-queen. A large tract of country, along the course of the Danube, the Inn; and the Isar, and the suburb of Ratisbon, where the imperial diet had held its sittings during one hundred and sixteen years, now fell to Austria.

No farther information relative to these proceedings had been communicated to the relatives of the reigning family, or to the estates of the country, or national representatives of Bavaria. The boundaries of the lordship of duke John, which had reverted to Lower Bavaria three hundred and fifty-four years before, had never been accurately ascertained ; so that the court of Vienna was obliged to assure the elector, that when it should have seized on the possession of this territory, it would undertake the demarcation with justice and moderation.

Frederick king of Prussia, however, regarded this whole transaction as one which produced an essential alteration in the balance of power ; testified his astonishment that it should have been completed without consulting him ; and advised the duke of Deuxponts, who was the presumptive successor of the childless elector, by no means to give his consent to proceedings which so manifestly contradicted the constitutions of the empire and the treaty of Westphalia, without consulting the other princes of Germany, and especially the crown of France which had guaranteed that treaty. He represented to the court of Vienna, that according to all the maxims of feudal rights, the different branches of a family had an indisputable title to succeed to all the fiefs possessed by their common ancestor : that the succession of the house of Wittelsbach had been secured with extraordinary precision by family compacts which were in perfect accordance with the laws of the empire, and by that great imperial law, the treaty of Westphalia : that the divisibility of an electorate was in direct opposition to the golden bull of Charles the Fourth, by which the majesty of the emperor and the dignity of the electors was regulated ; that it was a cause of extreme astonishment, that so important an alteration should have been effected without any consultation with the empire, which was a stipulated duty on the part of the emperor : and that in reality a compact which had been obtained by surprise and violence from a single palatine prince, could not possibly be valid, in prejudice to the hereditary rights of his family. Frederick demanded that the elector should be replaced in possession of all the hereditary deminions of Maximilian Joseph ; and he declared repeatedly, and in the most positive manner, that as a prince of the empire, as a contracting party to the treaty of Westphalia, and as a friend of the Palatine family, he could not permit such an infraction of the laws, such a violation of the balance of power.

The court of Vienna, on the other hand, replied ; that the whole of Bavaria, before the period at which the house of Wittelsbach had acquired the sovereignty of that country, had been restored to their ancestors by the dukes of Austria, out of pure moderation and love of peace : that it was reasonable to require indemnification for so many expensive wars : that the present was not a question relating to an indivisible electorate, because Bavaria, as it was publicly and universally known, had acquired the electoral dignity by the contrivance of Maximilian, only a few generations previously to this time ; which dignity could be transferred only to his immediate descendants : that the whole country of Lower Bavaria, which from very early times had always been ruled by its own land-marshal, was in reality no essential part of the duchy of Bavaria : that the house of Austria could perceive no impediment in the constitution of Germany, to the enforcement of

indisputable rights, provided it were done with moderation and with the consent of those princes of the empire whose interests were most immediately concerned; and that it was important to know whether the king of Prussia was resolved to assume the office of arbitrator in all instances; and whether he, whose aggrandisement had been the most rapid, and was attended with the greatest share of peril to his neighbours, intended to set up his arbitrary will as the law by which all the princes were to regulate their conduct: that the emperor Sigismund, who had sold the electorate of Brandenburg to the ancestor of the present king of Prussia, had also conferred Lower Bavaria, which happened to fall vacant during his reign, on his own son-in-law, Albert of Austria; that the sister of the last elector of Bavaria at the same time transferred to her son, the elector of Saxony, all her claims to the allodial possessions and acquisitions of the deceased branch, to their moveable property, the revenues of the preceding year, and thirteen millions which had been expended on the Upper Palatinate; lastly, that the family of Mecklenburg recalled to mind the reversion of Leuchtenberg, and other imperial fiefs which had been granted by the emperor Maximilian the First; and founded its claims on a number of sacrifices which it had made for the benefit of Germany.

The armies of Austria and Prussia now proceeded towards the frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia. The king endeavoured to prove that the reversion granted by the emperor Sigismund to his son-in-law Albert of Austria, was without any solid foundation, because Albert deduced his claim to this fief from his mother, who was a princess of Bavaria, and Sigismund himself at that very time had bestowed fiefs on other dukes of Bavaria. It was remarked that Michael von Priest, the protonotarius who prepared both these feudal documents, appears from history to have been convicted of falsification: and lastly, it was ascertained that duke Albert formally renounced all claims arising from this investiture. The court of Vienna appealed to the notorious existence of the Austrian titles, to the recognition of these claims by the electors, and to the right of the latter to treat with other courts without the concurrence of the duke of Deuxponts.

The affair was in this manner conducted diplomatically during five months, until in the end of July, A. D. 1778, the king advanced into Bohemia near Nachod, while his brother Henry marched toward another pass. This kingdom is accessible by thirteen different roads, the least frequented of which is that by way of Rumburg: and the Prussian general Möllendorf, who commanded under prince Henry, took this latter route, which was the least provided with means of defence, being naturally the most difficult of access. This whole campaign, in which Frederick and Lascy, Henry and Laudohn, displayed the effects of long and uninterrupted reflection and the practice of the highest science, was a school of military tactics: few marches deserve to be compared with that of Rumburg, and few retreats with that from Lauterwasser to Schazlar. In this campaign, as in that in which Turenne was opposed to Montecuculi, no battles were fought; the king was not obliged to compromise the safety of an army which was the chief foundation of his power; though on the other hand he exposed no weak point to the attacks of Lascy and Laudohn. Military science is the foundation of political importance, because the other sources of power exist only under its protection: and hence the advancement or decline of this art always makes an epoch in history. It was a grand spectacle to see the ardent emperor Joseph, at the head of the finest army in the world, excellently provided with artillery and arms, opposed to the hoary conqueror of Gzaalan, Hohenfriedburg, Rosbach, Leuthen, Torgau and Lignitz. But before the question in dispute could be decided by deeds of arms, Russia and France effected a mediation, by which the pacific empress-queen satisfied herself with a tract of territory, containing scarcely forty square miles, between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza. Her army was not defeated: but her son was a great loser by the contest, because these occurrences excited alarm throughout all Europe.

The treaty was concluded at Teschen in Upper Silesia, A. D. 1779, and its

observance was guaranteed by Russia and France. The court of Austria acquiesced the district of the Inn, and engaged not to oppose the union of the Franconian principalities of Baireuth and Anspach with Prussia, on the decease of the reigning margrave: and when that should happen, to renounce the feudal claims which the crown of Bohemia possessed in those territories, in return for the renunciation of those which the margraves held in Austria, the greater part of which had subsisted for four hundred and fifty-seven years. Promises were made that the emperor and the empire should be induced to invest the elector palatine with all the fiefs held by the deceased branch of his family; to indemnify the dukes of Mecklenburg by an extension of their sovereign power over their own subjects, which is called *de non appellando* to the tribunals of the empire; and in general to bestow approbation on the treaty. With respect to the Palatine family, Austria renounced all claim to the remainder of the possessions of the late sovereigns of Bavaria, and conferred the Bohemian fiefs in the Upper Palatinate on the new electors. The elector of Saxony was gratified by the acquisition of a country on his frontiers. (1)

LETTER V.

Retrospect of the Affairs of Portugal—Administration of the Count d'Oeyras—Attempt to assassinate the monarch, Joseph I.—Execution of the Conspirators—War declared by Spain A. D. 1762.—Result of the Campaign—Commerce and internal policy of the Portuguese Government.

THE political affairs of Portugal, my dear son, have obtained so little notice from Dr. Russell, in the preceding volumes of this History, that it can scarcely be necessary to offer an apology for bestowing a few pages on the subject in this place. For though that kingdom is not entitled to rank among the leading powers of Europe, it certainly is of more importance in the scale of nations than some others on whom more attention has been paid; and the intimate connection which for more than a century past, has subsisted between it and Great Britain must unavoidably make a recurrence to it necessary in the sequel.

The reign of Joseph I. was destined to experience the greatest dangers, and the most uncommon catastrophes. This king having ascended the throne in 1750, found his treasury empty, his government oppressed with debts, and the English masters of the kingdom and its colonies. His minister, Diego de Mendoca, had not sufficient talents to apply a remedy to these abuses. Carvalho, (2) returned from the embassy of Vienna, obtained the confidence of the king, turned out the minister, who was banished to Mazagan, and took his place. He passed the two or three first years of his ministry in contending with cabals, in searching into the causes of the degraded state of government, and in suffering the insolence of the nobles, who wished to pull him down.

On the first of November, 1755, happened the famous earthquake which decimated all Portugal, threw down a considerable number of buildings in every town throughout the kingdom, and destroyed, as it were, in the same hour, 50,000 people. But Lisbon suffered most; the earthquake there assumed its most terrific form. The elements united to overwhelm the wretched inhabitants; the sea and the river rushed into the city, the earth opened wide its jaws, and fire consumed their dwellings. It was the festival of All-saints, and at nine in the morning, when great numbers of people

(1) Account of the Revolution in Sweden, by Charles Francis Sheridan. Coxe's Travels in Poland, Sweden, Russia, and Denmark. Gillies view of the Reign of Frederick II. chap. vi.

(2) Afterwards created Count d'Oeyras.

were hearing mass. The churches were thrown down, and all those whom devotion or alarm had conducted thither, were crushed beneath their fall. The aged, the infants, and the sick, were smothered in their beds, or consumed by the flames, which were blown into fury by the tempest that accompanied the earthquake. The vessels in the harbour were violently driven against each other, and many of them perished. But in the midst of this general desolation, an horrid scene of human brutality was displayed, and added to the universal horror of the moment. The desire of plunder, inflamed with the hope of speedy success a large band of sailors, soldiers, negroes, and criminals, whom this event had delivered from their prisons: these infamous wretches spread themselves throughout the city, to increase by pillage, violation, and murder, the horrors that surrounded them. To complete the calamity, Lisbon was threatened with famine; while the stench of the dead bodies corrupted the air, and produced symptoms of plague.

The Count d'Oeyras alone preserved a presence of mind in this scene of desolation; and where the fear of the future stifled all complaints at the present evil. This minister took no repose; and having no other dwelling, or bed, or office, but his coach, was seen every where, encouraging and consoling the wretched inhabitants. In eight days he published 230 ordinances to regulate the circumstances of the moment; which have been collected in one large volume, entitled, *Providencias sobre os terremotos*. He caused the fire to be extinguished, he ordered all the dead bodies to be covered with quick lime, or thrown into the sea; he directed the public ways to be opened through the ruins; he encouraged the garrison; and condemned the banditti, who infested the city, to suffer military execution. Provisions of all kinds were fetched from the provinces, by land and by sea; and by his example and resolution, he stopped the people who were determined to abandon a country which had so often been laid waste by similar destruction. But notwithstanding all the care and precautions of Count d'Oeyras, who was at this time the tutelary deity and saviour of Lisbon, besides the loss of lives, of effects, and furniture, there was lost in merchandise, money, and bankruptcies, produced by this terrible event, above six millions sterling. Of the magnificent palace of the kings of Portugal, not one stone remained upon another. Immense riches were there devoured by the flames, as well as in the patriarchal church, or were buried in their ruins. The court, full of alarm and agitation during eight days, had no other asylum but such as they found in their carriages, and the garden of Bellem, a small villa about a league from Lisbon. The king and the royal family, while they displayed the utmost resignation for themselves, exercised all their charity in consoling the unhappy people; and offered to their view an affecting example of greatness of mind, and patient resolution.

The recompence of Carvalho for his magnanimous conduct on this fatal occasion, was the entire and irrevocable confidence of the king. This was no more than an act of justice to that able minister; but it heightened to an extreme degree of rage the jealousy of his numerous enemies: strengthened, however, by the sovereign power, he began to take very strong measures: he attacked at once the departments of the marine, of commerce, and of the finances, as well as the clergy, the nobility, and the Jesuits: the latter were the first objects of his resentment, and the conquest of Paraguay was decided and arranged by the court of Madrid. The grandees irritated and alarmed, felt their own weakness; nor had they the courage to make a direct attack upon this superior character, whose very looks they were afraid to encounter. Vengeance is the element of the Portuguese, but they prefer those modes of indulging it which are not liable to danger; they do not, therefore, consider assassination as a crime, because, as Moliere says, it is the surest way to get rid of an enemy.

A horrible conspiracy was plotting with the utmost secrecy; four persons in the state were concerned in it: the duke d'Aveiro, of the house of Mascarenhas, who was the head of it, was allied to the royal family. Mordomomor grandmaster, or steward of the king's household, and the most powerful

nobleman of Portugal; he was an ugly, little man, of a narrow mind, but vain and wrong-headed, deranged in his affairs, capable of any crime, always cringing to the minister, whom he detested, while he himself was universally hated and despised. This man was easily excited to commit any crime by the marchioness de Tavora, who was the soul of the conspiracy. That lady, one of the finest women in Europe, of a superior genius and ambition, capable of every thing whether good or bad, was dreaded at court on account of her violent disposition, haughty spirit, and sarcastic pleasantries; she was the declared enemy of Carvalho, and never spoke of him but in the most reproachful terms, nor did she treat the king with more respect, whose whole conduct was the public object of her satirical insults; Equally the enemy of the queen and the princesses, she treated them as her equals. But this terrible woman had a great number of followers, powerful vassals, as well as large estates. Her magnificence, her profusion, her winning looks, gained the affections of the people, whom she managed with great address. She blended her criminal disposition and her pride with extreme devotion, and was under the direction of an old Jesuit, named Malagrida, a fanatical and visionary character, who believed himself to be inspired. Her husband, a general of cavalry, her two children, her son-in-law, the count of Atouguia, and her daughter-in-law, the marchioness of Tavora, were also under the spiritual direction of the Jesuits, and subject to the will of this imperious woman. It was said in Portugal that the conspirators had no design to hurt the king, and that their sole object was Carvalho. This opinion was founded upon the circumstance that it was in the carriage of the minister the attempt was made upon the king; and as the royal coaches had passed on before without having been attacked, it has a claim to some degree of credit. After all, the profound mystery in which the whole proceeding was involved, allows little more than conjecture.

The conspiracy in the mean time was carried on with great secrecy and equal indiscretion. The duke d'Aveiro, the marquis de Tavora, his two sons, the count d'Atouguia, the Almeidas, and the Sousas, were the respectable names which appeared at the head of two hundred and fifty persons of both sexes, who were accomplices without the secret having transpired: nevertheless, the duke d'Aveiro, proud at one moment, and cringing at another, rendered himself suspected by his menaces and indiscreet discourse. Love had also its share in this cruel scene. The young marchioness de Tavora carried on an intrigue with the king, which all her family considered as an affront, and they availed themselves of the mysterious visit which he paid every day to this lady.

On the day appointed to carry this horrid plot into execution, 3rd September, 1758, the conspirators to the number of one hundred and fifty, divided themselves into small troops, and took post in different parts of the way which the king was to pass. His majesty was in a calash, drawn by two mules, conducted by one postillion, and was accompanied only by his valet de chambre. The first band of conspirators let him pass on till he was in the midst of them, when two of them fired at the king's calash, which was pierced in various places, and the king received three wounds, the most considerable of which was in his shoulder. His valet de chambre, whose name was Texeira, had the presence of mind to make the king trundle down at the bottom of the chaise, that he might sit over him, and at all risks cover his body. At the same time, the postillion, as brave and as faithful as Texeira, instead of pursuing the road or turning back again, turned with great address, and with the utmost speed, into a bye way, amidst many other random shots, and by a circuitous road got back to the palace of Bellem. These two men, to whom the king owed his life, were amply recompensed.

The king on arriving at the palace, covered himself with a cloak belonging to one of his guards, ordered Carvalho to be instantly called to him, and waited at the gate, without thinking of his wounds, or discovering the least sign of pain or apprehension. The minister with his usual resolution, and maintaining the same magnanimity as his master, prohibited Texeira, the postillion, and guards, from making any discovery of what had happened.

He also recommended to the king himself silence and dissimulation. Nevertheless the news of this event having spread abroad, perhaps by the conspirators themselves, the people ran in a state of alarm and confusion to Bellem, and the nobles repaired to the palace. The duke d'Aveiro appeared the most anxious and alarmed of them all, and offered to place himself at the head of the cavalry to go in search of the assassins. But Carvalho removed his fears, pretended to make him his confidant, and with a mysterious air, recommended him to appear to know nothing of the matter: nevertheless, the minister already suspected him, from the knowledge he had of his turbulent spirit, and the well known hatred he bore to himself. The king, to dissipate the fears of his people, appeared at a window, and declared from thence, that the report of his assassination was false, that the slight hurt he had received was from no other cause but the accidental overturning of his calash. To confirm this belief, he engaged in his usual exercises even before he was cured of his wounds, and the agitated spirit of the people was universally quieted: even the conspirators themselves, deceived by the general tranquillity, took no precautions whatever to prevent discovery, and remained at ease. One alone, named Polycarp, a domestic of the Tavora family, being suspicious of this mysterious state of inaction quitted the kingdom.

Nevertheless Carvalho, in secrecy and in silence, took his measures to discover the authors of the conspiracy, and chance discovered them to him. A valet had an intrigue with a servant of the household of Tavora, who used to meet her lover in the gardens. One night, while he was waiting for his mistress, the conspirators assembled near the spot where he was concealed; and after they had conversed about the plot that had failed, unfolded the design of another. The valet heard all, and gave immediate information to the minister; who, on continuing his inquiries, found his suspicions confirmed, and was soon possessed of sufficient proofs of the conspiracy, and the persons concerned in it. The more Carvalho thought Aveiro and Tavora criminal, the more he flattered and caressed them. The first of them, through fear, and perhaps by the advice of his accomplices, who were more prudent than himself, asked permission to pass one month at his country seat, under the pretext of re-establishing his health. Carvalho immediately obtained leave for three months. The other had formerly solicited a commandry, and the minister now announced a grant of it, on the part of the king. In short, his majesty and the minister so conducted themselves, that the people not only ceased to speak of the assassination, but even to remember any thing concerning it.

However, in about six months, Carvalho proposed the marriage of his daughter with the count of Sampayo, a nobleman of high birth. The king accordingly signed the contract of marriage, and took upon himself the expenses of the wedding. All the grandees of the kingdom were invited to assist at the ceremony; and the duke d'Aveiro returned in great haste to Lisbon to be present at it. Ten battalions and as many squadrons of troops arrived the same night, and at the same hour in the capital. There were two balls which occupied the attention of the city; the one at Bellem, given by the minister, and the other at the Long Room, a place of entertainment belonging to foreign merchants, who gave it in honour of the marriage. At the same hour all the conspirators were arrested, their palaces invested, and the process against them being already prepared, ten of the principal of them were executed in the course of a week, in the square of the palace of Bellem. Saturday, January 18, 1759, a scaffold having been built in the square opposite to the house where the prisoners were confined, eight wheels were fixed upon it: on one corner of the scaffolding was placed Antonio Alvares Ferreira, and at the other corner the effigy of Joseph Pollicarpio de Azevedo, who had escaped; these being the two persons who fired at the king's equipage. About half an hour after eight o'clock in the morning the execution began. The marchioness de Tavora was the first who was brought upon the scaffold, when she was beheaded at one stroke. Her body was afterwards placed upon the floor of the scaffolding, and covered with a linen cloth. Young Joseph Maria of Tavora, the young marquis of Tavora, the count of

Atouguia, and three servants of the duke of Aveiro, were first strangled at a stake, and afterwards their limbs broken with an iron instrument; the marquis of Tavora, general of horse, and the duke of Aveiro, had their limbs broken alive. The duke, for greater ignominy, was brought bareheaded to the place of execution. The body and limbs of each of the criminals, after they were executed, were thrown upon a wheel, and covered with a linen cloth. But when Antonio Alvares Ferreira was brought to the stake, whose sentence was to be burnt alive, the other bodies were exposed to his view; the combustible matter, which had been laid under the scaffolding, was set on fire, the whole machine, with the bodies, were consumed to ashes, and thrown into the sea. Aveiro died like a coward. The rest supported their torments with resolution. But the two criminals who displayed the greatest strength of mind on the occasion, were a woman, the old marchioness de Tavora, and a young man of nineteen years of age, her second son. He had suffered the most cruel tortures without acknowledging his guilt; when his father being brought to tell him that he and the other accomplices had confessed the whole, he replied, "as you gave me life, you may take it from me." As for the old marchioness, she escaped the torture on account of her sex; but received her sentence, and saw the preparations for her punishment with an indifference that would have done honour to a better cause. She had been accustomed to breakfast after the English fashion, and after she had heard her sentence read, and been dressed as usual by her women, she demanded her breakfast. Her confessor represented to her that she had something else to do; when she answered, "that there was a time for every thing." She took her breakfast in perfect tranquillity, and made her women partake of it. When she came to ascend the scaffold, she said to those who offered to assist her, "I will ascend it alone, I have not suffered the torture like the rest." The marquis de Tavora, who did not possess an equal strength of mind, reproached her for having brought her family to such a fate; she replied, "support it as I do, and reproach me not." She herself placed the fillet over her eyes, shortened the duties of her confessor, entreated the executioner to dispatch her quickly, and by dropping her handkerchief gave the signal for the fatal stroke. The young marchioness de Tavora was confined in a convent, as well as the young countess of Atouguia, who has been since persecuted by the inquisition as a visionary. The principal part of the nobility were carried away and confined in dungeons, while some escaped; of the latter number were the Almeidas and Sousas. As for the Jesuits, they were expelled from every part of the Portuguese dominions as accomplices in this horrid conspiracy, but without process or proof. There remained of them but twenty-two, decrepit old men, who were shut up in a villa of the duke d'Aveiro; and eight prisoners, of which the most criminal, viz. Malagrada an Italian, Alexander an Irishman, and Matos, a Portuguese, were executed secretly in prison, after having been denounced as chiefs of the plot.

The minister has been accused of gratifying, by these executions, his own personal vengeance. But surely this crime merited the severest chastisement; nor could it be considered as bad policy to humble an insolent nobility who insulted the king, and tyrannized over the people.

These two fatal events which followed one upon the other, occupied all the attention of the minister, and suspended the operations of every other department of the state whose strength they had exhausted. War being lighted up throughout all Europe, the Portuguese, who had no interest in it, began to recover themselves and to draw some advantage from the state of peace which they enjoyed. But their neutrality was not equally preserved. They were considered as very much attached to the English; they triumphed on their victories, they received them with joy into their harbours, they profited of their captures, and they were regarded rather as the subjects than the allies of England. This opinion determined the Spanish court to attack Portugal, as the best way of attacking the English, whom they considered as the commercial possessors, at least, of Lisbon and Oporto. It was supposed that this war with Portugal would have a considerable influence on

the negotiations for peace; and to accelerate it, Spain resolved to break its neutrality. If Portugal had been subdued, it is certain that such an event would have been the source of great advantage to Spain at the conclusion of a peace; but success alone could justify the conduct which the court of Madrid pursued at this period. That power was particularly interested in preventing the English from aggrandizing their power in America, and crushing the French navy; but this interest did not furnish sufficient motives to quit its neutrality. It might, on all occasions, have favoured the French, have opened their ports to them, and supplied them with money; but they had no just pretence to declare war against England. The piracies of certain privateers, which were disavowed by the court of London, and the strict but lawful examination of Spanish ships which carried ammunition to France, were not sufficient pretexts. All the commercial nations suffered the same inconvenience, without thinking themselves authorized to take up arms to prevent it. Besides these causes of complaint, whether well or ill founded, Spain had nothing to do with Portugal. War was, however, declared in 1762.

The Portuguese, who never thought of a rupture with Spain, were so ill prepared for this unexpected event, that the army was not only in a very bad condition as to discipline, but also as to equipment. The minister, who was naturally an enemy to military men, because he knew nothing of military affairs; and reckoning upon a long peace, as well as on his own superior politics, he had totally neglected the army, and employed the funds destined for its maintenance, to other objects: he had not even filled up the vacancies in it which had been caused by the late catastrophe.

The state of the Portuguese army appeared on paper to consist of seventeen thousand men, two thousand four hundred of which were cavalry: but in reality it did not amount to half that number. When the count de Lippe, a sovereign prince of Germany, who was recommended by the English to command the army of Portugal, wished, on his arrival, to get a body of troops together, in order to have some appearance at least of an army; he could not assemble at his first camp of Villa Viçosa, more than five thousand men; the greater part without uniforms and without arms. Elvas, Elmeida, and some other places occupied the rest. There was neither artillery, nor ammunition, nor hospitals, nor magazines, nor engineers, nor officers, nor maps, nor waggons.

Don Martin de Mello had recourse, on the part of the king of Portugal, to the court of London, which ordered six thousand men to embark for Lisbon; two thousand of these were Irish troops, newly raised, consequently as incapable of defending Portugal as the Portuguese themselves, and who arrived when the campaign was half over. Lord Tyrawley, who commanded these succours, was a bad officer, and a very violent man, calculated rather to throw matters into disorder than to restore them. He was the ambassador in Portugal, who made so insolent a use of the favour of king John V. He resumed, on the present occasion, all his haughty contemptuous airs, and some very warm disputes took place between him and count d'Oeyras; that minister, however, contrived to get him recalled. Lord Loudon, who succeeded Tyrawley, lord Townshend who replaced him, and general Crawford who followed, were equally hated for their pride. They always encamped separately from count de Lippe, whose orders they refused to receive; in short, they expressed their contempt of the natives so openly, that the Portuguese at length rose up against these cruel and insolent allies, and massacred more than half of them. There was no kind of excess which these undisciplined troops, who were worse than enemies, did not commit. Upwards of one thousand four hundred of them perished also in a revolt at Santarem. The Irish, above all, were so disorderly and so wicked, that those who had escaped the vengeance of the Portuguese and returned to England, were broke and punished.

The count de Lippe is a prince distinguished by his military talents; and above all by his superior knowledge as an engineer, and officer of artillery. He is haughty, presumptuous, ardent, and leaves much to fortune. He was obliged in Portugal to bend to the various and opposing circumstances that

surrounded him, and he there served an apprenticeship to patience. Although he had no opportunity in this campaign to signalise himself, his whole conduct proved him to be an able and experienced soldier.

Such was the interior state of Portugal when the Spaniards penetrated into it. But the count d'Oeyras, not depending upon an armed strength for defence, had recourse to his usual politics. He engaged the queen to supplicate her mother the queen-dowager of Spain, to dispel the storm which threatened to destroy Portugal. He employed money, he set negotiations on foot, and by these arms, far more powerful than those of the Spanish warriors, caused their enterprises to miscarry.

Nevertheless the court of Spain ordered forty thousand men to march into Portugal; and from its powers of defence, a ready judgment might be formed of the facility of its conquest. But contrary to all appearance, this army did nothing but what was injurious to Spain itself, by a great and useless consumption of men, of horses, of cattle, of grain, and above all of money. The marquis de Sarria, colonel of the Spanish guards, old, bigotted, and without talents, was entrusted with the command of this army. But besides the want of vigour and capacity in this superannuated general, the operations of the war were all either checked or impeded by the influence of persons of the highest consideration in Spain. The war minister was an Irishman,⁽¹⁾ and all Europe suspected him of partiality for his countrymen. But whatever the cause might be, the preservation of Portugal cost Spain its glory, its treasure, and an army.

The extraordinary ignorance of the Spanish generals, the want of discipline in their troops, the little care that was taken to secure supplies of forage and ammunition, were circumstances very favourable to the safety of Portugal. The enemy entered into the country without having agreed upon a plan of the campaign; and the first encampment was at Zamora, April 21, 1762. They approached the frontier, without being acquainted with the country, without maps, or guides, or spies. A part of the army attacked Miranda, which was blown up by an accident. This conquest determined the Spaniards to enter Portugal on the side of Traz os Montes; and it was then only they discovered that there was a river to pass; but they had neither pontoons nor boats, and much time was lost in constructing them. May 4th, the general being at Alcanissas, said publicly, in speaking of the Portuguese army, "I cannot discover where these insects are." Bragança, Outeiro, and Chavés, being without a single soldier, surrendered without opposition on the approach of the army.

The general, May 21st, sent a detachment against Moncorvo, while O'Reilly, who commanded the light troops, quitted Chavés to get possession of Oporto; which, however, he did not effect: for he was stopped between Villa Real and Villa Pouça, by three or four hundred peasants, who drove back his detachment, consisting of three hundred men, as far as Chavés. He owed this defeat to the appearance of fear which he discovered, and which seems to have been common to all the commanding officers detached from the Spanish army.

On the evening of Whitsunday, there was an alarm in the camp; the general ordered all his artillery to be drawn into the rear, that it might not be exposed to the danger of being taken; by which he deprived his army of all the advantage that might be derived from field pieces.

On June 21st, an officer named Alvarez, attacked the village of Freixal, and after having pillaged it, set it on fire. Three hundred peasants, who were shut up in it, and made some resistance, were converted by the gassettes of Madrid into six thousand men. After such a brilliant expedition, the army took the road of Zamora, and it was determined to lay siege to Almeida. On the 4th of August the place was invested; on the 15th the trenches were opened without the least difficulty, as the besieged did not, during the course of the siege, discharge more than four or five cannon. On the 25th the place surrendered, although no breach had been made, nor the first pa-

(1) Don Ricardo Wall.

ralled completed. The batteries of the besiegers were at the distance of one thousand eight hundred feet from the walls, and the siege was attended with the loss only of an ostler, a labourer, and four horses; not one person was wounded during the short time it lasted. There were found in the town ninety-six pieces of cannon of different calibres, all sorts of ammunition and provisions, and three thousand six hundred Portuguese, who composed its garrison, all unhurt and in good health. Almeida is a considerable place, and might have stopped the progress of the Spaniards for at least a month: but the governor was fourscore years of age, had been a captain of cavalry in the war of the succession, and was a vain-glorious character. A very able engineer, named Miron, who had thrown himself into the place, was anxious to put it in a state of defence, but the governor having refused to advance the money necessary to carry on the works, a dozen of English and Scotch officers, who were at the head of the regiments in garrison, raised among themselves a very considerable sum for that purpose. But when Miron, on the strength of this subscription, was determined to begin his works, and spoke firmly on the subject, the governor ordered him to be confined in irons, and sent him to be tried at Lisbon. Having, however, deprived himself of his engineer, he retired into his chamber, where he passed all the time of the siege in reciting his rosary. When the English officers ordered the Portuguese garrison to man the outworks, they revolted and refused to obey. Not a single man was seen in the covered way, nor along the curtains during the whole siege, so that no place was ever taken with more ease; and if the Spaniards could have conceived the interior state of the town and garrison, they would not have given themselves the trouble to open the trenches.

After this siege the Spaniards were more embarrassed than before, as to where they were to go, or what they should do. They had calculated that the siege would have occupied the whole campaign, and no further plan had been thought of. Besides, the war was carried on by couriers, and the court regulated all the operations at the distance of an hundred leagues. Old marquis de Sarria was now removed, and the count d'Aranda substituted to command the army. This new general made an attack upon Villa Velha, on the banks of the Tagus. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, encouraged by the indecision of the Spaniards, strengthened by the support of the English, and animated by the count de Lippe, ventured to take the field, and encamped to the number of twelve thousand men at Abrantes and Punhete; while a small camp of Portuguese volunteers, commanded by a brave Scotchman, of the name of Hamilton, and reinforced by two English battalions, and some companies of grenadiers, were posted upon the left bank of the Tagus, opposite Villa Velha, whose castle was garrisoned by three hundred Portuguese. Alvarez had taken this castle without much danger, as it surrendered at the first musket shot. During the march to Villa Velha, the count de Lippe had sent colonel Burgoyne with his English dragoons, and six companies of grenadiers, four of which were Portuguese, to attack Valença d'Alcantara, of which that officer got possession without any resistance, and afterwards pillaged it. Valença is surrounded with walls, and contained a garrison of twelve hundred militia, under the command of a brigadier general. This affront, however, was soon forgotten by the Spaniards. The capture of Villa Velha had increased the confidence of the detachment of Alvarez, who, despising the enemy, abandoned themselves to a villacious security. Hamilton perceived their negligence, passed a ford of the river by night with three hundred men, half of them English, surprised the camp of Alvarez, consisting of two thousand men, the flower of the Spanish army, spiked their cannon, and repassed the Tagus without loss, leaving behind him no common scene of disorder and confusion.

Such were the transactions of this campaign which finished in the month of September. The Spanish army retired to Alcantara, but at the same time, an attack was made upon Campo Mayor, which failed, because the detachment destined to this object arrived with a view to surprise the place at noon-day. The Spanish forces, when they arrived at the frontier, were reduced to

twenty-five thousand men, and never did troops experience a more horrible campaign. The sick and the stragglers were almost all of them massacred by the peasants, who were rendered ferocious by the marauding conduct of the Spanish army, and emboldened by the timidity of its generals.

Spain was much more successful in America. Cevallos, the governor of Buenos Ayres, made himself master of the colony of St. Sacrement, and the island of St. Gabriel, which the Portuguese knew not how to defend, and endeavoured in vain to retake; but this advantage did not compensate for the ill-success of the campaign in Portugal; it covered Spain with dishonour, and exhausted her to such a degree as to keep her quiet till the peace.

This war, which might have crushed Portugal, gave it a degree of vigour and elasticity which it did not possess before; and produced a military spirit that still exists, though it received some diminution from the absence of count de Lippe. The count d'Oeyras availed himself of these successes, and of the re-establishment of the army, to render himself still more powerful, and to forward his designs.

But the misfortunes of the reign of Joseph I. had not yet ceased. Two years after the war, the custom-house was entirely consumed by fire, with every thing it contained. This was a severe blow on the commerce of the country, many persons were entirely ruined by the event, and many bankruptcies followed. It was said, indeed, that this conflagration was not attended with a general loss, as the most valuable merchandise was in other warehouses, and that the building was purposely set on fire. But be that as it may, commerce must have been severely affected by the accident, and the commercial security of Lisbon considerably diminished.

Before we quit the affairs of Portugal, it may be expedient to offer a remark or two on its government, commerce, and finances. (1)

All the different parts of society, like those of the body, depend upon each other, and the disease of the one necessarily influences the condition of all the rest. A superstitious people, who cultivate but in a small degree the arts and sciences, cannot possess a well regulated government. Besides, the subjection of the Portuguese to the English, diminishes the vigour which the count d'Oeyras laboured for several years to communicate to all the relaxed springs of this machine. During the last century, the Portuguese government had been without strength, and without attention. The ministers slumbering at the foot of the throne, had suffered it to be shaken by the insolence of the nobles, the usurpations of ecclesiastics, and the influence of the English. Nature appears also to have assisted all these political causes of decay, in order to complete the ruin of Portugal, by an earthquake; and it is in the midst of these ruins, that the celebrated Sebastian Joseph Carvalho, count d'Oeyras had the courage to re-establish the throne, by supporting it with one hand, whilst with the other he crushed the nobility, humbled the clergy, and diminished the influence of the English. The first enterprise of this great man excited fanaticism and conspiracies, and gave him an opportunity to display his severe and inflexible character. The king escaped from the strokes of his assassins, became their master and their judge. After he had removed this first obstacle, the minister attacked the ecclesiastics, and at length employed the most subtle policy respecting the English. Powerfully impelled by the same hatred of that nation as the Portuguese universally possess, he directed his strokes against them, under the semblance of measures for rectifying abuses.

The marine was in a very bad state. Five or six disabled ships and as many frigates, without sailors or officers, constituted the whole naval force of Portugal. The minister, in order to become absolute master of this department, obtained the post of secretary of the marine for his brother Francis Xavier de Mendoca, who died about three years ago. He was a man of a narrow capacity, but very industrious, and perfectly submissive to his brother. Accordingly, in about seven or eight years the marine was

(1) See an Account of Portugal as it appeared in 1766 to Dumouriez, afterwards a celebrated general in the French army. Printed at Lausanne in 1775, and reprinted in London in 1797.

established upon a good footing; at the same time, the English, the Swedes, the Dutch, the Danes, and the French were invited to teach navigation to the Portuguese; who, two centuries ago, conquered three quarters of the globe, carried on the commerce of it, and directed all its views to the improvement of its marine. The actual state of its navy consists of ten ships of the line, and double that number of frigates, all built of the finest Brazil timber. Two ships have been launched at Lisbon of 74 and 72 guns, and admirably constructed for resistance as well as duration. But neither the officers or the sailors are kept in sufficient practice; and I am of opinion, that vessel against vessel, the Spaniards would beat them at sea, from the superiority of their equipage. But this deficiency may always be supplied by the English navy. The present state, however, of the Portuguese marine, is sufficient to protect the coasts, and the war against the Algerines, and the corsairs of Salé, may serve as a school to teach the art of naval combat, and accustom them to it, which is the more necessary as they have not the reputation of being brave at sea. The war with Morocco may be, one day or other, fatal to the Portuguese: for if the emperor should fortify Mogadore, invite to his service renegade seamen, and order his corsairs to cruize about the Cape Verde Islands, the Canaries, Açores, and Madeira, the ships coming from Brazil would often risk being taken.

The commerce of Portugal, notwithstanding all the efforts of the count d'Oeyras, is altogether in the hands of the English, to whom the Portuguese are no more than brokers or agents, and even English ships are employed in the whole of their trade, except that of the Indies, of Africa, and America, which is under the direction of distinct companies, and carried on by the king's ships; but even in those branches of commerce the Portuguese, though they lend their names, are not principals. The most considerable factories of Brazil and Africa belong to English capitalists, who have for correspondents the English houses of Lisbon, Oporto, and London, of whom the Portuguese themselves purchase the merchandise that comes from their own colonies.

The count d'Oeyras, after a very attentive consideration of this subject, determined upon a very singular operation, which was no less than to change the general order of commerce. He accordingly abolished all the old trading companies, and destroyed their exclusive rights; while, on the contrary, he erected new companies, and gave them an exclusive right over those branches of commerce which had hitherto been free. But notwithstanding all his care and precautions, the English, from their large capitals, became the masters in these new arrangements, and, under borrowed names possessed themselves of all the new funds. Another evil has arisen from this new arrangement, which the minister did not foresee, but which caused the seditious discontent that have prevailed in Brazil, and threatened the total ruin of the colonies. The companies having obtained permission from different ministers, and particularly from count d'Oeyras, to impose duties both on the sale of their own merchandise, and the purchase of the produce of the country, these duties proved very burdensome to the inhabitants of Brazil; they became, on account of them, very much indebted to these companies, who, on their abolition, demanded payment. Accordingly the count d'Oeyras found himself obliged to take those measures which have dissatisfied both parties. Nevertheless, the merchants who continued the trade after the abolition of the companies, determined to carry on their sales, and make their purchases on the same principle as the companies had done; this produced a state of disorder and confusion in Brazil, for which it was not easy to find a remedy.

The count d'Oeyras aimed another blow at the interests of England, by encouraging a trade with France for grain; and in the year 1766, that country had made very profitable returns from Portugal, under the wise and able administration of the duke de Choiseul. In this particular the count d'Oeyras has found the means to diminish in Lisbon the general dependence on the English merchants. But this branch of commerce, after all, must be precarious and temporary, at least till the marine of France becomes strong enough to form a balance to that of Great Britain.

This successful essay has given birth to another attempt, which has been

equally fortunate: to weaken the credit of the English respecting grain, and to lessen their immense profits on the wines of Portugal, the minister ordered a considerable part of the vineyards to be destroyed, and sown with grain. This unreserved proceeding at once discovered his design, and produced a great clamour against him. The individuals also, whom he was determined to force into a new and more difficult cultivation of their ground, exclaimed against his tyranny, and refused to obey: but he was deaf to their clamours, rigorously insisted upon obedience, and forced his edict to be observed.

In order to understand this extraordinary operation, it is necessary to be informed, that Portugal is all vineyard, except some small cantons in Entre Minho e Douro, and Traz os Montes. The English have purchased, and consequently possess all the prime land in the environs of Oporto, and Lisbon, of Setuval, and Faro, whose wines are the best, and some of them in great estimation; so that the soil of Portugal and its productions may be said to belong to them. These circumstances, which are ruinous to the Portuguese, serve to prove their indolent disposition; of which they do not perceive the disadvantage. They prefer the culture of the vine, which requires but little trouble, to a more laborious cultivation.

The commerce of Portugal being entirely in the hands of the English, and being destitute of pasturage and grain, this kingdom is in an absolute state of dependance, because England furnishes it with all the commodities of which it stands in need. Such are the bonds of servitude that keep Portugal in that alliance with England, which the count d'Oeyras had endeavoured to destroy. He also attacked the English interest, by establishing manufactures for silk, woollen-drapery, leather, and soap. At the same time he published very severe edicts to prohibit the importation of foreign stuffs: but the imperfect fabric of these manufactures, their slow progress, their bad quality, and high price, established the preference given to the silks, the woollens, and leather of England and France, and in spite of the edicts, the importation of foreign manufactures still prevails.

This minister employed all his power to invite by treaties the commerce of Denmark, of Sweden, and of Russia, to Lisbon. This was a wise and beneficial measure, because the greater the number of foreigners concerned in the trade of Portugal, the less would remain in possession of England. But it was doing things only by halves, to establish a merely passive commerce. The Portuguese themselves should have been encouraged to navigate the distant seas, and to fetch foreign commodities in their own vessels; in short, to engage in an active commerce.

The count d'Oeyras had agriculture very much at heart, regarding it as the basis of all government. He resolved to make a general register of the lands in order to ascertain their value, and to discover the means to be employed for bringing them into a state of cultivation; but after all the pains and time employed on this subject, and the calculations made, the lands in question remain untouched by the plough. The whole province of Alentejo is uncultivated: Beira and Algarve continue to be a desert.

The finances of Portugal have been the first objects of attention to the count d'Oeyras; and he reserved this department to himself, though without attaching any title to it. But the opinions on the state of the finances, and the revenues of the kingdom are various. It is indeed generally said that the treasury is full, that Portugal is very rich, and that its revenues are considerable; but there is great reason surely to suspect that the finances cannot be in a very good condition in a kingdom which has neither agriculture nor a marine; which has lately sustained an earthquake that produced so many large bankruptcies, and has been engaged in a very expensive war; whose colonies, which are a principal source of its riches, are so poor, so ill administered, and so harassed, that the people either leave them or revolt; above all, if it is considered that this kingdom has many old debts, and that its wealth, particularly its gold, passes through the hands of the English, who derive all the advantage from it; and lastly, that the diamonds, of which it possesses a very large store, are a kind of dead stock, which does not en-

ter into circulation. The Portuguese have but very few taxes to pay; nevertheless they live in a state of extreme wretchedness.

Previous to the ministry of the count d'Oeyras, the finances of Portugal were in a most deplorable state of administration; 22,000 clerks or writers, divided into a considerable number of offices, devoured the revenues, embroiled the accounts, and swallowed up the treasure. The minister, by a single edict of the month of October 1761, reduced this enormous crowd of blood-suckers to *thirty-two* well qualified and chosen persons. He has simplified the regulations relative to the receipts and payments of the public treasure, by using the same journals as bankers and merchants employ for the insertion of their daily transactions. These books are examined every week; while the king passes the accounts which are presented to him, or gives instructions concerning such as are in a state of preparation; none of which, however, are suffered to be in arrear. The perspicuity, the precision, and the security of this arrangement will appear incomprehensible in the different countries of Europe, where finance is so complicated a science, and such an inextricable a labyrinth; but to convince incredulity, it is necessary only to have recourse to Portugal, and to read the edict of the count d'Oeyras, and the execution of this plan will be instantly verified.

There are many varying opinions respecting the revenues of Portugal, which some have calculated at seventy, and others at eighty millions of livres, or between three and four millions sterling. The mines produce annually from fifty to sixty millions of livres, or between two and three millions sterling

LETTER VI.

View of the internal affairs of France from the peace of Versailles, in 1763, to the death of Louis XV. in 1776—including some account of Corsica.

It is a fact, now too well known to be disputed, that France was reduced to such a deplorable situation, towards the close of the year 1762, that it was no longer in the power of her allies to extricate her from the innumerable distresses that surrounded her, both at home and abroad. The most obvious causes, which compelled the French ministry to set on foot a secret negotiation for peace, through the mediation of the king of Sardinia, have been already stated, nor is it to be wondered at, that the skillful managers of that negotiation were considered in France as the deliverers of their country, from the dreadful scourge of unsuccessful war, and from the rapid advances of national bankruptcy and famine.

But some circumstances, perhaps, not so well known, contributed as much, or more than any other events, to determine the duke de Choiseul, an able statesman, to purchase an interval of repose to his bleeding country, at the expense even of the most valuable sacrifices.

A general dislike to the service, manifested itself in every department, civil and military, connected with the war. Officers and magistrates employed under the government, in its remote dependencies, oppressed and plundered the people, but paid no regard to the public security of the countries over which they presided. A spirit of opposition to the measures of administration, chiefly owing to the misfortunes of the war, prevailed at home; and the difficulty of raising money for the public service increased every hour. The most honourable offices were publicly refused, and no man of abilities could be found to undertake the conduct of the future operations of the war.

Add to this, the expiring influence of the Jesuits, which was exerted with redoubled force, on the eve of its total extinction. Actuated by the infernal principles of revenge, they secretly thwarted the designs of an adverse court, and stirred up the people to complain bitterly of the weight of the

taxes, the extortions of the farmers general, and the universal mal-administration of public affairs.

In short, scarcely was the peace signed, when, notwithstanding the almost frantic joy it occasioned throughout the kingdom, a most formidable opposition to the court broke forth, and even the officers of justice, under an immediate dependance on the crown, refused to register the king's edicts, in the parliament of Paris, for continuing some taxes, (which should have been abolished at the expiration of the war) for imposing new ones, and for vesting a power in the king to redeem the public debts at twenty years purchase.

The example of the parliament of Paris, was followed by almost all the parliaments of France, whose remonstrances upon this occasion, would do honour to the most distinguished patriots, in the freest constitutions of civil government upon earth.

As the latent seeds of these internal commotions had undoubtedly hastened the negotiations for peace, so now their maturity served to guarantee the powers of Europe, from any hostile designs of the court of France, for some years at least; but they produced no effect in favour of the people, for the parliaments, after repeated struggles in defence of their violated rights, in which they went so far as to proceed against their governors as public criminals, were obliged to submit at length, to those irresistible ministers of despotism, the military.

However, this violent contest by no means diverted the attention of the people from another object, which, though it was but a poor compensation for the losses of individuals and of the public, during a long war, afforded general satisfaction to the whole kingdom; this was the trial and punishment of several delinquents, whose perfidy, cowardice, or venality, had contributed to increase the misfortunes of the state. In the month of December 1763, most of the public officers in the late government of Canada were condemned, some to a temporary, others to a perpetual banishment; and all were obliged to refund the immense sums of which they had defrauded the nation, amounting in the whole to 12,965,000 livres. And as this capital sum had been chiefly purloined from the supplies for the army and marine forces employed in the defence of Canada, it was presumed, that if it had been honestly expended in the public service, the English would not have met with such signal success in that country; and, indeed, a review of the stations of the delinquents, in some measure, justifies this rational conjecture. The intendant of the province, the purveyor general of the army, the director, and the comptroller of the marine, the commissaries, and the keepers of the stores were the chief criminals. That these should escape with life, is a strong impeachment of the execution of justice in France; but it must be remembered, that Madame Pompadour was still living, and that they were all officers appointed through her interest, and protected by her and her friends to the last.

From the produce of the fines, it was reasonably expected, the French ministry would be enabled to pay the Canada bills, drawn by the late intendant, and the other guilty officers on the government of France, and given in payment to the Canadians, now become the subjects of Great Britain; yet, in violation of the solemn declaration of his most Christian majesty at the peace, that the bills of exchange, drawn by the late government of Canada on old France, should be honourably discharged, this piece of justice was refused, notwithstanding the strong application made by the English merchants trading to Canada, who were now the holders of these bills, having taken them in the course of their commercial concerns with that country, on the faith of the king's declaration. A long and feeble negotiation on the part of the British ministry commenced, in consequence of the remonstrances of the proprietors of these bills, which might have produced a fresh rupture, had it not been for the very pacific disposition of the British court.

But another incident plainly discovered, that the refusal of the payment of the Canada bills was owing, at that time, to the exhausted state of the French finances. In the month of February 1764, a declaration was made

to their East India company, on the part of the king, that his majesty could no longer afford them any assistance, notwithstanding their great losses; and that they must either provide for the payment of their debts, or dissolve the company. This measure partly decided the fate of a commercial association, which, at one time, promised to rival those of other countries, and to yield considerable succours to the crown on extraordinary emergencies. It is true this company subsisted after this declaration, but in the most fluctuating and enfeebled state.

We are now brought, in the order of time, to a domestic event of another nature, from which as great revolutions were expected in the internal government of France, as if a new monarch had ascended the throne, the death of the king's favourite mistress, and prime minister. It happened on the 15th of April, 1764, in the forty-third year of her age.

It has often been the fate of France to be governed, for a long series of years, by the mistresses of its kings; the uncontrollable influence of Madame Pompadour lasted upwards of twenty years, during which time, various attempts were made to ruin her; and though persons of the highest rank, and of the most distinguished merit in the kingdom, frequently engaged in well concerted plans, to remove her from court, they always ended in the disgrace, and sometimes in the punishment of the authors. One unhappy victim, *Madame Saucé*, very early experienced the implacability of this imperious mistress. On a public day of shewing the duke of Burgundy, the dauphin's eldest son, then an infant, to the people, occasion was taken to conceal a packet, sealed up, in the prince's cradle. Madame Saucé, who was in waiting, upon taking up the child, discovered this packet, and being either really overcome with fear, or affecting it, gave a violent scream, which brought Madame de Tallard instantly into the room, who, without loss of time, carried the packet to the king. It contained an anonymous remonstrance against the mal-administration of public affairs, and the king's neglect of the national welfare, wholly attributed to his criminal connection with Pompadour, and her assiduity to absorb him in trifling effeminate amusements. The irresolute monarch, for a short interval, appeared to be deeply struck with remorse; but after he had consulted his female minister, (the object of the just invectives of his subjects) pride and resentment stifled the reflections of wisdom and virtue, and the incensed mistress, to deter others from the like dangerous attempts, procured an order to send Saucé to the Bastille, on a strong presumption, that she had conveyed the packet into the cradle; what became of this unfortunate woman remains unknown to this hour. More interesting transactions prevent our entering further into the character of Madame Pompadour; and indeed it may suffice to observe, that she enjoyed all but the title of queen-regent of France; for the easy indolent Louis, seemed to be at the head of no other party in his kingdom, but that which formed his *petit soupers*, calculated to engage him in a perpetual succession of intoxicating pleasures, formed by the luxuriant taste of his mistress, whose immediate dependants were the most constant guests.

As the king was far advanced in life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, when he lost his favourite mistress, it was reasonably concluded, that the future glory of France would solely occupy his thoughts, and that the remainder of his life would be chiefly dedicated to public business. But this flattering prospect soon vanished, when it was found, that the king continued in his service, and gave his confidence to the minions and tools of that extraordinary woman. In this situation we must leave the state of the palace of Versailles, while we attend to the other transactions of this period, worthy of notice.

The French ministry had, for some time past, formed a secret plan to get possession of Corsica, under the open profession of assisting the Genoese government, incapable of itself, to defend those parts of the island which it still possessed. A more favourable opportunity could not present itself; the supporters of the liberties of Europe, and of the political balance of power, either exhausted of men and money by the late war, or firmly resolved not to involve themselves in any fresh broils, when they had scarce recovered

breath from the last; tamely beheld the military operations of France against Corsica, without tendering the least succour to the brave inhabitants, who, the instant they received intelligence of the designs of the court of France, called an assembly, composed of deputies from all the provinces of the island, and with a noble firmness, becoming a manly race of free-born citizens, resolved that the French troops should not be permitted to land on the island, in any pretence whatever. And that no decent measure on their part might be neglected, they ordered their commander-in-chief, *Pascal Paoli*, to make the most respectful remonstrances to his most Christian Majesty, against the unchristian conduct of his ministry, in sending French troops to aid and assist the avowed enemies of their civil freedom and independency; the preservation of which they had hitherto successfully contended for, and were now on the eve of perpetuating, having nearly driven the Genoese off the island.

Neither these remonstrances to Louis XV. celebrated by some writers for his humanity and love of justice, nor the memorials dispatched to courts, supposed to be interested in the independency of Corsica, imploring, if not succours, at least their mediation with France, produced any effect. The French forces landed in Corsica, as auxiliaries to the Genoese; but they finally convinced the injured inhabitants, that they were destined to conquer, and to retain possession of the country; accordingly, we shall see Corsica annexed to the crown of France, by an act of cession from the Genoese republic, in the year 1768; but the Genoese not having the least shadow of right to consign over these brave people, like a bale of merchandise; though the powers of Europe, from political motives, have hitherto acquiesced in this tyrannic invasion of the rights of mankind, it is not to be doubted, that at some future period, *Pascal Paoli*, or a more worthy hero, who will consult less his own personal safety, will be empowered to restore the freedom of this enslaved country.

The year 1765 was opened by a finance operation, which partly restored the credit of the court of France in England. The French ambassador at London tendered the payment of £870,000, as a compensation for the maintenance of the French prisoners in different parts of the British empire, during the course of the last war. By the advice of parliament, this sum was accepted, and £700,000 was immediately paid on account, the remainder was to be cleared by instalments of £40,000 every three months; and some hopes being given that the Canada bills would likewise be adjusted amicably, the price of these bills, which had been sold by auction at thirty per cent. discount, increased considerably. Soon after, the king gave a convincing proof of the goodness of his heart; for the widow and children of the unfortunate Calas, having gained their cause in the parliament of Paris against their inhuman bigotted persecutors, exactly three years after the execution of their innocent father; his majesty not only ordered the re-establishment of the reputation of that unhappy victim of superstitious fury to be printed and published in all parts of the kingdom, but he made the widow a present of 18,000 livres, to her two daughters he gave 6,000 livres each, and to one of her sons 3,000, without depriving them of their expectations of great damages from the judges who first condemned their father.

No alteration happened in the political state of France at this period; but proper resentment was shewn to the emperor of Morocco, who had refused to punish a Sallee rover for seizing a French trading vessel: a squadron of ten ships of the line, under the command of M. de Chassault, bombarded Sallee from the 31st of May to the 14th of June, throwing into the old and new towns upwards of four hundred shells, but with little effect. They afterwards attacked Larrache, but without success; for they met with a warm reception from the Moors, who suffered much to advance in their boats, and to burn some vessels without opposition, and then swam to them from the shore with poniards in their mouths, and obliged them to beg for quarter. The Bacha gave orders to preserve the lives of the prisoners, but took all the French boats, and would listen to no terms of accommodation,

so that M. du Chassaut found himself under a necessity to put an end to this expedition, without obtaining any satisfaction for the present.

A domestic event interrupted the usual gaiety of the court of Versailles, in the last month of this year, 1765, and involved the whole kingdom in a deep universal sorrow: the dauphin of France, father of Louis XVI. died at Fontainebleau, December 20th, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, leaving the character of an inoffensive good-natured man, too much attached indeed to the priesthood, and particularly to the Jesuits, whose society it is conjectured, he would have restored in France, if he had ascended the throne soon after its dissolution; but the moral tenor of his conduct gave the people room to hope, they should be freed at least from the capricious government of worthless women. The care he took of the education of his children, and particularly his endeavours to preserve them from pride and arrogance, with which the minds of young princes are but too early tainted, either by self-interested courtiers, or by the example of royal *hauteur*, does honour to his memory. It is related of him, that he made his children look over the baptismal registers in which their names are entered, by the custom of France, indiscriminately with others, and that he made the following remark to the princes his sons. "Behold your names intermixed, without distinction, with those of the children of the poor and needy: religion and nature place all men upon a level; virtue alone can make any essential distinction between them, and perhaps the child, whose name precedes each of yours in this register, will be greater in the sight of God than you will ever be in the eyes of the people of France." At another time, he ordered them to be carried to the cottage of a poor peasant; "I will have them see the black bread that they eat; I insist on their handling the straw which serves the poor for a bed. Learn them to weep," said he to their governor, "a prince who has never shed tears, cannot make a good king." When an augmentation of his appointments was offered him by the late king, he politely refused, and wished that the sum proposed might be taken off annually from the taxes on the poor. It has been suggested, that he was too good to live; but as his public capacity for government was not so distinguishable as his private virtues, it cannot be imagined there was any political necessity to cut him off; though in countries where Machiavelian politics prevail, the life of a prince is more precarious than that of a peasant.

It has been already observed, that the parliaments of France had been obliged to submit to military force, but the same was now come not only to make them obey every arbitrary mandate of the court, but effectually to put a stop to all remonstrances, or applications to the throne of any kind, to obtain the restoration of their rights and privileges. The parliament of Brittany having been actually dissolved for their spirited measures, and a new commission consisting of sixty members appointed by the king having been vested with the authority of that senate; the other parliaments presented fresh remonstrances to the king in more determined language, and the parliament of Paris were proceeding to still bolder measures, when the king, apprehensive of the consequences, resolved by one single exertion of absolute power to put an end to this internal commotion. Accordingly, to the great surprise of the Parisians, his majesty, who scarcely ever visited the capital but upon such occasions, suddenly arrived at Paris on the 3d of March, 1766, and repairing instantly to the grand chamber of the parliament he there held what is idly termed his *lit de justice*; but instead of a bed of justice, it has proved the very reverse, in the two last instances of its being held by Louis the XV. The chambers being assembled, the king told them that he was come himself to answer all their remonstrances in person; that he should have remained silent, if the reunion of the parliaments, the indecency of their style, the tenacity of their erroneous principles, and the affectation of new expressions to disguise them, had not clearly manifested the pernicious consequences of that system of union which he had already proscribed: he added, "I will not suffer an association to be formed in my kingdom, which may grow up to a confederacy of resistance." This proceeding how-

ever, did not deter a grand deputation of the parliament of Rouen from following him the next day to Versailles with a remonstrance, in which they hinted at the dissolution of the compact between king and people, when the former violates his coronation oath. The king, without any consultation with his ministers, in the language of every despotic prince upon earth, replied, "The oath which I have taken, not to the nation, as you say, but to God, alone binds me."—He then annulled all the arrests of this parliament, as he had done those of the parliament of Paris at his *lit de justice*, passed by them in justification of the conduct of the parliaments of Pau and Brittany. We must not quit this subject without recording the laudable behaviour of the counsellors of the parliament of Brittany,(1) who, though ordered by the king to resume their functions, positively refused to plead before the new commissioners, upon which they were enrolled in the lists of the militia, when some were drafted off, by lot, to join battalions at a distance, and others were made part of the city guard.

General Lally's trial was the next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, and of the inhabitants of Paris. You will recollect, my son, that some particulars concerning this officer, have already come under your notice in a former part of this history,(2) but his unhappy fate and the general sympathy which his sufferings excited, will justify me in presenting you with a more detailed account of him. He was the son of an emigrant Irish officer, and had distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy. But his ill success in the East Indies, where he was the antagonist of sir Eyre Coote, and particularly his supposed misconduct at Pondicherry, exposed him to the vehement censures of the French India company. On his return to Europe he surrendered himself up to the Bastille, where he remained a prisoner for fifteen months, without being once examined. He was, however, at length tried by the parliament of Paris, for having betrayed the interests of the king and the company, although Louis considered that court an incompetent tribunal for the investigation of military concerns and affairs of state. The duke de Choiseul, having over-ruled the king's objections, procured the condemnation of the prisoner, not for any specific offence, but upon a general charge of criminal misconduct. He requested, as a favour that his trial might be postponed for eight days, but his petition was refused. The day after his trial, sentence of death was passed upon him, May 6th and he was executed on the 9th 1766. He was gagged at the place of execution, that he might not have the opportunity of inveighing against his accuser, or expatiate on his innocence. As he had been accused of extortion in India, three hundred thousand livres were deducted from the great mass of his property, and distributed among the poor inhabitants of Pondicherry.(3)

Every scene of this catastrophe manifested prejudice, precipitation, and a determination to shut the door against all applications for mercy. He was undoubtedly highly culpable, but not more so than the great officers in Canada, whose punishment we have seen did not extend to life or member; but unfortunately, Lally had blasted the sanguine hopes of both the government and the people. Individuals expected to amass princely fortunes from their East India commerce and employments, in imitation of the English; and the government aimed at a superiority of power over the British nation in the East Indies. Add to this, that Lally, in order to exculpate himself, had published some memorials, and was preparing others, which plainly discovered, that he was not the only state criminal. This step made even his judges tremble for the fate of their friends and relations. His death removed the principle evidence of their guilt, and the seizure of his papers, secured them from all apprehensions of sharing his hard fate.

No other remarkable transaction happened this year, except the rejection of the mediation of Louis XV. in adjusting the internal commotions of the republic of Geneva. Their refusal to comply with the views of the French

(1) In France, every parliament has its special pleaders, who alone are privileged to plead causes before the respective parliaments to which they belong.

(2) See Part II. Let. XXIV.

(3) Voltaire's age of Louis XV. chap. 34.

court, irritated the king, to such a degree, that he ordered his minister, the chevalier de Beaufort, to talk to the commissaries of the people of Geneva, in the same style that he himself had used to his parliament at Paris. "The king, my master, prohibits you, as well as the representing citizens, all commercial intercourse with his dominions; and if after this declaration, any of you shall presume to come within the territories of France, you will be arrested, and your merchandise will be seized and detained at his majesty's pleasure." This declaration was made by the French minister, on the 16th December, 1766. Every one knows, that the citizens of Geneva almost entirely depend on their trade with France. The sale of watches, trinkets, and a variety of other articles in the mechanic branch to the French, forms their chief support, and therefore an effectual method was taken to make them submit to an interested mediation, calculated to answer the political views of France and her allies on the continent.

The political talents of the duke de Choiseul, have been the subject of much speculation in the great world, and his character has been variously represented, according to the views and interests of different parties in France and England.

The strict line of justice shall be attempted in the short sketch, to which the limits of these letters confine the author. No minister ever shewed himself a truer disciple of Machiavel; ambitious, arbitrary, enterprising, resolute, and fully possessed of the spirit of intrigue. While he held the reins of government, he surmounted every difficulty, and triumphed over every obstacle to the extensive plans he had formed. The glory of the French nation, in its foreign concerns, was evidently his first object, but he pursued it on the same principles of despotism, which led him to acts of tyranny at home. The natural rights of foreign petty states, or of the subjects of France, were alike sacrificed to the grand state maxim of *political necessity*, however incompatible with the law of nature and of nations, or with those legal and moral obligations which were instituted to unite prince and people in one social compact, for their mutual security and happiness. His internal administration, therefore, so far as he was concerned in the arbitrary proceedings against the parliaments of France, generally attributed to him and the chancellor Maupeau, will remain an indelible stain on his character in the eyes of all true patriots of every age and country. But in his foreign operations, (though he may stand condemned in England, where the ideas of honour, equity, and moral rectitude, are carried from the private closet to the council chamber, and it is expected they should have the same influence on the conduct of sovereigns in their public transactions, as they ought to have in the common concerns of individuals) France must ever venerate him as an able statesman.

Every measure taken by this minister, from the date of the famous family-compact, to the time of his dismission, demonstrates, that he understood the true interests of his country; and that he meant to continue the peace, by strengthening the alliances of France, and by adding to her weight and influence in Europe; and we shall make it appear, that the plan he pursued could not involve him, considering the well known situation of the other powers of Europe, in a war with any formidable enemy. In short, to the inferior courts of Europe, he spoke *ex maitre*, and accomplished his designs by force of arms; but to England, he held a different language, and as fast as the exhausted finances would permit him, settled amicably, the only subject of dispute likely to occasion a rupture, the liquidation of the Canada bills.

The policy of the close union of the several branches of the house of Bourbon, began now to manifest itself upon more occasions than one; and, it is no slender proof of Choiseul's great abilities, that though the refusal of the court of Madrid, to give any satisfactory account of the nature of this famous compact to the British ambassador, had caused a war between England and Spain, yet not the least mention of this alliance, or of its dreaded consequence, was made at the peace. It was suffered to pass unexamined by our able negotiators, as if we had lost our right to canvass every article, after a

successful war against Spain, undertaken with the avowed purpose of scrutinising the whole. The quarrel between the duke of Parma and pope Clement XIII. independent of the family-compact, was of so limited a nature, that it would have been decided without the intervention of other powers, if France had not stood engaged by the secret articles of this compact, to support the pretensions of the race of Bourbon in every part of Europe. The clergy, and the religious orders in all the territories belonging to the dutchy of Parma, had enjoyed such exclusive privileges, and in consequence, had increased to such a degree, that the revenues of the state were considerably diminished; for the ecclesiastics not only claimed an exemption from all taxes on their estates and effects, but also a power of assigning over this right to the purchasers of lands held by them. This most extraordinary and unjust privilege, occasioned fraudulent sales and conveyances, by which the state was greatly distressed, and was making such a progress, that scarce any of the lands in the dutchy would be subject to taxation, if a stop was not put to such proceedings. Respectful application had been made to the pope, to exert his authority, and to act in concert with the government of Parma, in the measures that should be taken to reform this abuse; but the pope gave no answer to the duke's memorials upon this subject, upon which he exerted his sovereign power to eradicate this evil; accordingly, he published an ordinance, which struck directly at the root of the papal authority, and entirely put an end to it in the dutchy of Parma, for it cut off all communication between the ecclesiastics and the court of Rome, and deprived all foreign priests of their benefices. The pope, on his part, had recourse to the old exploded resource of issuing out his bull against the duke, threatening him with excommunication and interdiction, if he did not restore to the clergy their antient privileges; declaring also, that ecclesiastics are not subject to any temporal power. He went further, for he laid claim to the sovereignty of the dutchy, though every pretension of this nature, had been long since given up by his predecessors.

Secure of the interposition of France, the infant duke paid so little regard to the pope's bull, that he instantly took the most effectual method to prevent the mischief it might have occasioned. The Jesuits were all seized in one night, and conducted to the confines of the pope's dominions, where they were left to shift for themselves. The other Italian courts, interested in the affairs of Parma, took fire on the publication of the pope's bull; and scarce was it known at Naples, when the king of Sicily sent a detachment of his troops to take possession of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, places belonging to the pope, but situated within the boundaries of the king's dominions. At Paris, this insolent bull met with a solemn condemnation from the parliament in full assembly. It was declared to be illegal, and highly derogatory to the honour of all sovereign powers; nor would it have found a place in this history, if it had not been the last act of papal usurpation of the supreme authority of princes, on which the curtain is now dropt for ever.

The pope, persisted in his refusal to withdraw this bull, though strongly solicited by the courts of France, Spain, and Vienna: All the Roman-catholic princes of Europe took the alarm, and joined the common cause; even the republic of Venice, for once, took part against the Holy See; and, it is generally believed, that the grief and vexation which this unexpected stroke occasioned, hastened the death of the holy father, who now saw himself beset on every side, and his dominions invaded by different powers. It was too late to repent the insult he had offered to one of the princes of the house of Bourbon: nor was it before discovered, that if the rights of any one of the family should be invaded, the whole association would appear in arms to resent it. The pope was the first to experience the uniform operations of the compact. France revived a claim to Avignon and the Venaissin, as fiefs of that kingdom, and without waiting for a discussion of the title, took possession in virtue of a commission given by Louis XV. to the marquis de Rochefort, at the head of the regiment of Dauphine, and to the president, and a deputation of the parliament of Paris, who jointly carried it into execution without loss of time. On the 11th of June, the French dragoons appeared

before the gates of the pope's palace at Avignon, removed the old Swiss guards, kicked open the gates with their jack-boots, and entered the palace in triumph, when the marquis, in great state, received the homage of the people, in the name of the king his master, and caused the arms of France, which he had brought with him, to be affixed over the city gates; after which, the president of the parliament, with his attendants, appointed proper persons to administer justice according to the laws of France. The towns of *Carpentras* and *Cavaillon*, in the Venaissin were given up to the French forces in the same peaceable manner, and the pope's officers, civil and military, retired to Antibes, from whence they embarked for Italy. On the other hand, the king of Sicily laid claim to the dutchies of *Castro* and *Roniglione*, which extend almost to the environs of Rome, and publicly threatened to send commissaries, in the space of two months, supported by a sufficient military force, to take possession of these dutchies, which he considered as dismembered parts of his ancient kingdom. He likewise adopted the same reformation in his dominions, which had incensed the pope against the duke of Parma; the Jesuits were expelled; and the king published an edict, informing his subjects, that the pope should be considered only as the first bishop of the Catholic church, and that his authority was less than that of a general council. These doctrines could not have been hazarded while the Jesuits remained in the country.

To complete the misfortunes of Clement XIII. the duke of Modena laid claim to the dutchy of Ferrara, formerly the property of the house of Este, but long since ceded to the popes, by treaties. In this extremity, the pope, at last, began to sue for peace, and solicited the court of Vienna, in the most humiliating manner, to interpose, and to use her interests to reconcile the offended house of Bourbon to the Holy See.

While these revolutions were going on in favour of France and her allies in the heart of Italy, the finishing stroke was put to the independency of Corsica: the treaty concluded between the republic of Genoa and France was ratified in May; soon after which, the French court embarked twenty battalions of choice troops, together with the royal legion, for Corsica. These forces landed in June, and being met at *Bastia* by three deputies from Genoa, who had orders to deliver up the city, and all the other Genoese possessions in the island to the French commander, the French troops took possession of Bastia, hoisted the French colours on the ramparts, took down the arms of the republic, and put up those of France on the 24th: at the same time, the count de Marbeuf, their general, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung with the same solemnity as if he had gained a signal victory; the inhabitants were compelled to illuminate the city, and to give every outward demonstration of joy on the very evening of their captivity. The detail of the skirmishes and pitched battles between the French army and the brave Corsicans, in defending their liberty to the last gasp, engaged the attention of all Europe during the remainder of this year; nor was the whole island completely conquered till the summer of 1769, when it was finally made part of the dominions of Louis XV. and its ecclesiastical affairs subjected to the jurisdiction of the Gallican church.

Thus the power and influence of France, as the chief of the House of Bourbon, was firmly established in Italy, with the consent of the House of Austria, now closely allied with their ancient rivals and most inveterate enemies. The skilful negotiations of the duke de Choiseul may be said to have accomplished in a time of peace, what Louis XIV. at the head of victorious armies, could never effect; the aggrandizement of his own House, on the ruin of others.

In the midst of these enterprises, the wheels of the French government at home were clogged by fresh disputes between the king and the parliament of Paris, but they were smothered for a few months by the national concern for the death of the queen, whose most amiable disposition, and pious resignation to the will of providence, had manifested itself in a most exemplary manner, under one of the most mortifying circumstances in life, that of beholding her royal consort a constant dupe to his lascivious desires, and placing

all his confidence in, as well as dedicating all his leisure time to, an artful ambitious mistress. Her majesty died on the 25th of June, after a lingering illness, universally regretted by all ranks of people throughout the kingdom of France. She was the only daughter of Stanislaus the deposed king of Poland, who died about two years before her, in an extreme old age, of the hurt he received from setting fire to his night-gown, being negligently left alone by his attendants.

One circumstance made this loss still more deeply felt. It had been observed, that the king still permitted his ruling passion to get the better of his reason; but as he was now in the decline of life, decency prevented him from openly taking to his court any new mistress while the queen lived; but she was scarce buried, when the vile panders of a voluptuous prince put every stratagem in force to fix a patroness for themselves in the palace of Versailles, in which we shall find, to the disgrace of their royal master, they succeeded, even beyond their warmest expectations.

In the beginning of the year, the king by an edict had granted some additional privileges to the grand Council of State, which affected those of the Parliament and encroached on the ancient constitution of the kingdom; the parliaments of France as usual, had united in an opposition to this measure, and had presented to his majesty very strong remonstrances couched under the form of requests, praying him to limit the jurisdiction of the grand council within its former bounds; but these applications producing no effect, a full assembly of the parliament was held on the 4th of July, at which the princes of the blood and the prime minister de Choiseul assisted, when it was debated and the question put, that application should be made to the king to abolish the grand council entirely, and this great point was lost only by a majority of two negative votes. However, another resolution was carried; to address his majesty, desiring him to fix, by clear and determinate laws, the line of distinction betwixt the privileges of the council and of the parliament, and to revoke the letters patent lately granted in favour of the former.

By this time, a general spirit of discontent prevailed on account of the immoderate price of provisions; and though the scarcity of corn, owing to the inclement seasons, had been felt in most parts of Europe for the last two years, yet the people of France, like the malcontents in England, failed not to attribute an event, which must occasionally happen in the course of nature, to the misconduct of the ministry, in suffering a free importation and exportation of corn. This subject occasioned remonstrances from all quarters, which served only to expose the poverty of the kingdom, and the oppressed condition of the poorer subjects. Yet neither the king nor his resolute minister shewed the least disposition to repeal the laws against the exportation of corn; at length, however, the parliament of Paris in their turn trespassed on the prerogative of their absolute monarch, and of their own authority prohibited the exportation of corn, till it should be certified by the proper officers, that there was more than sufficient for the consumption of the people for one year. Nothing but the popularity of this act, and the fear of an insurrection, could have made the king submit to this bold step; but though he stifled his resentment for the present, it brought on the dissolution and total overthrow of the parliament of Paris, which had been long meditated by the ministry.

In the spring of the year 1769, the general diet of Sweden was convened by the intrigues of the French minister de Choiseul, and before it broke up, a new treaty of subsidy with France was agreed to, on condition that the arrears of the old subsidies, which amounted to a very considerable sum, were put in a course of payment by the French ministry.

Every sum taken from the Treasury of France at this time was highly distressing; for the reduction of Corsica had cost near twenty millions of livres, and the internal state of the kingdom plainly shewed that the people could bear no further imposts, for bankruptcies in trade of the most alarming nature happened every day, and amongst the number of private failures were reckoned some very considerable bankers, besides a variety of persons

who stood connected with government, and had been ruined by advancing money in its service on securities which depended on the good faith of its administration, but which were now invalidated by one of those arbitrary acts of power, frequent in this country, but unjustifiable in any, the reduction of the interest of the public funds. This was another instance of the resolute spirit of the minister, and of the completion of his political principles. He knew that something must be done to balance the large demands on the finances for Corsica, and to continue Sweden and other subsidiary states firm in the French interests; and he remembered, that France had cancelled all her debts by a notorious breach of faith in the time of Louis XIV. and yet that her credit revived, and she was able, after such an act of cruel fraud, to borrow money for the service of Louis XV. in the early part of his reign, nearly on as good terms as the ministry of England, where the national honour, secured by the sanction of parliament, had never been violated. He therefore boldly ventured to reduce the interest on the public funds one half, and took away the benefit of survivorship from the Tontines; a darling object with the French, who, by out-living their friends and acquaintance, often became possessed of considerable life-annuities; and we may venture to affirm, that this measure has done incredible mischief to the finances of France; for the Tontines were always a sure, easy, expeditious resource for raising money in time of war. This event took place in the course of this year, and together with the bankruptcy of the East India company, and the stagnation of private credit in all the great commercial cities of France, threw the nation into a general ferment, and raised such a clamour against de Choiseul, that even the Bastille could not silence. His power now began to decline, and fearing that with the confidence of the people he should lose that of his royal master, he shifted the scenes, and endeavoured to regain the former by a very popular measure. On a sudden he became the zealous friend of the parliaments of France, and made it apparent that the influence of a minister over a weak king is capable of producing a desirable effect in one day, which volumes of remonstrances from his loving subjects could not accomplish in a course of years, perhaps in a whole reign.

In the month of July the king restored the old parliament of Brittany, and recalled the exiled members who had given him so much trouble. In short, Choiseul having succeeded in his great defensive plan of political operations, calculated to cover the internal weakness of the nation by strong alliances, and having by military exertions over powers on the continent, who were not able to oppose him, exhibited an appearance of remaining strength, which might deter any of the principal powers of Europe from breaking with France upon any slight misunderstanding, saw himself now under a necessity to take part against his own court, to whose intrigues he was on the point of being sacrificed. The growing credit of his rival the duke d'Aiguillon, soon required his whole attention, and he quickly found out an expedient to rid himself of this dangerous favourite, which must have succeeded effectually, if he had not been secretly undermined by female fascination, which continued as usual, to work miraculous changes in the conduct of Louis XV. A new mistress had been introduced to the king by the creatures of the duke d'Aiguillon, who not only screened this nobleman from the just resentment of his injured countrymen, but in the end, so completely triumphed over every principle of sound policy, decency and decorum, that this very man, the object of universal detestation, was made prime minister in the room of the duke de Choiseul. But the struggle was great, and lasted a considerable time; the dismissal of Choiseul was not so easily effected as that of the great Maurepas, who, after thirty years of constant application to the king's business, was banished instantly by Madame la Pompadour's interest, only for a few jocular reflections on that lady's ascendancy at court.

It will be proper, however, to notice the remaining acts of ministerial policy, conducted by the duke de Choiseul, in the midst of this growing opposition to his person and his measures.

The election of Clement XIV. was attended with a singular circumstance,

which added lustre to the solemnity. The emperor of Germany, then on his travels, accompanied by his brother, the Grand duke of Tuscany, happened to be at Rome while the Conclave was sitting, and staid there till the election was over, but did not appear in this Imperial character; however, he received dispatches from France about this time, and it appears, that the active genius of the duke de Choiseul was then at work in rivetting the last link of that political chain, which was to secure and render permanent, the force of the family-compact, by a fresh union with the house of Austria. A negotiation was carrying on for marrying the dauphin to the archduchess Maria Antoniette, the emperor's youngest sister; and as his majesty's concurrence, to some secret articles in the treaty, respecting the Low Countries, was indispensably necessary, advantage was taken of his travelling into Italy, to bring this business to a conclusion, which had been already approved of by the dowager empress at Vienna.

Having thus put the affairs of France on the continent, upon the best footing the duke de Choiseul was at leisure, the beginning of the year 1770, to support the prosecution then commenced by the restored parliament of Brittany, against his avowed enemy, the duke d'Aiguillon, their former governor. This nobleman had been the occasion of all the hardships the members had suffered, and had carried on a criminal process for four years against M. de Chalotais, their attorney general, whose life would have been sacrificed to his resentment, if the duke de Choiseul had not prevailed with the king, to dispatch an express order to stay the execution of this venerable old man, on the point of being conducted to the scaffold at Morlaix. The whole kingdom seemed interested in the punishment of this tyrannical governor, whose cruelties and oppressions in the province were well known; but hitherto it had been reckoned dangerous, even to attempt to bring him to a trial. Encouraged, however, by the countenance of the minister, and the general hatred of the people, the parliament of Brittany now succeeded and his trial began at Versailles, in the presence of the king, in the month of April. The princes of the blood, and the peers of France, with the rest of the members of the parliament of Paris, were his judges. In the course of the evidence it appeared, that M. de Chalotais, animated by the true spirit of patriotism, had vigorously exerted himself in opposing the mal-administration of the duke, who, in revenge, had not only procured the dissolution of the parliament of Brittany, by means of exaggerated misrepresentations of their conduct to the king, but had employed persons to take off this venerable magistrate, now upwards of seventy years of age by poison; failing in this base attempt, it was proved, that he had erected a mock tribunal in the castle of Morlaix, and suborned evidences to accuse him of treason. In fine, that a most arbitrary, cruel, and unjust sentence of death had been pronounced against him, which would have been privately executed upon the good old man, if timely notice had not been given to the duke de Choiseul of this horrid transaction.

The whole court was so clearly convinced of the duke's guilt, that nothing remained but to make an example of the noble culprit, when the king, of a sudden, stepped in to rescue him from the hands of justice, and put a stop to all further enquiries into his conduct; obliging letters patent to be registered for that purpose, in the presence of all the princes and peers, who were thunderstruck at this manifest violation of the laws. The duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, sensibly affected, expostulated with the chancellor upon this unprecedented step: but the king, apprehensive of the consequences, if the parliament should meet, and summon the princes and peers upon this subject, took the precaution, peremptorily to forbid their attendance. He began with the duke of Orleans, and ordered him to communicate this prohibition to the other princes of the blood, but he excused himself, saying, it would better become his majesty to deliver such unwelcome commands. Soon after, to complete this act of despotism, the king took the duke d'Aiguillon with him on a party of pleasure to Marli. The public detestation of the protected favourite now became universal, and all the parliaments of the kingdom loudly resented the insult offered to the

princes of the blood, to the peers, and to the parliament of Paris; the latter assembled, and published an arret, depriving the duke of his seat in parliament, and of all the privileges of the peerage, till he submitted to a trial in obedience to the laws. The king in council, cancelled this arret, and commanded the duke to resume his functions and his place in parliament. This was considered as a tyrannical act of power, which struck at the root of all the rights of the peerage and of the parliament. The whole summer was spent in fruitless attempts to induce the king to withdraw his letters patent, and to permit the trial to go on. The parliaments of Bourdeaux and Toulouse divested the dutchy of Aiguillon of all the privileges of peerage, reducing it to the condition of a private estate, till the duke should be acquitted by his peers of the high crimes laid to his charge. The parliament of Brittany never ceased imploring the king for justice; and they entertained some hopes of success, when they were allowed to send a deputation to court to know the king's pleasure; but this was only the prelude to an act of unexampled brutality: the deputies were admitted to audience only to be reprimanded in the severest terms, and to behold two of their members seized by the officers in waiting, and ordered to prison as an example to the rest, for having presumed to remonstrate against the king's letters patent, which, he said, should have been implicitly obeyed, without reply. This open violation of the right of humanity itself, which gives to every man authority to expostulate with his superior, provided decent respect is observed in the address, alarmed, but could not terrify the parliament of Paris, which continued sitting at the usual season of vacation, and sent deputation upon deputation to the king, from whom they could obtain no answer, for he would neither see nor hear his parliament. And, in order to put a stop to all further applications on this disagreeable subject, he once more had recourse to a *lit de justice*, which seems to have been the *ultima ratio* of Louis XV. as the mouth of the cannon was of Louis XIV. On the 3d of September, his majesty unexpectedly arrived at Paris, attended by an extraordinary corps of guards, who immediately surrounded the parliament house; the king entered soon after, and having severely reproached the members, in the bitterest terms, he ordered the two chambers of inquests and requests to withdraw, and then calling for all the papers relative to the proceedings against the duke d'Aiguillon, they were delivered up to him: these he carried away, and all the decrees passed in parliament against the duke he made the chancellor erase from their registers. This officer likewise informed them, that the king now imposed an absolute silence upon them; that he forbid all correspondence between them and his other parliaments, and if disobeyed, he should consider it as a confederacy against his person and authority; and the presidents of the parliament were enjoined, under pain of the royal displeasure, to break up all assemblies wherein any propositions should be stated, tending to revive debates upon subjects concerning which he had commanded silence.

From this day, Louis XV. lost the title of *bien aimé*; he was no longer the *well beloved*, for silent and secret detestation possessed the hearts of his subjects, and gloomy despair lowered on their countenances. Afraid to speak their sentiments on the dreadful aspect of affairs, a solemn stillness reigned throughout Paris for some days; the places of public amusement were deserted, and a sudden check put to the natural vivacity of the French. *Lettres de cachet* and the Bastille were continually before their eyes, while suspicion and dismay made every man a stranger, almost to his bosom friend. Military detachments were sent to compel the other parliaments to register the king's letters patent, in favour of the duke d'Aiguillon, and great outrages were committed in the execution of these mandates. Nothing remained to be done on the part of the oppressed parliaments, but to publish protests against this subversion of the constitution. The parliament of Paris set the example, and declared, that the proceedings of the court plainly manifested a deep laid scheme to change the form of government. This prediction we shall find verified in the course of the ensuing narrative.

LETTER VII.

View of the internal state of France, continued to the death of Louis XV.

THE internal state of France was at this time truly calamitous: but the sequel will shew that matters had not yet arrived at their crisis. The king had lived four or five years without a mistress; and had expressed an intention of relinquishing his habits of incontinence, but his resolutions of reform were momentary. He continued to gratify his licentious appetite with women of the court, wives of tradesmen, or girls of low birth; but they were soon dismissed, and had no influence on him in relation to affairs of state. The duke d'Aiguillon, and the chancellor Mirapau, however, who secretly regulated all the motions of the infatuated monarch, now brought forward upon the scene of action, a new mistress who was destined to be the scourge and curse of France.

Mademoiselle l'Ange, the female now referred to, though meanly born and destitute of the advantages of education, and what is worse, nurtured in prostitution, fascinated by her beauty the weak monarch whom she enslaved for the rest of his life. In the prime of her youth she was reckoned extremely handsome, but at the period when she was pitched upon to fascinate the voluptuous monarch of France, the charms of her person had suffered greatly by the depredations of time, and the course of life to which she had been accustomed from fourteen to thirty years of age. The lilies and roses implanted by nature on her lovely features, had long since begun to make it necessary that art should supply the defect, from the repository of the perfumer. The remaining lustre of a fine eye, with exact symmetry of shape, and a most engaging air and address, were, nevertheless, sufficient external graces to arrest the king's notice at the first interview, placed as she purposely was in a situation where she could not fail of being seen by him, and thoroughly instructed in the part she was to act, should his majesty accost her. It had been customary with the king, in his hunting parties, to separate from the court, and attended by one or two noblemen to ride about his parks to view the company assembled on these occasions. Madame l'Ange took her station in a private recess, where there was little danger of interruption, and the duke d'Aiguillon, who had concerted the whole scheme, conducted the king to the spot. The interview produced an assignation, and at a private *petit souper* the conquest was completed by the vivacity of her conversation, the sweetness of her temper, and the refined taste which the king professed to have discovered in her. To save appearances with his subjects, he ordered her to be married, *pro forma*, to the brother of one of her paramours, who styled himself the count Du-Barré, and having got this accomplished, he resolved, in defiance of decency, and the remonstrances of de Choiseul and others against so imprudent a step, to have her introduced at court with the usual etiquette.

The duchess of Grammont, sister to the duke de Choiseul, had conceived the hope of becoming mistress to the king; but her advances being neglected, and the young countess preferred, she became the victim of resentment and jealousy. The duke, her brother, considering his power to be too firmly established to be shaken by this new attachment, disdained to court the favourite, and opposed her growing influence by occasional insinuations in the ears of his sovereign. The countess de Barré was not long in giving intimations that she expected to be the dauphin and dauphiness. The former, after some warm altercations with the king found it expedient to comply; but the latter, with a noble greatness of soul, is said to have told the king: "Sire, if I had been born your subject, I must have obeyed, but as the daughter and sister of an emperor, your majesty must excuse me." The ladies of the court, however, could obtain no such indulgence; they were obliged to pay due homage to the new favourite, and one example of the

effects of resistance was sufficient to induce compliance. The duchess de Grammont, first lady of honour to the queen, being in a box at the opera, the countess de Barré came into it, and attempted to seat herself beside the duchess; but the latter requested the countess to retire, and on her refusal, the duchess rose, curtsying to the people who expressed universal applause, on which she left the box and retired to another. This being reported to the king, she was favoured with a *lettre de cachet* banishing her to her country seat, at a distance from Paris, during his majesty's pleasure.

Madame Barré in the first years of her promotion enjoyed a plenitude of power unknown to Pompadour, and which with all her talents she never durst attempt. She solicited and obtained a power to draw on the treasury under her own signature. As soon as the news of this extraordinary instance of royal imbecility reached the ears of the duke de Choiseul, it is said he passionately exclaimed, *C'en est fait de moi, all is over with me*. But that, his adversaries might not have an easy victory to boast of, notwithstanding this preage of his disgrace, he put every stratagem in force to ruin their protectress; and amongst the rest, he attempted to supplant the countess by introducing a rival; this was the widow of an officer, who brought a petition to the minister, but finding her very handsome and sprightly, de Choiseul referred her to the king, and gave her an opportunity of presenting her person and her petition, but the former produced only a slight, if any effect, and the plan totally miscarried, but not without being made known to the countess, who now entered more deeply than ever into the politics of the times, with a determined resolution to remove the two de Choiseuls: and in this she succeeded, to the great dishonour of the king, and to the regret of all the true friends of France; but as this event did not take place till 1771, it is proper to return to the remaining occurrences of the year 1770.

Another effort was made in the course of this year to revive the declining credit of the French funds: a council of state was held, and the duke de Choiseul, as prime minister, was authorised to order the king's ministers at foreign courts to declare, that their master would make good all contracts of a pecuniary nature he had entered into with foreigners, and that funds would be deposited, for that purpose, in the hands of the comptroller-general of the finances.

On the 19th of May, the nuptials of Louis XVI. with the archduchess Maria Antoinette, were solemnized at the royal chapel of Versailles, and during the rejoicings upon this happy and important event, all animosities and internal troubles seemed to have been totally forgotten, such was the general satisfaction expressed by all ranks of people, on account of this union of the ancient rival houses of Bourbon and Austria; but a dreadful catastrophe most unexpectedly put an end to the gaiety and good-humour which had reigned in Paris, from the time of the arrival of the dauphiness in France.

The greatest preparations had been made for exhibiting superb fireworks in the square of Louis XV. in honour of this marriage, under the direction of a very able engineer; but a very great oversight had been committed, for the place was not sufficiently spacious for the execution of the extensive design. This had been mentioned to the engineer, but it was too late to rectify the fatal error: the exhibition had been put off several times on account of the weather; the people grew impatient at the delay, and therefore on the 31st in the evening they were displayed; but the populace had crowded so close to the building, instead of being kept at a proper distance, that the operations of some of the machines were too potent, and threw down showers of fire on the heads of the populace, who, unable to stand it, gave way, and making a precipitate retreat had the misfortune to find two, out of the three streets leading from the square, blocked up: the other, being a narrow one, was almost instantly filled by the retiring crowd, and by others, who came into it in their way to the fireworks, not knowing what happened: the horror of the scene by these means was completed; the people unable to pass, threw each other down, and thus great numbers perished by suffocation, and many who lay undermost stabbed those who were upon them, in order to disengage themselves. A large scaffold likewise broke down, and threw a pro-

digious number of spectators into the Seine. Upon the whole, it was computed that the killed and maimed amounted to three thousand persons.

Towards the end of this year, the scarcity of provisions became so general in all parts of France, notwithstanding the great improvements made in agriculture, that no less than four thousand persons perished in the Limousin and the Marche; emigrations took place from different quarters of the kingdom; universal discontent prevailed, and insurrections ensued, till the ports were opened, and liberty given to foreigners, as well as natives, to import corn.

With respect to the external affairs of France, we have only to observe, that the oppressed Corsicans still continued to harass the French forces, and seemed but little disposed to acquiesce in the French government. But, in order to convince the world, that the court of France considered Corsica as a member of its kingdom, a squadron was dispatched to Tunis, to demand satisfaction of the bey, for having taken several Corsican vessels under French colours. After some mischief done, by bombarding the port of Bisuta, this affair was compromised by a sum of money paid to the French, and a new treaty, by which the sovereignty of France in the island was recognised, and the coral fishery on the coast of Africa, which had been permitted to the Corsicans while they were a free people, was placed upon its ancient footing.

But a very singular event, which engaged the attention of all Europe, (as it threatened a new war between its three principal powers) at this time, greatly embarrassed the French minister, and his conduct upon the occasion, was made the ostensible cause of his dismissal. Intelligence arrived in England, on the 24th of September, by the Favourite sloop of war, that the Spaniards had forcibly taken possession of his Britannic majesty's settlement at Fort Egmont, in Falkland's Island; had made the garrison prisoners of war, and disgraced the British flag, by unhooking the rudder of a king's ship. Such a flagrant violation of the treaty of peace, at a time when the most cordial amity seemed to subsist between the courts of Madrid, Versailles, and London, could not well be accounted for upon any other supposition, but that of some secret engagements entered into in consequence of the family-compact, by which a war was to be commenced by surprise against Great Britain. While the necessary preparations were making in England, to repel force by force, in case a negotiation for satisfaction should prove unsuccessful, it is confidently asserted, that the court of Spain actually intended to break with England, if France had been ready to second her; and that the Spanish ministry applied to the court of Versailles to know her intentions, to which de Choiseul returned for answer, "without the king's knowledge." "That the king, his master, would be always ready to support the honour of the house of Bourbon, and to fulfil the solemn engagements he had entered into by the family-compact." A dispatch to this purport, which had been forwarded to the French ambassador at Madrid, was copied by a secretary in the interest of the duke d'Aiguillon and the chancellor, transmitted home, and by the latter, put into the hands of the countess de Barré, with instructions to shew it to the king in one of his gloomy hours, and to paint to him in the strongest colours, all the horrors of a war, to be commenced at a time when the finances were in great disorder, the whole kingdom in a ferment concerning the parliaments, and the poor almost famished for want of bread. At the same time, the duke d'Aiguillon circulated a general rumour without doors, that de Choiseul was going to involve the nation in a war with England, on account of a miserable island in South America. The people caught the alarm, and, to testify their inclination to peace, the general cry at Paris was, *point de guerre! point de Choiseul!* no war! no Choiseul! The dismissal of the minister was soon after resolved upon by the king, and took place in the beginning of January, 1771.

His majesty, in the *lettre de cachet*, (which ordered him to resign his employments, and to retire to his seat at Chanteloux) expressed in strong terms, his disapprobation of his conduct latterly; but he was scarce gone into exile, when the eyes of all Paris were opened, and it was now plainly discovered, that he was sacrificed to the resentment of the countess; to the

ambition of the duke d'Aiguillon, and to the deep laid scheme of the chancellor, to subvert the ancient constitution of the kingdom. It was publicly known likewise, that the dispatch which had raised such a clamour against him, contained instructions to the French ambassador, to dissuade the court of Madrid from breaking with England; though it was added, that France was bound in honour to support the interests of every branch of the house of Bourbon; but the former part of the letter was artfully suppressed.

The dismissal of de Choiseul, was followed by the revival of the most arbitrary proceedings against the parliament of Paris, who continued their deputations, and desired the king, either to withdraw his edict, and permit the law to take its course with the duke d'Aiguillon, or to accept their employments and their lives, which they were willing to sacrifice to the preservation of the constitution. The first president boldly told the king, that his edict, being contrary to law, was in itself null and void, and therefore could not be registered. "Your edict, Sire, is destructive of all law; your parliament is appointed to maintain the law, and that perishing, they should perish with it," were the last words of this officer upon the occasion; after which the presidents, counsellors, and other officers of the parliament, resigned their several functions. Letters of jussion were issued by the king, commanding them to resume their employments; this they absolutely refused, and, on the 19th of January, in the middle of the night, detachments of musqueteers went to the houses of most of the members, and presented to each, a circular *lettre de cachet*, which ordered them to resume their usual duty, and to signify their compliance by signing their assent, or their refusal by signing a negative; or, in other words, their own banishment. The major part signed the refusal; some others would not explain their sentiments out of parliament, and a few, under the influence of fear, signed an assent, which they afterwards retracted. But owing to some mistake, many of the members were not served with the *lettres de cachet*, these went in procession to the parliament-house, attended by their president, and entered a protest against this military attack upon their brethren; and in going to, and coming from the house, the people, as they passed, expressed their approbation of their patriotic conduct, by continual acclamations. All the members were now banished to different villages, some near, and others at a great distance from Paris. That the public virtue of this parliament may be viewed in the most meritorious light, it is necessary to observe, that the members purchase their seats of the court on very high terms.

A new tribunal was constituted, vested with the same powers as the late parliament, during the king's pleasure; and the chief secretary to that august body, was commanded by the king to act in the same capacity under this tribunal, but he nobly refused to comply, though his place had cost him a million of livres, and produced him an hundred thousand yearly. He said, that he had taken his oath to the parliament, and was therefore under an indispensable obligation not to act separately, or independent of that venerable assembly. The king persisted, and M. de Voisin being inflexible, lost his employment, and was banished to Languedoc. Several of the officers of the late parliament fled, to avoid acting under this new court, but they were summoned to return, under the pain of imprisonment, and of rendering their children incapable to hold any public employment whatever. The king's council were compelled to plead before this extraordinary tribunal; but though they requested leave to resign, and had used their utmost efforts to avoid acting, yet the people resented their compliance, and they were obliged to have guards to attend them; but this could not preserve them or the chancellor from insults, whenever they appeared in public.

On the 22d of February, the long meditated plan of the chancellor, the author of all the mischief in the kingdom, was carried into execution. The king held a bed of justice, at which an edict was published dividing the jurisdiction of the late parliament of Paris, which extended from Lyons to Arras in Flanders, into six parts, under the denomination of superior courts. Each court to have an equal, separate jurisdiction, and to be established at Arras, Blois, Clermont, Lyons, Poitiers, and Paris. Abuses arising from the two

extensive jurisdiction of the late parliament, were assigned as the reason for this great alteration. The quality, and appointments of the officers of each court were settled by the same edict, and the institutions of these tribunals declared to be perpetual. But never did any measure meet with more general disapprobation and resentment. The other parliaments remonstrated; the provinces that were to be subjected to the new courts, represented, that it was inconsistent with the edicts of his majesty's predecessors; and that it was calculated only to tyrannize over them and their posterity. In fine, the princes of the blood, and great numbers of the other peers of France, signed a most animated protest against every step that had been taken to the prejudice of the constitutional rights of the parliaments. This protest enraged the king to such a degree, that it was proposed in council, to banish the princes and peers who had signed it; but the motion was over-ruled, and the final resolution of the court was now taken. The chancellor had prepared a new code of laws; it was approved by the council, and notwithstanding the confusion into which the new institution had thrown the city of Paris, where all law proceedings were at a stand, and the execution of justice suspended, it was carried into execution, at a bed of justice, held on the 13th of April. The princes of the blood were summoned to attend; but as the intention of holding it was declared to be the permanent establishment of the new tribunals, and of Maupeau's code of laws, they all (except the count de la Marche) wrote letters to the king, purporting, that as they could not give their votes in favour of the business proposed to be transacted, they should not be present. The king, incensed to the last degree, forbade the princes his court; and to shew his subjects that he was determined, at all events to be master, the duke d'Aiguillon, the very criminal, against whom justice had been in vain demanded, and on whose account, all the disputes between him and his parliaments had arisen, was made prime minister. Matters were now brought to a crisis, the rod was put into the hands of a man equally resentful and ambitious, and instead of limiting his cruelty and injustice to the province of Brittany, he had it in his power to extend it to all parts of the kingdom. Accordingly, at Paris, forty-two members of the criminal court, called the *Chatelet*, were banished to different places, having only twenty-four hours allowed them to take leave of their families and friends; and, in the course of the year, the parliaments of Besançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Toulouse, and Brittany, were suppressed; but new parliaments, disposed to acquiesce in the present system, were nominated soon after.

Thus was a revolution accomplished, which fixed a detested favourite in the seat of government, and rendered the king more absolute than ever, by a subdivision of the judicial powers immediately dependent on his royal will and pleasure; but this innovation, sensibly felt by the subjects of France, has been considered in too serious a light by most English writers. The parliaments of France by no means resemble those of Great Britain; for, if we except the power of granting aids to the king, and of registering edicts for levying taxes, the principal part of their authority is judicial. The parliament of Paris was little more than a superior court of equity, and of criminal justice; and that abuses were sometimes committed, owing to the too extensive power and influence of this parliament, must not, for it cannot be denied. The proceedings on the trial of Lally, are sufficient to justify this remark. The incompetency of such judges, with respect to military conduct, was apparent to the whole world. A court martial alone could properly determine the degrees of his criminality; but this is no plea for plucking up root and branch; the parliament might have been reformed, but it was overturning the ancient seat of justice to suppress it entirely; and the establishment of unlimited despotism was the result, as it had been the object, of this violent measure.

During these transactions, the king of Sweden died suddenly in the 62d year of his age, and the prince, who ascended the throne, was at Paris, when he received the news of his accession. The just apprehension that the distracted state of the domestic affairs of France, of which this young monarch had been an eye-witness, might induce him to withdraw his alliance, made

the French ministry, with their usual policy, instantly terminate a negotiation, which had been the chief cause of his journey, and of his long residence at Paris: this was, the payment of the arrears due from France on the subsidizing treaty with Sweden; they amounted to six millions of livres. Upon the news of this event, the court of Versailles tendered one fourth of the whole sum in specie, promised payment of the remainder, in three successive annual payments, and renewed the treaty with the young king, who left Paris, thoroughly satisfied with the success of his secret expedition, which had been announced to the world, merely as a journey of amusement.

The year 1773 commenced with a strong suspicion entertained by Great Britain and the empress of Russia, her only powerful ally on the continent, that France was on the point of taking an active part in favour of the Turks, and likewise that she entered too deeply into the affairs of Poland.

A report was circulated, that the French were equipping a fleet at Toulon, and another at Brest, to oppose the Russians in the Mediterranean, and that a Spanish fleet would join them. This opened a new scene of political speculation at London; for, by a secret article in the last treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Russia, it was stipulated, that the former should assist the latter, in case she should be attacked at sea by the fleets of France or Spain. In consequence of this article, a fleet of observation was got ready, and sent to the Mediterranean, to watch the motions of the French and Spaniards; but the alarms of war all subsided towards the end of the year; and at the opening of the parliament, (in January last) the king gave his subjects the strongest assurances of the pacific disposition of the courts of Versailles and Madrid. However, private letters from Paris, received in England, attributed this change at the court of Versailles to the interposition of the duke d'Aiguillon; for it was confidently asserted, that the marshal duke de Broglie, and the count de Guignou, had taken measures to get the king into their power, to remove d'Aiguillon, and to force his majesty to break with England; but little credit was given to such intelligence, by persons who knew the situation of the domestic affairs of France; tumults and insurrections were happening every day on account of the dearth of bread; the ministry were universally detested; the king despised, on account of his arbitrary proceedings against the parliaments, and his attachment to his mistress; and the finances still in so poor a condition, as to be unable to make good the king's royal promise, to discharge the demands of foreigners on the royal treasury, particularly the Canada reconnaissances; though the tedious negotiation for their final payment had been concluded by lord Rochford, the British ambassador at Paris, in 1772.

The high price of corn at this inauspicious moment, occasioned numerous insurrections among the people in the provinces. At Tours they rose to such a height, that the lieutenant of police was thrown into the river by the populace, in the month of March. Twenty-seven villages in the Lower Auvergne, were soon after in arms on the same account; and these disturbances were not yet entirely quelled, when the sudden illness of the king took off the attention of the government from all other objects. His majesty was seized with shivering fits, sickness, and pains in his back, on the 27th of April, being then at Trianon; the next day he was removed, by his own desire, to Versailles, but it does not appear that the physicians of his court had the least suspicion of the small-pox at the commencement of his illness, for his disorder was treated contrary to all the established rules of modern practice in such cases. No wonder, therefore, that nature sunk under the operations of copious bleeding and blisters, which had been advised, on a supposition that the disease was a putrid fever. The eruption of the small-pox appeared on the 29th, in the evening, to the surprise of the whole court, and from this moment, little hopes were entertained of his recovery; every preparation, therefore, was made for the approaching awful change. The last rites of the Romish church were administered, in the presence of the princes of the blood and the great officers of state; and the heralds were summoned to approach the chamber of the dying monarch, two to announce

his decease, which happened on the 10th, and two to proclaim the accession of his successor.

Thus died Louis the XV. in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-ninth of his reign. He was the absolute master of every individual in his extensive dominions, but was himself the slave of two base and intriguing women, whom he permitted to gain an entire ascendancy over him, and to place and displace the great officers of state, the generals of his armies, and even the magistrates, at their pleasure. When we reflect upon the sovereign of a great nation, which under his immediate predecessor had made such a conspicuous figure in the annals of Europe, betraying such mental imbecility, as to grant his entire confidence to the dependants of his favourite mistresses, and thereby occasioning a succession of commotions and revolutions in the internal state of his kingdom, we lament that such blemishes should tarnish the reputation of a prince who was a patron of the polite arts, and the founder of several useful establishments.

The reign of Louis XIV. was the sum of military glory in France, that of Louis XV. was as remarkable for successful negotiations. The treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and of Versailles in 1763, the alliance with the house of Austria, and the family-compact, in all of which, France, by sound policy, indemnified herself for the ravages of unsuccessful wars, will be durable monuments of the superior talents of her negotiating ministers, while they reflect but little lustre on those of the other powers of Europe. (1)

LETTER VIII.

View of the Spanish Monarchy—its government—and resources, A. D. 1763—1760.—Glance at Naples and Switzerland.

SPAIN is less extensive than France by only about fifteen hundred square miles, while its population is only one-third as great; and yet the climate of Spain is serene, and the air almost universally salubrious. There are but few districts that are not at least fit for pasturage; the number of rivers is considerable; some canals have been executed, and others are practicable: but the policy pursued by the Ferdinands and the Philips, has destroyed the life of the Spanish nation.

As the productions of Spanish authors are subjected to six censures; as nothing is allowed to pass through the press without having been examined by the synodal examiner, the chronist of Castile, an official, a royal secretary, the corrector-general, and even the royal council; the truth respecting a number of circumstances, will be as little known to posterity as it is to the kings themselves; but the effects of this miserable system of policy are evident to the eyes of all.

The court was obliged by its necessities to seek for new financial resources; and, during the administration of the marquis of Eusebada, procured a *concordat* at Rome, by which it was determined, that such estates as the clergy might in future acquire, should not be exempted from taxation on that account; that in great public emergencies the church should bear its share of the burden; and that the nomination to the inferior benefices should belong to the king. The court thus obtained an extraordinary degree of influence over the clergy; because, as the number of such benefices is extremely great, and those who have once experienced the extension of favour in this manner, are usually disposed to look for further promotion, this regulation produced a very *loyal* disposition in that class of ecclesiastics

(1) See Voltaire's age of Louis XV.—*La vie privée de Louis XV.*—and Doddsley's *Annual Register*.—*Journal Historique*, &c.

which is most immediately in contact with the mass of the people. The pope retained four hundred and fifty-two benefices in his own gift; and the court of Spain deposited one hundred and thirteen thousand scudi in the apostolic chamber, at the ratification of this *concordat*.

The tribunal of faith remained, although the dissension which took place between the courts of Spain and Rome under Charles III. gave occasion to a peremptory command, that it should publish no papal bull or letter which had not previously received the exequator, or royal assent; which was "the apple of the eye of authority." The king nominates the grand inquisitor and the six counsellors; besides whom, the confessor, two members of the council of Castile, a royal secretary, alguazil-major, and the inferior servants of the tribunal, constitute the remaining persons. Eighteen offices in the provinces, the Balearic and Canary Islands, and America, all of which are subordinate to the supreme tribunal, are found sufficient to maintain the prudential maxim, that "it is better to believe than to inquire!" as the fundamental principle of education, and of written and oral intercourse.

Don Carlos III. in the beginning of his reign, caused the estates to take an oath of their belief in the immaculate conception: a negotiation was also undertaken, the object of which was to elevate the holy virgin, by means of a formal bull, to the dignity of tutelary saint of all Spain, A. D. 1761: but this attempt was foiled by the cathedral chapter of St. Jago de Compostella, who represented the ingratitude of deposing their great apostle, who had so frequently shown himself, mounted on his white horse, at the head of the armies of Spain!

The twenty-two provinces of Castile contained upwards of ninety thousand secular priests and monks, and twenty thousand nuns: according to Ustariz, one thirtieth of the whole nation belonged to the ecclesiastical body. The clergy of the superior classes were generally sensible and benevolent persons; those of the inferior sort, too numerous not to be formidable when offended: the monks, as a body, were avaricious, and were the support of absolute power, as long as it could be rendered subservient to their interests.

Under Philip V. and Ferdinand VI. Alberoni, Patinho, Enseñada, Valparaiso, and Wall, successively enjoyed the highest authority as ministers. Don Carlos raised to that dignity the marquis di Squillace, a Sicilian, with whom he had become acquainted at Naples, where he had been employed as commissary at war. This nobleman was ruined by the influence of the clergy, whose wealth he is said to have regarded as the means of repairing the dilapidated finances. Other ministers, remarkable for their intelligence, but perhaps too incautious, were equally incapable of maintaining their posts.

This court was always inclined to slow measures; which at least afforded ground to hope, that if it should at length adopt good maxims, it would retain them with proportionate tenacity. But the government was deprived of the guidance of public opinion; for the national voice was stifled by the terrific institutions which we have before described, and the convocation of the cortes was discontinued. The supreme direction of affairs, under the king, was confided to the council of state: the high council of Castile, consisting of five chambers, resembled the great council in France, or a general directory. Every province was commanded to maintain a correspondence with one of the counsellors of the superior chamber: each province had a district commander, and Upper Navarre a viceroy; each of the commanders was assisted by a council, under which the municipal authorities exercised their powers. The chanceries of Grenada and Valladolid were supreme tribunals of appeal in judicial affairs, and their presidents were appointed by the king. Other supreme tribunals, called *audiencias*, were established at Oviedo, Seville, and Cordova, and in nine of the cities of the American dominions; one hundred and fifty-three places had municipal constitutions, in which the magistrates appointed the *alcades*, or royal judges, as in Castile; or proposed them, as in Arragon. The municipalities ordinarily consisted of twenty-four *regidores*; but the constitution of the cities had so degenerated, that these offices had become family estates; some of which were considered hereditary, and descended by the rule of primogeniture; some were

farmed, and several united in one person. These *regidores* commonly appointed twelve sworn representatives of the people, or a number proportionate to the parishes.

The distinction of ranks was carefully observed in all the relations of public and private life. The nobility were divided into *grandees*, knights, and *lieges*; and their most essential privileges consisted in exemption from certain imposts, and from the jurisdiction of particular tribunals. The privileged orders had their own judges in the municipal constitutions, possessed an advocate-general in the superior courts, and could not be summoned before the subordinate offices of the inquisition, except by the especial command of the supreme tribunal. They frequently protested against the regulations of the government; but since the accession of the house of Bourbon, their assumed or hereditary rights had been less respected. They still, however, retained the inferior tribunals: almost all the small towns and villages, with the exception of a few which are situated in the mountains or have purchased their exemption, are subject to the authority of some nobleman or city.

Since the ancient *Partidas*, and since the decree of the states at Toro in the year 1505, the administration of justice has been rather confounded than determined, by the double principles of the Roman code and of an infinite number of royal regulations. Here, as in all despotisms, the court exercised over the provinces an authority far less oppressive than that of the subordinate administrations and tribunals, and the abuses of the labyrinth of laws by the advocates, and the pride the ignorance and avarice of the noble and gratuitous *regidores*.

The principal sources of the revenue are twelve. The subsidy, or *alcavala*, is a tax of a tenth penny upon the amount of all sales of whatsoever description. The collection of this tax, which is levied by an innumerable swarm of officers, whose business it is to pry into all transactions, is justly regarded as one of the sources of the universal corruption that prevails.

The court receives a fifth of all the silver, and a twentieth of all the gold, produced in America. The quantity of silver which comes from America to Europe is to the gold as twenty-two to one: this proportion, however, is not that of the relative commercial value of the two metals: the demand for silver is more considerable; and a larger quantity of this metal is consumed in the arts: the East Indies swallow it up by millions; and hence the relative value is reduced to about fourteen to one. Before the discovery of the new world, the proportion was as ten to one; but the silver mines have been very productive. There is reason to believe that the quantity of silver and gold annually imported into Cadiz and Lisbon, in all shapes, amounts to between fifty-four and sixty millions of florins, or about six millions of pounds sterling. Potosi itself, however, is no longer so productive as formerly: many proprietors of mines are contented with the profit arising from the use of their mills. It is common to allow the discoverer of a new vein to work it two hundred and forty-six feet in length, and half as much in breadth, free from duty; it is becoming continually more difficult to ventilate the mines, and to keep them clear of water, on account of their excessive depth, and only twenty-five tons of quicksilver are annually produced at the mines of Almaden. The interior commerce of the American provinces, together with that of Acapulco, affords half a million of piastres to the king: and as he exacts a mint tax of a real on every coined mark of metal, he derives from this source a revenue of one hundred and fifty thousand piastres in Mexico, and one a fourth part larger in Peru. Campomanes estimates the total revenue of the crown arising from the mines at thirty millions.

All the commodities which go from Europe to America are subject to a duty of something more than ten reals for every span which they measure in circumference, provided that their value bears a certain proportion to their bulk; and it is estimated that the imports amount to eleven millions. Foreign goods are subject to a duty *ad valorem* of twenty-five pounds per cent: but this enormous impost only serves to encourage smuggling. The duty levied on all the goods which are exchanged between the ports of America and that

of Cadiz, is supposed to yield seven hundred thousand piastres: and the customs, together with the alcavala collected on the continent of America, is valued at two millions and a half.

The commerce in tobacco is of equal importance to the royal treasury: all the merchants and dealers in that article are obliged to supply themselves from the great manufactory at Seville, and are allowed to make a profit of ten *per cent*. The manufacture and commerce of this article furnishes employment to thirty-four thousand persons, and yields an income to the king of ninety millions of reals(1) de velho.

The tax on salt was raised about twenty-one pence per hundred weight by Don Carlos III. in order to defray the expense of making the roads of Barcelona, Valencia, Grenada and Cadiz.

The capitation tax levied on the native Americans yields two millions; and the duty on the negroes, two hundred thousand.

The tax on paper, in America alone, yields three hundred thousand piastres; and that on playing-cards, in Mexico only, seventy thousand: and Mexico and Peru together, take pilgrimage-bulls to the amount of three millions and a half annually.

From the pulca, a favourite beverage of its American subjects, the court of Spain derives a revenue of one hundred and sixty thousand piastres, about fifteen thousand from the sale of rice; five hundred thousand from the herb of Paraguay; and seventy one thousand from Mexico alone, for gunpowder.

The produce of the post-office is estimated at three millions three hundred thousand dollars de velho; and the export of wool, from Seville alone, yields ten millions of reals de velho to the royal treasury: to these sources of revenue must be added the tax on brandy, and the produce of the royal forests; as well as that of the confiscated estates of the Jesuits, which is valued at four hundred thousand piastres.

The financial department consists of five chambers: that which takes cognizance of the affairs of America is called the grand royal council of the Indies. The imposts of every province are levied by the intendants; and the whole organization of this department was instituted by the president Orry, in the reign of Philip V. Ensenada and Carvajal, under that of Ferdinand VI. were induced, partly by the splendid theory of the physiocratic system, and partly by the partial confirmation afforded by experience in Arragon, to attempt to reduce the financial system to the utmost degree of simplicity: it was resolved to subject the country to an actual admeasurement; to enumerate the inhabitants, to estimate their property; and then to demand only one real from every three hundred. The provinces of Castile were measured, and a "junta of the single impost" had already been added to the financial council, when the ministers who came into office after the death of Ferdinand, abandoned the design. Don Carlos found the treasury extremely burdened with debts which had been incurred partly to defray the expenses of war, and partly by the magnificence and prodigality with which every undertaking, whether useful or superfluous, is in this kingdom attended. The royal treasury, however, contained a considerable sum in ready money, and the annual revenue amounted to forty-seven millions of dollars de velho. The king set apart an annual sum for the redemption of the public debt.

The income of the eight archbishops and forty-eight bishops, was returned by themselves at one million three hundred thousand ducats: the cathedral chapters are not less opulent; more than three thousand monasteries are also supported; and the less rigid institutions of the New World are possessed of extensive estates, capitals, and tithes. The simplicity of pious individuals, who purchase dispensations, is one principal source of the ecclesiastical revenues.

The military department was organized under the reign of Philip V. The king himself presided in the council of war. In the beginning of the Ame-

(1) A real de velho is worth about twopence halfpenny.

rican war, there were five commanders, fifty-five lieutenants general, and an equal number of *maréchaux-de-camp*; more than a hundred brigadiers, six inspectors general, forty war commissaries, and fifteen auditors. The king had his own regiment of guards, together with a brigade of carabineers, thirty-six regiments of foot, fourteen of horse, and eight of dragoons; a corps of engineers; the artillery, and some companies of cadets; there were five foundries of ordnance, a manufactory of arms at Toledo, and another for fire-arms at Guipuscoa. The invalids were divided into forty-six companies; there were forty-two regiments of country militia, and one hundred and twenty-six companies of city militia; some of which were usually kept encamped near Gibraltar, Oran, Ceuta, and Marsalquivir, and in the smaller presidencies. The foreign troops in the pay of Spain consisted of the Walloon guards, four regiments of Walloons, four of Swiss, and twelve of Italians. But scarcely any of their corps had their full complement; and one hundred and forty regiments contained in reality scarcely one hundred thousand men. The tactical system had been changed in some unimportant details. The military station was not honoured; as the ranks were debased by the custom of introducing among them, smugglers, thieves and murderers. Desertion was punished by the martial law with death; but the officers preferred suffering the offender to lie in prison for a year; allowed his name to remain on the rolls, and by this means continued to receive his pay. The principal foundry for the artillery was in the most wretched condition, because the inspectors were induced by avarice to employ materials and workmen of the worst description.

The naval system is divided into the three departments of Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagena. Ferdinand the VI. left at his decease, forty-eight ships of the line. Don Carlos augmented their number; but this was rather an apparent than a real increase of their strength, for all the reports were exaggerated and the commands ill executed. Hence arose the misfortunes of the war of 1762, the miserable result of the siege of Algiers and the failure of the attack on Gibraltar. The deficiency consisted not in money, or in regiments, or in ships; but in that spirit which the Spaniards had so nobly displayed before the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of the inquisition.

NAPLES.

The kings of Sicily and Naples contrived for a long time to protect their subjects from the last mentioned curse; and the inquisitors never ventured to display the full effect of their fury in those dominions. The barons of Sicily and the people of Naples maintained some of their rights: despotism never dared utterly to oppress this lively nation, whose stormy passions frequently threatened the destruction of its oppressors, and obliged the court on various occasions to obey the voice of the *piazza del popolo*, while their territory was peculiarly exposed to the hazard of foreign invasion. The government stood frequently in need of subsidies; the taxes were distributed by the *piazza*; and every *arendamento* was carried to the chamber by those persons to whom the levying of this impost had been entrusted. The military power of this state was supposed to be equal to that of Sardinia; but the soldiers were better paid and the troops superior in appearance. The population is estimated at four millions.

SWITZERLAND.

After the states under the sway of the house of Bourbon, the Swiss confederates, who are the most ancient allies of that family, deserve to be next mentioned. The internal administration of the cantons was distinguished by intelligence, probity and vigilance; and their population and opulence increased without interruption. As they were equally destitute of a supreme head and of a permanent representation, they found it easy to avoid being

entangled in the affairs of more powerful states. They dwelt without apprehension in the midst of jealous and powerful rivals; they had no idea of grandizement; and their wishes were confined to the object of remaining in their present condition. Accordingly, they enjoyed a more undisturbed course of prosperity than their brethren the Venetians and Hollanders had been able to obtain by their wars and negotiations; and preserved more successfully their primitive equality and the simplicity of their manners, which became refined as the national character developed itself.

The renewal of the general alliance between the cantons and France, convinced all Europe that the latter kingdom was disposed to continue to support the confederates in the great political discussions of the continent; and that her frontier would henceforth be protected on the side of Switzerland. The Swiss, besides, furnished the king with men; the only article which they possessed in superfluity: and the monarch supported the needy cantons by subsidies. The stipulations relative to the regiments were separated from the articles of alliance, and treated as a private affair.

The population of Switzerland amounts to about a million and a half; five hundred and eighty thousand of which belong to Zurich and Bern: about thirty-eight thousand persons serve in the foreign regiments, most of whom are enlisted for a term of four years: and it may safely be assumed that twenty-five thousand of that number consist of native Swiss.

The natural instruments of despotism, a standing army, and the multiplication of taxes, were unknown in the cantons; the government of which owed its whole power to the sentiment of public prosperity and to the esteem and affection of the people. After the destruction indeed of public morality, the common opinion of their accumulated wealth, their well known military spirit, and the situation of their country at the passes into more fertile provinces, might give even the cantons reasonable ground of apprehension for the continuance of their peaceful existence.

LETTER IX.

The Court of Rome and the Jesuits—Intrigues of the latter in various countries, and their final expulsion from Europe. A. D. 1759—1773.

A RELIGIOUS order, says Mons. Voltaire, ought not to make any part of a history. No historian of antiquity has entered into a detail of the establishments of the priests of either Cybele or Juno. It is one of the misfortunes of our European policy, that the monks, destined to ignorance by their institution, have made as much noise in the world as princes, either by their immense riches, or the troubles they have excited from the first of their institution. Your attention, my dear son, has already been directed to this subject, the conduct of the Jesuits: (1) but that the narrative may not be left in an unfinished state, we shall now resume it and carry it to its termination. In doing that, however, it will be necessary briefly to recapitulate some facts which have already been touched upon.

The order of the Jesuits is a political association of spiritual and ambitious men, bound together by one strong and common interest. Implicit obedience to their head, is the basis of their actions: all their views, designs, and operations tend to the same end, and proceed from the same principle; no personal interest, no division exists among them. This order is the image of a perfect republic, and consequently is contrary to all other governments. A Jesuit is a citizen only of his own order, is a natural enemy of every society, and according to the principles of good policy, is not admissible into any well ordered state. It is astonishing that such a body of men should have been received under any government; nevertheless it has

(1) See vol II Part II. Letter XXXV. &c

insinuated itself under the cloak of religion into many. The arts, the sciences, and the education of youth, were the means by which it acquired all distinctions. Many states, however, not dazzled by their real and useful qualifications, adopted a more enlarged way of thinking, than those who received them. These austere and learned philosophers, who consecrated themselves to the office of enlightening nations, occupied themselves also in politics, in commerce, and in war; more skilful even in intrigue than in science, and always contriving the most Machiavelian and criminal means to obtain their objects: they have been accused of lighting up pyramids of piles, preparing poisons, sharpening poniards, and arming fanaticism! Several sovereigns at length opened their eyes, and discovered their ambition. The parliaments in France, the senate of Venice, the suspicious apprehensions of Carvalho, the revolt of Madrid, have driven them successively from France, Venice, Portugal, and Spain. In a political view every country is justified in having employed the most violent means to extirpate this society; but morally speaking, they have been treated with great injustice, particularly in Spain and Portugal.

An affair of the greatest importance had almost entirely ruined them with these two courts; and by depriving them of the character of confessors to the kings and their ministers, destroyed the basis of their power. The marquis of Carvajal, favourite of Ferdinand VI. king of Spain, who without the title of minister directed the government of that country, had been gained over by the queen Barbara, who was an Infanta of Portugal. The known state of the king, her husband's constitution; and her own attachment to Farinelli, the famous Italian singer, leaving her without hopes of children, she had directed all her tenderness, her wishes, her cares, and her intrigues, towards her country. Mr. Keene, the English ambassador, who enjoyed all her confidence, had traced out to her, conjointly with the Portuguese minister, the duke of Alba, and some others, the plan of a treaty very advantageous to Portugal, and still more so to England. The marquis of Carvajal, joined with the queen in advancing its success, intoxicated by his affinity to the house of Bragança, of which the court of Lisbon made a great parade.

The object of this treaty was an exchange of the colony of St. Sacrament upon the river La Plata, for the settlements on the river San Pedro and some others, which by surrounding Brazil, would bring together the Portuguese frontiers, would extend them along the great Cordilleras, and the rivers which flow from them, and multiply in a great degree the means of securing a smuggling intercourse with the richest provinces of Spain. Nevertheless, the pretext for making this exchange, was to abolish the contraband trade of the colony of St. Sacrament. The opposition of the marquis de l'Ensenada, minister for foreign affairs, of the marine and the Indies, was attributed to his partisans, the Jesuits, and suspended for two years the exchanging the ratifications of this treaty. That minister absolutely refused his signature. He was accordingly stripped of his employments, and exiled to Grenada, while those monks which were most violent against the Jesuits, were appointed confessors to the king, the queen, and the royal family. It was at this time that the narrative of their kingdom in Paraguay began to gain credit—the following is the outline.

Paraguay is an immense portion of South America, which extends from the capitania of St. Vincent in Brazil, to the left bank of Rio de la Plata, runs up behind Chili and Peru to the unknown country of the Amazons, and has no fixed limits. This vast country is watered by noble rivers, whose banks were peopled by various savage nations, till the division of South America was made by Spain and Portugal, who alone have any settlements in it. The two courts of Madrid and Lisbon, after a long succession of disputes relative to the limits, not being able to come to any positive determination respecting this country, which no one hitherto had penetrated, and being alarmed with mutual fears respecting mutual encroachments, (the Spaniards fearing for Peru, and the Portuguese for Brazil) they united in

manifesting their confidence in these good fathers, whose indefatigable zeal in propagating the Gospel, appeared to merit such a recompence. They mutually agreed, therefore, to concede this immense country to the society of Jesuits, with an exact demarcation only of its breadth, as its length has never been discovered.

The Jesuits, superior to the rest of mankind in the art of persuasion, and labouring for themselves, made an incredible progress in their designs. At the end of fifty years, and to the disgrace of the other colonies, the country of the missionaries was filled with villages, the Catholic faith was triumphant, and the savages civilized, happy, and subject to the wisest of governments. No people on earth were more contented; labour and property was all in common. There were neither rich nor poor, nor dignities, nor great, nor little; there was no inequality whatever, and consequently neither avarice, ambition, or jealousy; every one contributed equally his portion of labour, and received an equal retribution from it. Every village was one numerous family, of which the Jesuit was the father; and the society itself was the mother of this happy republic.

The power of these reverend fathers, by a system of politics very different from the greater part of human governments, was founded upon a perfect union of public utility with individual happiness.

This wonderful republic existed in peace. The Jesuits, from their moderate spirit, and to avoid all appearance of ostentation, payed the kings of Spain and Portugal a certain small tribute, without murmuring at the unjustifiable power which required them of a free people, who, united in a society of their own establishment, could not be reasonably considered either as subjects to the Spaniards or Portuguese. It was not long, however, before the two courts, jealous of the progress of such a population, agreed to divide between them the fruits of the labours of the Jesuits. The latter represented in vain that their rights were legitimated by the concession of the country, as well as the injustice of doing violence to a free people; who, on embracing the Catholic religion, and adopting European manners, did not propose to give themselves masters. These remonstrances were treated as criminal and treasonable by the Spaniards and Portuguese, who entered with arms in their hands into these colonies. The Indians exerted themselves to the utmost in their defence; but overcome by the superior discipline of European soldiers, a small number of them received the yoke, while the rest established themselves further up the country, taking the fathers with them to console them in their distress, and protesting against the tyranny and injustice of the barbarians of Europe.

The Jesuits now found themselves in a very perplexed situation; threatened, in Europe, with persecution and exile; prohibited from continuing their missions; while they must have been highly unjust to their proselytes, if they had advised them to give up their liberty; their sagacity was often disconcerted. At length, however, an accidental discovery was made of their Machiavelian system, and at once exposed their conduct.

A captain of Spanish dragoons, who was a native of France, the chevalier de Bonneval, found in a village of the mission of Purana, where he commanded after the conquest, the instructions of the order, addressed to the principal Jesuit of the district. They consisted of the three following articles. 1st. "If the bishop of Buenos Ayres, or any other ecclesiastical officer should come to make a pastoral visit, and to interfere in the affairs of the mission, he should be diverted from his purpose by presents, and particularly of the herb of Paraguay. But if it should not be possible to dissuade him from his errand, by such an application to his interest, any and every means must be employed to frustrate the object of it. 2nd. If the commissary of finances, or any person employed by the king, should come into the country to impose taxes upon it, one half of the people must be sent into the mountains or forests, that he may not know the real population of the village. 3rd. If the governor of Buenos Ayres, or any general or commanding officer should come to visit the villages of the mission, he should be loaded with presents, in order to turn him aside from his design:

“and if such means should not succeed, force itself must be employed to resist his pretensions.”

These instructions were sent into Europe, and exposed to imminent danger the life of the captain, whom the intrigues of the Jesuits retained in prison, at Ceuta, for two years, to prevent his appearing against them; they formed a principal instrument in the process which was instituted against the order in Spain.

To complete this state of mortification, the Jesuits, dispirited in America, and humiliated at Lisbon and Madrid, suffered in silence. In both these courts they conducted themselves with moderation and prudence, supporting their disgrace with apparent resignation, boldly disavowing all that had passed in Paraguay; declaring their submission, and brooding over their vengeance.

The assassination of the king of Portugal by penitents of the Jesuits, following hard upon the business of Paraguay, they were suspected of having resolved, by this crime, to revenge the injustice which they had suffered in America. The fathers Malagrida, Matos, and Alexander, were arrested, put to the torture, and involved in the catastrophe of this conspiracy. All the possessions of the Jesuits were confiscated, and their resistance in Paraguay seemed to justify the confiscation. At length they were all banished; and, in defiance of the pope, the ecclesiastical states were overrun by four thousand persons, who being dismissed from their stations, were become altogether useless. The nuncio, by the haughty manner in which he attempted to protect the power of the papal militia, rendered their situation still worse; while to hopeless banishment, and general confiscation, was added the sale of all their property.

The nuncio however, extremely irritated, quitted Portugal; and the court of Rome, considering the process instituted against the Jesuits to be a wicked attempt, put the kingdom under an interdict. The minister being thus driven to an extremity, attacked the holy see itself. This first act of hostility was a book prepared under his inspection, (and as some have supposed, written by himself,) to prove that the popes ought not to have approved the institution of the Jesuits; and when they had done it, that they ought to have retracted their approbation, which might have been done without exposing their authority, because they are not infallible; and that even in the councils, there are examples of a similar recantation. This book having made the danger of a rigorous conduct evident to the court of Rome, it endeavoured to employ mediators to terminate the dispute in a friendly manner. But the minister was inflexible, and so far from seeking the favour of the holy see, he subsequently made another and still more forcible attack upon it, in bringing forward the father Ferreira, a celebrated theologian, to support a thesis, whose object was to prove the non-infallibility of the pope. This thesis, sustained by the authority of the synods of France, and the canonical books of the French clergy, is full of strong argument, and written in a style of great animation. The effect of these hostilities against the court of Rome exasperated both parties; and it might have happened that the court of Portugal, after having adopted the liberty of the Gallican church, would not have stopped there; if the patriarch of Lisbon had been a man of talents, and the count de Oeyras ten years younger.

Such is the account given us of this matter by Dumouriez, in his “Account of Portugal;” the few remarks which I shall now subjoin may be regarded as supplemental, and finishing the picture.

In the latter years of the long pontificate of Lambertini, or Benedict XIV the destruction of the order of Jesuits, that grand pillar of the Roman-catholic hierarchy, began to take place in Portugal.

Benedict XIV. was one of the most universally beloved of all the popes: he had obtained the respect of the world by his extraordinary acquirements, his moderation, prudence, and mildness. During his pontificate, many abuses, such as the privileges of the asylum, were either abolished, or at least circumscribed and undetermined by reasonable stipulations, or with the pope's connivance. During this period also, complaints were preferred from many places

of the secret conspiracies of the Romish congregation of the order of Jesuits; and even at that time many scandalous principles were discovered in their confessional precepts and in many of their books of morality, by which that society had thought proper to tranquillize the terrified consciences of sinners, in the practice of vicious pleasures. The holy father either dared not or did not choose to forbid the former; and disallowed the latter with that indifference which is usual to men of the world. It was, moreover, a principle with Benedict XIV. to avoid all contests, because he knew that the spirit of the age afforded no prospect of a successful result to the pontiff from such discussions.

Rezzonico, who became pope Clement XIII. was a pious man, devoid of fear, and equally ignorant of moderation and of the spirit of the age. Under his pontificate, the difference which already existed between the Portuguese minister of state, and the Jesuits, came to an open rupture.

The accusations brought against the order were, that it had endeavoured to establish an independent empire in America, and had actually undermined the authority of the European sovereigns in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil; that no fear of consequences was capable of limiting the extent of its plan, because the society was perpetually renewed, and had never been known to abandon any design which it had once adopted; and that the general of the order had defended moral irregularities on his own responsibility. The governor of Maranhon, who was a creature of Pombal, gave information to the king of such plans. From that time every thing mischievous was attributed to the Jesuits. Pombal had introduced a monopoly of port wine for his own benefit, which irritated the proprietors of the vineyards of that district to such a degree, that they laid waste his own estates; and this outrage was imputed to the order. The earthquake of 1755, by which three-fourths of Lisbon was destroyed, gave occasion, as it usually happens under such circumstances, to admonitory discourses, in which the sins of mortals are represented as causes of the displeasure of the Divinity; these declamations were represented as attacks on the sacred person of the king, because Don Joseph had exposed himself to such reproaches. The order was accused at Rome; and the pope proclaimed a visitation, during which no Jesuit was permitted to preach or to exercise the office of a confessor.

The attempt to assassinate the king of Portugal has already been related, and therefore need not here be repeated. I may, however, remark that, it happened, soon after this occurrence, that a commercial house in Paris which managed the American funds of the order, refused to honour the bills drawn by their procurator-general, father de La Valette, because the specie and goods for the value of which they were negotiated, were partly lost by shipwreck and partly captured by the English. The court, however, declared that commercial pursuits were inconsistent with the intention of the order, but that their houses must notwithstanding answer for each other. The duke de Choiseul, now minister of state, was inimical to the Jesuits: he knew that they disliked his administration; he was in all respects unfavourable to their principles; and was the first who patronized that school of philosophy which undermined the foundations of the Catholic system, and afterwards those of all arbitrary authority. This minister caused the constitution of the order to be scrutinized according to the laws, as they were termed, and to the liberties of the Gallican church; and it was not difficult to prove, by these tests, that it was worthy of reprobation: the Jesuits were therefore forbidden to admit scholars or novices, and were required to furnish a catalogue of their persons and effects. The prelates who had been appointed to investigate their cause, were divided in their judgments; but the minister gave authority to that of the severer party: the habit of the order was forbidden to be worn, 1762, all their colleges dispersed, and not more than five of their number allowed to reside together; their connection with the general of the order was dissolved, their property confiscated, the members provided with scanty pensions; and finally, the order totally and permanently abolished in France. A. D. 1767.

The fiscal of Castile, Don Ruy de Campomanes appeared against the

Jesuits in Spain, as Don Seabra da Sylva had done in Portugal, and Montclar and Chalotais in France. Even their apparent humility, their applications on behalf of sick persons and prisoners, and their charitable gifts, were decried as the arts of factious demagogues. They were especially accused of having excited the insurrection against the marquis of Squillace, who was disliked on account of some of his regulations which were contrary to Spanish customs. Campomanes affirmed, that Don Bernardo Ibannez, during his last illness, had communicated to him some most important disclosures relating to the institutions and designs of the Jesuits in Paraguay. The remembrance of John Palafox was revived; a bishop who had been persecuted by them in the preceding century, and whom it was now proposed to place among the saints, by the intercession of the Catholic courts. King Charles III. was informed that they had intended to represent him as an illegitimate son of cardinal Alberoni, to deprive his family of the throne under that pretext, and to elevate Don Lewis, his brother, in his stead. All the Jesuits of Spain were now also transported into the territories of the church; the decision of the council of Castile was concealed from them for two months; and in the night of the 6th of March 1767, their colleges were surrounded with troops, every cell guarded by a sentinel, their papers and other articles taken from them, and they were all conveyed toward the ports where they were to embark at break of day. The dominion which they were supposed to have founded in Paraguay was overturned with equal facility: this was properly an institution for education, and a system of legislation, the authority of which depended entirely on the will and opinion of the public.

Pope Rezzonico had in vain confirmed the order, and endeavoured to influence the different courts in their favour: the people obeyed their rulers; and a system had already come into operation in most of the courts, the consequences of which extended far beyond the calculations of the most sagacious statesmen. Two thousand three hundred Spanish-jesuits were landed at once at Civita Vecchia; upon which occasion, the court of Rome pointed out how unreasonable it was to require that such a sovereign as the pope should be called upon, at the caprice of the royal courts, to maintain in his own dominions the members of those religious orders, which had in all ages been cherished by the Catholic world. Another body of one thousand five hundred came to him from Naples, and a great multitude out of Sicily—many of them were old and infirm; and the greater part had been accustomed to a sedentary life, and were incapable of severe labour.

During the pontificate of Rezzonico, 1768, several regulations were also established by Ferdinand of Bourbon, duke of Parma, against the acquisitions of the clergy; their property was subjected to the ordinary taxes, all appeals to the pope were forbidden, and the *exequatur* declared necessary to the validity of his commands. The pope, in the utmost indignation at seeing that so insignificant a prince, the sovereign of a state which was originally a fief of the church, dared to proceed in this manner; and forgetting that Ferdinand was a Bourbon, and that all the temporal powers of Europe considered his cause as their own, published the interdict against him, "That his holiness might not be liable to the reproach of having neglected to protect the cause of God himself, in an affair relating to the liberties of the church." The Jesuits were upon this expelled also from the territory of Parma; and the subjects of the duke were commanded not to regard the letter dated from Rome, as a production of the pope. France, Spain, and the princes of Italy, endeavoured to arrange the affair of the duke by mediation; but Clement replied, "I have done my duty: I know how small my power is; but if I were more powerful, I would still not seek assistance in troops; but on the contrary, would much rather end my life in misery, in imitation of the first successor of St. Peter, than dishonour my grey hairs, on the brink of the grave, by betraying my duty."

The court of Naples at this juncture renewed the claims of the family of Farnese on Castro and Ronciglione; and those of the duke of Modena to the territory of Ferrara. At Naples the pope was openly treated as merely

the first Christian bishop, and the authority of the councils preferred to his. The duke of Modena laid taxes on the property of the church; even the grand master of Malta expelled the Jesuits; and Venice, the native country of pope Rezzonico, investigated the amount of the ecclesiastical revenues. This state, the population of which amounted to only two millions six hundred thousand, contained forty-seven thousand ecclesiastics; and the capital from which their income was derived, amounted to one hundred and twenty nine millions. The subjects of the king of Naples and Sicily amounted to four millions one hundred and seventeen thousand; while the number of the clergy within its dominions was one hundred and seven thousand, and two-thirds of the produce of the land were in their possession. It was calculated that the thirty-fifth part of the population of the Catholic world consisted of ecclesiastics. The Jesuits of Corsica arrived in Italy in the most wretched condition.

Clement now wrote to Maria Theresa to obtain her mediation on his behalf; "prayers and tears are my weapons," said he; "I honour the potentates whom God is pleased to employ for the castigation of his church." But the dispositions of the Catholic world had undergone such an alteration, that the bull *In Cæna Domini* was rejected even at Vienna. This bull contains a kind of epitome of the privileges usurped by the papal chair: pope Pius V. had reduced it to its most modern form, and Urban VIII. had enlarged it by a few additions; but a great part of its two-and-seventy curses is older than the thirteenth century. This instrument used to be pronounced on Holy Thursday, before the college of cardinals and the whole people; but of latter time it has been recited in a lower tone, and even entirely omitted.

There was now an extraordinary degree of commotion, as though some new danger threatened the power of princes from ecclesiastical pretensions: the temporal power every where investigated the occasions on which the convents were founded, and the bonds of obedience to generals of orders and to the pope were dissolved. Every proof of a dislike to the interference of temporal power, of extravagance, of burdensome poverty and avarice, of despotism and cruelty, was publicly displayed, and more or less magnified. Among all the proposals for reformation, none was so acceptable to the courts as the confiscation of the ecclesiastical estates; but when it was perceived that the barracks increased in proportion as the convents diminished, the friends of liberty and peace contemplated with dissatisfaction the unhappy direction given to reform. The power of the bishops, who with ill-calculated ambition, endeavoured in many countries to raise themselves upon the ruins of the papal authority, menaced the inferior ranks of the clergy with the inconveniences of a nearer and therefore still more rigid despotism.

The death of Rezzonico, or pope Clement XIII. happened 1769, amidst these commotions. When the great bell of the capital announced the death of this unfortunate prince, every individual in Rome manifested sorrow: he had acquired their esteem by his perseverance and the exemplary firmness with which he adhered to the supposed maxims of duty.

The college of cardinals were at first disposed to favour the party in the interests of the Jesuits; until the court of France, in which Choiseul was still the prime agent, gave them to understand that an election which should be displeasing to the temporal powers, would probably render the pope a simple bishop of Rome. The Spanish faction elected cardinal Ganganelli; a man of low origin, but of extraordinary learning, great simplicity of manners, and the purest intentions.

Clement XIV. endeavoured to save the Jesuits: he alleged that the council of Trent had confirmed their institution; and that the authority of the councils was superior to that of the pope. He represented the reigning pontiff as merely the administrator of the ecclesiastical dominions; and that (in allusion to Avignon and Benevento, which had been taken from his predecessor,) he had not the right to alienate any of the possessions of the holy see.

While he was calmly awaiting the result of these representations, he pursued his duties as a sovereign with the most scrupulous attention. The debt of the state had arisen to the sum of seventy-four millions of scudi: he

introduced a system of rigid œconomy, and endeavoured to re-animate the neglected arts of agriculture and commerce.

At length Maria Theresa also desired the suppression of the Jesuits; and Clement, having maturely considered the signs of the times, perceived that the period fixed by destiny to the hitherto existing order of things, had now arrived; and without even consulting the cardinals, issued the bull for the dissolution of the order, 1773. Benevento and Avignon were restored, and the pope's enlightened understanding was the subject of great praise. But he had in reality only yielded to the power of irresistible circumstances—for on no other ground is it easy to believe that he would have sacrificed the tried and principal support of his dominion.

LETTER X.

A view of Holland, or the Dutch Republic—its constitution and government—with a view of the Germanic circles, A. D. 1763—1781.

At the mouths of the Rhine, which takes its rise among the mountains of Switzerland, lies Holland; a country in which the Protestant interest for a century past had determined the public resolutions in favour of the policy of England; but where a powerful party now began to return to the ancient policy of the state, which was more favourable to the interests of France. This change of system was greatly promoted by commercial jealousy, by the haughtiness of the British government, and by the hatred generally entertained against the family of the stadtholder: and Joseph rendered it an almost indispensable measure by the destruction of the frontier fortifications which had formerly protected Holland.

The constitution of the greater part of the cities of Holland had for a long time been tending toward aristocracy. The council of Amsterdam was formerly chosen by the community of citizens, who afterward allowed the members of that body to usurp their elective privileges: a permanent college was thus established, which perpetuated a system of political maxims, and preserved freedom, peace, and order, by the temperate employment of his powers. The council of Amsterdam consisted of twenty six members, with twelve burgo masters at their head; four were continually in office, three of whom were annually changed, while the fourth remained two years in his post, in order to assist his colleagues, in cases of sudden emergency, by his experience in the current business of the state. The burgo-masters had the supreme direction of the financial department, and the disposal of certain offices: and the manner in which they discharged their offices qualified them in a greater or less degree for the higher dignities of the state. Next to them sat the nine syndics, seven of whom were chosen from among a number of fourteen annually proposed by the senate. This election belonged at different periods of the republic, sometimes to the stadtholder, and sometimes to the burgo-masters. The syndics exercised the office of judges; and, in civil affairs, an appeal lay from their decisions to the court of Holland, and from thence to the land-council. The court of Holland, which had formerly been the tribunal of the counts of that province, and which now consisted of eight deputies from Holland and three from Zealand, took cognizance of feudal causes, the law processes of the nobility, and appeals: and the great land-council of both these provinces, had succeeded to the post of the supreme tribunal, which, under the dukes of Burgundy, had held its sittings at Mecklin. In this country, as in the towns of Switzerland, appeals related only to petty disputes concerning property, and not to cases affecting the life of an accused person, which could only be forfeited under circumstances of great importance, and upon the clearest evidence. The states of Holland and West Friesland consisted of about ten deputies of the nobility; and of the representatives of eighteen towns, twelve of whom received their seats

and votes from the first William of Orange, who wished to attach those bodies by their interests to his cause, and to that of the revolution. The prevalent disposition among the nobility, was an attachment to the house of Orange; but they possessed conjointly only one vote: they were the least wealthy class; and hence the administration of the confiscated ecclesiastical estates, and other offices, were to them objects of desire. These states elected a pensionary councillor, who exercised the functions of president, and could prevent the execution of their resolutions by his veto. In the intervals of the annual assemblies of the states, a commission held two sessions; and in extraordinary contingencies its sittings were permanent. This body was divided into two chambers: that of South Holland consisted of a deputy of the nobility whose office was triennial, of eight triennial representatives of the great cities, and of one annual representative of the smaller towns: that of North Holland, of seven deputies from the cities. All matters were so arranged, that every district of the whole country was provided with a representative well instructed in its own interest.

In Zealand the whole body of the nobility was represented by the prince of Orange: six of the cities sent deputies to the states-general; and in two of these places the magistracy was nominated by the prince.

Guelders, which was a small federal republic forming a single member of the great union, contained the towns of Arnheim, Zutphen, and Nimuegen, the deputies of which held an assembly of the states twice in the year. This province contained a numerous and powerful nobility.

In the states of Utrecht, the nobility consisted of temporal and those denominated spiritual lords; but the latter were in reality laymen although they represented the estates belonging to the cathedral chapter. Five cities sent deputies to the assembly of these states; and those of Utrecht, which was the most considerable town of the province, had the power of opposing the resolutions of all the rest.

Friesland consisted of three districts, which were subdivided into thirty bailiwicks: the land proprietors of the confederate villages assembled in all parts of the country, and elected one nobleman, and one opulent and respectable free commoner; and the eleven cities, which together constitute the fourth district of the province, made a similar appointment. The plenipotentiaries thus elected, disposed of all the offices of the state: they appointed three persons out of each district as the members of a court of justice, which had the absolute decision of all criminal causes, and decided the appeals from the courts of the bailiffs in civil causes.

A similar constitution existed in Groningen, which was also a part of ancient Friesland.

In Overijssel, the states consisted of the deputies of the three cities, and of the possessors of all such noble estates as were worth not less than twenty-five thousand florins.

All the seven provinces formed the assembly of the states-general and the council of state. The states-general possessed the dignity of representation and the duty of superintendance; although, as it could deliberate, but could not resolve, it possessed, properly so called, no power; and the supreme authority resided in the magistracy of every province and city. The council of state, to which the executive power was confided, consisted of three deputies from Holland; the same number from Groningen, Overijssel, and Utrecht; two from Zealand, and as many from Guelders and Friesland. This assembly had the superintendance of the military department, and administered the affairs of the Dutch Netherlands; but, on the other hand, the affairs of the barriers belonged to the states-general, because this was not so properly a possession, as a measure of precaution for the security of the commonwealth.

The most important affairs thus depended on the election of the magistracies of the towns; which, for this reason, was conferred in times of danger on the hereditary stadtholders.

The stadtholder must be a Protestant of the reformed religion; if that dignity should descend to a female, the choice of her husband shall be made

by the states-general ; but shall in no case fall on a king, or an electoral prince, or on any other than a Protestant of the reformed church. A widow who should hold the office of regent during the minority of her son, was not allowed to marry a second time.

The court of France, which was desirous of rendering its frontier on this side as secure as on that of Switzerland, and of making as good use of the Dutch fleet as of the Swiss peasants, was always opposed to the stadtholder : and England, for that very reason, was constantly attached to his interests. The republic was influenced sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, according to the alternate success of the different factions. Switzerland, from its situation, may remain for a long time without exciting much attention : but Holland lies on the ocean ; it had accumulated great wealth ; it domineered in both the Indies, and possessed the Cape of Good Hope, the key of the east.

The barrier treaty, according to which the frontiers were to remain unalterable, seemed to promise a more tranquil state of affairs : hence the land forces were reduced to a state barely sufficient for the occupation of the barrier ; and the fleet was employed only in convoying the East India fleets.

The number and force of the ships to be equipped was determined by the states-general ; the land forces chiefly by the council of state : the admiralty college at Amsterdam contributed a third of the expense, and the remainder was defrayed by the other four admiralties. These colleges had the superintendance of the arsenals and docks : the armament and provisioning of the ships was managed by the captains. At the approach of the American war, in the course of which the republic became involved in a contest with England, she equipped fourteen ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, which were manned by seven thousand nine hundred and twenty seamen, and carried twelve hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, and which in fourteen months occasioned an expenditure of about four hundred thousand florins.

But the chief reputation of Holland, like that of Switzerland, is to be found less in her external relations than in her internal arrangements. In a country not twice as extensive as the territory of Bern, which requires more labour of men for the preservation of the dikes, on which its existence depends, than its whole produce is able to support ; none of whose harbours are excellent, and whose coasts, the Texel and the Zuydersee, are dangerous of navigation :—two millions of inhabitants gain their subsistence by persevering industry and good management, by which they rendered their country, for a long time, the richest district in Europe. This nation created the territory which it inhabits ; rendered it flourishing, and embellished it with noble productions of art. Commerce, by giving rapidity to the circulation of money, afforded facilities to the enterprises of individuals ; and the state was able to borrow as much money as it required, at an interest of two per cent., and private persons at three per cent. The affairs of the East India company were regarded as the concern of the state, while their property was as scrupulously respected as if it had belonged to an individual citizen : this company, for a long time, made an income of twelve millions seven hundred thousand florins, laid by two millions annually, and, after dividing the remainder, deposited two hundred and twenty-five thousand florins as a reserve against unforeseen contingencies.

All their prosperity was the effect of good morals, as all their laws were founded on the system of manners necessary among a commercial people, which regards the idle man as the only object of contempt, and endeavours, above all things, to maintain the reputation of the products of industry. Each city devoted itself chiefly to the pursuit of one branch of commerce, which it conducted in the utmost perfection : the spices of Asia came to Holland, the ancient inhabitants of which subsisted on vegetables and fish : they sold the silks of Persia, and clothed themselves in woollen ; they exported the beautiful productions of their looms, and used the cloths of England, which at that period were coarser than their own.

Censure has been bestowed on the distribution of the taxes ; because an impost was laid, among other things, on bread, in consequence of which,

several branches of manufacture were destroyed. Even the duty on tea has been blamed, because that article had been rendered a necessary of life by habit; and this tax has been supposed to have been in a considerable degree the cause of the enormous enhancement of the price of labour, which, however, in so rich a country, was inevitable. Turf and beer were also taxed. The theory of political œconomy has made little or no objection against the tax of the fortieth penny on the sale of estates and ships; against the house tax, the duty on collateral inheritances, the taxes on servants, horses, and carriages, and on legal compacts. The necessities of the state demanded incredible sums from this country; which, although its uncommonly crowded population is not a third part so great as that of England, paid taxes to the amount of five millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

This state of affairs, however, could not possibly subsist without the most injurious consequences to the commerce of the nation, which was at length almost entirely confined to the transfer of the productions of other countries: a kind of trade peculiarly exposed to contingencies, and especially to the hazards of war. The most wealthy of the merchants became discontented with an administration which involved them in such expensive contests: and nothing but the love of their country, in which they had the privilege of taking part in public affairs, prevented them from seeking a more prosperous place of residence. The great burden of taxation, and the multitude and expensiveness of their indispensable wants, compelled the Dutch to pay the closest attention even to the smallest profits: their expenditure in their wars, their excellent institutions for the poor, and their well-paid instructors, are sufficient proofs that they knew how to make a noble use of their gains.

In the naval engagement of the Doggerbank, A. D. 1781, the world saw with astonishment their display of national honour and patriotism: but it was altogether impossible that the Dutch, whose army now contained only twenty-eight thousand men who had never seen fire, together with nine thousand Swiss and Germans, and a fleet of only twenty ships, should prosecute a war against the power of Great Britain, with the same success as when they had ten ships of the line more than the English, and when the heroes of the house of Orange fought at the head of their armies, with the military prowess that distinguished them, in the cause of liberty.

A great ferment took place in the interior: the wealthy and republican citizens saw, with indignation, that the affairs of the state were conducted by the nobility, who were attached to the Orange party, and were, for the most part, involved in debt; and discontent loosened the ties of confidence, which had hitherto held together the inhabitants of the cities and those of the country in the different provinces, as well as the whole commonwealth of Holland. This dissatisfaction, however, proved, that the love of liberty was not extinguished; and rendered it probable that, if this nation were destined to fall under a foreign yoke, the most noble part of the community would follow the example given by the Phœceans, (as their ancestors designed to do on the invasion of their country by Louis XIV,) and that their territory, the greatest monument of human labour, would become the prey of the waves.

GERMANY.

Having given you some account of the Dutch republic, allow me now to direct your attention, very briefly, to the circles of Germany—their population and resources.—There are few subjects less understood, in the present day, in England more especially; and as this department of Europe was destined to act a very conspicuous part, in aftertimes, in the great drama of European politics, you will find an attention to what I am about to say, very useful to you, in assisting you when you come to enter upon the history of the French revolution.

The ancient body of the German empire continues to be held together, in appearance, by the formularies of the golden bull, the regulations of the

imperial elective compacts, the peace of Westphalia, the decrees of the diet, the ordinations of the imperial tribunals, and the relics of the feudal system.

All the princes of the empire who possess territories which were represented in the council of princes at the diet of 1582, have also at this day a seat and vote in that assembly, either in person or by their deputies. The counts, prelates and cities do not vote individually, but by their benches. The electors, princes and cities, constitute three colleges: the Protestant states form a separate body, of which the elector of Saxony, although himself a Catholic, is the head; because that office is permanently attached to the governing family of the electorate. The directorship of the collective diet is vested in the archbishop of Mayence. The emperor appoints one of the princes as principal commissary, and nominates some jurist, well versed in the laws of the empire, as his colleague.

The diet is opened by an imperial proposition: decrees of the court, which are within the province of the principal commission, representations, proposals, references of the states and notes from the powers, are laid before the imperial directors of the arch-chancery, who issue a *dictatur*, proceed to adopt a resolution, to open the protocol, to collect the votes, and to frame a corresponding decree, which is finally laid before the emperor for his acceptance. Each college assembles separately: the comital deputies have no discretionary vote or powers, but on all occasions receive positive instructions from their respective courts. All differences of opinion in the colleges are recorded in the judgment, in case the dissidents require it. The emperor may either ratify or reject this judgment as he thinks fit: but when the colleges are divided in their opinions, the states will not allow him to exercise the privilege of deciding between them.

Business of an important and complicated or secret nature, may be conducted or prepared by a commission appointed by the empire: but there still exist a number of undecided judicial questions relating to its formation.

In affairs which can in any manner be construed to relate to religion, or in relation to which the states do not choose to be considered as an united body, either the parties separate themselves, or each individual insists upon his privileges; by which means the progress of the public business is totally impeded. Protests, counterpleas, interlocutions, secessions and endless contests about forms, complete the confusion; and if the states were as equal to each other in power as the nobles of Poland, the decency and order of the proceedings would be not greater than at Warsaw. The body politic of Germany owes its mode of existence to the abuses and irregularities which, for reasons of policy, come to the assistance of its imperfect legislation, and which might as easily dissolve the whole structure.

The constitution of the circles is a representation in immiture of that of the empire. This constitution originally prevailed in every sovereignty; where the concurrence of the states of the country, consisting of prelates, knights, and citizens, was necessary to the authority of the prince on all important occasions. But since the introduction of standing armies, the place of these members of the community has been generally filled by the more simple forms of military despotism: thus by the perpetual frustrating of references to the imperial tribunals and to the supreme head of the empire, by the rejection of these applications, and by the execution of the decrees of the imperial courts, the people are becoming more and more helpless in every succeeding age; while against such of this hapless class as are stigmatized with the appellation of rebels, every petty tyrant is at full liberty to exercise his caprice and his power without control or question.

The dukedom of Bavaria is computed to contain one million one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants: the Palatinate of the Rhine, the most industrious of whose citizens have been compelled to emigrate to America by religious persecution, and by other errors in the policy of its completely despotic government, contains not more than two hundred and eighty thousand; and those of Juliers and Berg are estimated at two hundred and sixty thousand. The whole revenue of the elector may amount to nine or ten millions of florins: that of Bavaria is computed at five, or including the salt works

at six; that of the Palatinate at one million seven hundred thousand; and that of the Westphalian territories at one million five hundred thousand. The surface of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate contains seven hundred and twenty-nine; that of the other territories two hundred and forty square miles. The example of the neighbouring Dutch, and the influence of political considerations, (which prevented the exercise of so much oppression in a country to which Brandenburg had claims,) permitted and excited the most active exertions of industry in the countries of Juliers and Berg. The Palatinates groaned under the keepers of the rolls; and Bavaria continued to suffer under all the prejudices of the middle ages. The treasuries of both countries were overwhelmed with debts incurred by prodigality and bad administration. Bavaria had to pay twenty-five millions of annual interest; and had in return the satisfaction of resounding the incessant praises of rich favourites, women, ministers, and counsellors. This extraordinary expenditure was not occasioned by any disproportionate exertion of the powers of the country for the purpose of raising a formidable military force; for the army of the Palatinate consisted of not more than five thousand five hundred men, although that state had eleven generals in its pay: the Bavarian troops amounted to eighteen thousand men, who were distributed in thirty regiments, but this state had some field-marshal-general in commission, and the corps of officers constituted nearly a fourth of the whole army; and it was thought necessary, on account of a few vessels on the Rhine, to establish an admiralty. The income of the convents in Bavaria is estimated at two millions.

The electoral territories of Saxony are of nearly equal extent with those of Bavaria. But while the latter country contains only one great and thirty-nine smaller cities, the former contains eighteen of great or considerable magnitude, two hundred and six of moderate size, and two millions two hundred thousand inhabitants. The princes who bore the name of Frederick Augustus, left the country burthened with a debt of twenty-six millions of six-dollars: but the excellent arrangements of the states, and the regularity of the ruling prince, enabled the electorate to diminish its debt by at least one million two hundred thousand annually; and with the remaining six millions two hundred thousand furnished by the revenue, to maintain a suitable court, a well-organized government, and a military force proportionate to the circumstances of the country. The army was high-spirited, and brilliant in its appearance, and was augmented in proportion to the gradual reduction of the debt, until its numbers amounted to twenty-five thousand. The soil of the electorate is not uniformly fertile, and its situation between Austria and Prussia, together with the profusion of Frederick Augustus the First and of Brühl, had subjected the inhabitants to numerous miseries: but they surmounted all their difficulties, restored their country to prosperity by their admirable industry and good management, and distinguished themselves above all the other nations of Germany in the cultivation of the sciences, and the refinement of their language and manners.

The electoral territories of Brunswick are generally speaking, of inferior quality with regard to natural fertility; but are among the number of those in which the paternal care of the government has done much to compensate for the penury of nature. Since the absence of the reigning family, the states of the country maintain an authority which, in the most important particulars, is beneficially exerted; and the degree of freedom which is enjoyed, preserves among the inhabitants an attachment to their country. The troops, which are sufficiently paid, courageous and well commanded, amount to twenty thousand; a number which is not unreasonably great in proportion to a population of seven hundred thousand. The inhabitants are more numerous than could be expected in a country of which extensive districts consist of irreclaimable heath; and which, if it were not for the annual million produced by the mines in the Hartz, would with great difficulty furnish a revenue of four millions eight hundred thousand florins.

The electorate of Mayence, comprising a surface of one hundred and twenty-five square miles, contains three hundred and twenty thousand in-

habitants, and possesses a revenue, arising from customs and from territorial imposts, of one million five hundred thousand florins. It maintains some thousands of troops; and, as is usual in the armies of such states, a great number of generals.

The income of the elector of Treves is scarcely one-third as large as that of the last-mentioned prince; and about two hundred and ten thousand florins of his revenue are furnished by Augsburg and Ellwangen.

The electorate of Cologne is so situated, with respect to Holland and Westphalia, that it is capable of becoming a state of political importance. Its revenue, including its receipts from Münster, is estimated at one million two hundred thousand florins.

The subjects of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who is also count of Hanau, may amount to nearly five hundred thousand; and his revenue to three millions. Waldeck is his fief, and is still subject to a number of mortgages for pecuniary loans. He has also the prospect of inheriting, at some future time, that part of the county of Schaumburg which still belongs to the counts and noble lords of the Lippe.

The last mentioned prince, if it had not been for the division of territory made by Philip the Magnanimous, in the spirit of the sixteenth century, would still have possessed the income derived from Hesse-Homburg, amounting to one hundred thousand rix-dollars, as well as that of Hesse-Darmstadt. The landgrave of this territory has a revenue of one million one hundred and fifty thousand florins, with which he maintains his court, and six thousand well disciplined troops. But the landgrave Maurice still further weakened the Cassel branch of the family, in order to furnish a younger son with a court and government at Rheinfels and Rothenburg. Philip the brother of the landgrave Charles, augmented the family of Hesse with a very fruitful branch which has the title of Philipsthal.

The dominions of Wurtemberg are extremely fertile, and inhabited by a people of uncommon industry: the duke governs according to the laws, by which the ancestors of his subjects and the venerable states of the country endeavoured to limit or prevent the exercise of arbitrary power. The population of this state amounts to five hundred and sixty or six hundred thousand, and the revenue to about three millions of florins.

The two dukes of Mecklenburg have about two millions two hundred thousand subjects. The income of the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin amounts to about three hundred thousand rix dollars, and that of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz to one hundred thousand. The states of these dominions maintain, with the utmost solicitude, those rights which in other parts of the empire are so much neglected; and complain that the claims of their sovereign on the Bavarian succession have been satisfied at their expense, by the impediments thrown in the way of appeals from his tribunals.

The archbishop of Salzburg, the only person of his dignity who is not also an elector, must lament that the pious weakness of his predecessor, misled by the artifices of selfish agents, should have deprived his delightful hills of a valuable part of their population, amounting to twenty-five or thirty thousand industrious individuals, who have been compelled to abandon their native country, in order to preserve the privilege of worshipping God according to their consciences. The archbishop now governs about two hundred thousand persons, and his revenue is estimated at about one million of florins.

His neighbour, the prince of Berchtholdsgaden, has about five thousand subjects, who inhabit the shores of a picturesque lake: some of them are employed in the preparation of salt, and others in the manufacture of some elegant trifles which find a market in the East Indies.

But the circle of Swabia alone contains four spiritual and thirteen temporal princes; nineteen imperial prelates, twenty-six independent counts and lords, and thirty-one imperial cities: it would be impossible even to name them all in the course of so brief a survey.

The imperial cities enjoyed a high degree of prosperity, as long as the commerce between Venice and the North was carried on by way of Augsburg and Nuremberg; but the alteration which has taken place since Venice

and Egypt yielded to the maritime powers, in consequence of the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope ; together with the oligarchical oppressions which have in many instances destroyed the spirit of the citizens, the injurious effects of Catholic and Protestant intolerance, and all the petty policy of the numerous municipal governments, have destroyed their importance. Those communities of citizens so proud of their independence ; those vigilant and undaunted defenders of the municipal rights ; those members of the empire who were so zealously engaged in efforts to ennoble their condition and to increase their opulence ; are lost amid the crowd of powerful and warlike princes, and scarcely to be noticed in Frankfort, Hamburg, and other towns of inferior importance.

Frankfort has been said to hold the same place with regard to Germany, as Dantzic to Poland : she enriches herself at the expense of those nobles and people whose luxuries demand a supply of foreign commodities ; by which means millions are accumulated in a town containing only thirty thousand inhabitants ; the people of Germany, however, sell scarcely a tenth part so much to foreigners as they purchase from them. Hamburg is more than three times as large as Frankfort ; and, as it is a sea-port, its speculations are bolder and more extensive. Denmark contended against its freedom. Holland envied its commerce ; and its internal tranquillity was frequently disturbed by contests for power between the senate and the people : but all these difficulties were overcome by the perseverance, industry, and intelligence of its inhabitants. Of the three cities which still recall the memory of the great Hanseatic league, Hamburg is by far the most important. Lubeck, the second of these towns, which maintained a long struggle with the northern crowns for the dominion of the Baltic, and was frequently obliged to contend for the preservation of its independence, was not more than half as powerful as Hamburg ; and Bremen, the third in importance, by its active and successful industry, maintained and enriched a population nearly equal to that of Geneva.

If these considerable cities and countries, together with all those which we have not mentioned, had directed the whole influence of their population and opulence to the attainment of one common object, what an empire and people would Germany exhibit ! External influence has however succeeded, by means of the most strenuous exertions, in preventing such an union from taking place, and in bestowing, on an impotent aristocracy, the name of German freedom. Both the political importance of the empire, and the liberty of its inhabitants, have suffered in consequence of this abuse : yet the multiplicity of capitals has been favourable to the pursuits of industry ; and so long as the only question continues to be, whether the people shall be governed by hereditary princes or by deputies, the preference will be found to be due to the former ; because the latter are only intent upon employing their transitory power for their private interests.

Denmark, a kingdom which formerly gave laws to all Scandinavia, and which, including Norway and Holstein, is superior in extent to the monarchy of Austria, has lost a great part of its power during a long period of peace, under the sway of a succession of weak though benevolent princes. The preservation of the national reputation and the foundation of its prosperity, are to be ascribed to the excellent administrations of the elder and younger counts Bernstorff. The former conferred a most essential benefit on his country ; inasmuch as, after the death of the czar, Peter III., who as duke of Holstein had threatened the independence of Denmark, he managed, by negotiation, to extirpate this root of perpetual contention and destructive wars, just at the moment when the ducal family succeeded to the supreme power in the greatest monarchy of the earth : the whole of Holstein was transferred to the court of Denmark ; which, in return, gave up Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. These last hereditary estates of the kings of Scandinavia and of the future czars, are inhabited by about seventy-five thousand individuals, and yield an annual produce of scarcely four hundred thousand florins : the court of Petersburg bestowed them on a younger branch of that family which resides at Eutin and administers the secularized bishoprick of Lubeck.

But even including Holstein, the population of Denmark scarcely exceeds two millions, and its revenues nine millions of florins: and hence the forty thousand troops and the twenty ships of the line which constitute its military and naval force, cannot be kept in activity during a few campaigns without subsidiary aids.

Most nations have failed to reach an elevation commensurate with their resources: but Sweden, on the contrary, has sunk into a state of torpor, the effect of exertions disproportionate to her strength. While other nations appear scarcely worthy of the good fortune which has attended them, Sweden, by her spirit and intelligence, raised herself to a pitch of political greatness, far beyond the power of her resources to maintain: even when fortune at length deserted the arms of this nation, she strove, during a long course of years and amidst the turbulence of faction, to heal the wounds inflicted by her own heroic spirit; and when at length she had lost every thing of which it was in the power of adversity to deprive her, she retained the esteem of Europe, the remembrance of her former greatness, and an internal conviction of the possibility of recovering her lost importance.

The population of Sweden, amounting to about three millions, is capable, under a prudent administration, of supporting an army of fifty thousand men; and of providing effectual means for the prosecution of such wars as may be necessary to maintain the independence of the worthy successors of the Gustavuses. This country is deficient only in that commodity of which merit is so frequently destitute, namely, in money; but even this instrument is attainable by the pursuits of industry and commerce, and by an able and assiduous attention to the political circumstances of foreign courts.

LETTER XI.

View of the affairs of Great Britain—Commencement and Progress of the American war, A. D. 1775—8

AT THE peace of 1763, France paid to Great Britain ninety-five thousand pounds, sterling, as a compensation for the islands in the West Indies, which had been wrested from her during the late war, and which were now restored to her, and the further sum of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds, as a ransom for the prisoners of war. The king devoted his share of the captures, amounting to six hundred and ninety thousand pounds, to the public funds. In a few days afterwards, the Bank of England paid for the renewal of its charter, one hundred and ten thousand pounds, and the East India company engaged to pay an annual contribution of four hundred thousand pounds from the produce of its conquests. The national debt was diminished about ten millions in the space of twelve years; and of the remaining one hundred and twenty-nine millions, a funded stock was created to the amount of one hundred and twenty-four, paying interest. The sources of public prosperity were now husbanded, and incalculably increased by new manufactures, the progress of the colonies and the dominion of the sea. Labour rose in value, and became a premium for the increase of population, by which the numbers of those who had emigrated or fallen in war were soon repaired.

From this period we may date a new era in the science of Agriculture in England. Of forty-two millions of acres, which the country is computed to contain, eight millions and a half yielded as much corn, in productive seasons, as would suffice for the maintenance of five millions of its population during five years. All the soil of the country became more productive, in proportion as greater attention was paid to accommodate the mode of culture to the circumstances of each particular district. The incredible increase of pasturage, in thirty years, doubled the exportation. The ordinary annual produce of wool was estimated at one million two hundred thousand pounds

sterling ; and the manufacture of this commodity quintripled its value, and gave employment to one million and a half of persons. In the year 1736, Ireland sent four hundred and fifty thousand ells of linen to the fairs, stately held in July and October, in the city of Chester ; and in the year 1771, the quantity was doubled : and this was only half the quantity manufactured. The high price of the necessaries of life, and the unequal distribution of certain taxes, having diminished the manufacture of cloth in England, those of Scotland, which in the year 1720, amounted to only three millions of ells, in 1759, produced more than ten millions eight hundred thousand.

The newly acquired province of Canada yielded furs to the amount of three hundred thousand, and the colonies thus supplied the materials for the manufacture of hats. The various mines of iron, steel, copper, and tin, afforded employment in various ways for four hundred thousand persons ; and the exportation of these articles, after supplying the home consumption, amounted to the annual value of six hundred thousand pounds. Forty thousand persons worked in the mines of Cornwall ; and as many more in the lead, copper, and coal works, in other parts of the kingdom. A prodigious number of families are supported by the manufactures of Sheffield, Leeds, and other towns, in iron and steel. The coal mines of Newcastle extend more than half a mile under the sea, and a thousand vessels are employed in conveying their produce. The herring fishery, which had been encouraged by a premium, annually produced one hundred and fifty thousand barrels. The fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, were carried on by the labour of twenty thousand persons, and the produce in salt fish amounted to four hundred thousand pounds, sterling. The whole export trade of England advanced from six millions and a half, sterling, which was its amount in the reign of queen Anne, to sixteen millions in the year 1775, and at the latter period, the quantity of metallic specie in circulation, exclusive of the paper currency was eighteen millions. Although the commerce with Europe was neglected for that with America, yet the trade carried on with Germany sometimes amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, sterling. The capital invested in the West Indies, consisting of estates, slaves, and buildings, was, at this time estimated at thirty millions, and the annual produce in sugar, rum, coffee, &c. &c. was about four millions.

These statistical statements, my dear son, I have given with the view of enabling you to judge of the resources of the country at a moment when she was called upon by the impolicy of her rulers to plunge into an unnatural war with the members of her own empire—a war commenced in rashness and folly—persevered in through a spirit of infatuation—and terminating in discomfiture and disgrace. To this subject, permit me now to direct your attention.

A skirmish with a body of troops whom general Gage had ordered to take possession of the magazines at Lexington, was the commencement of open war ; and Gage proclaimed martial law, A. D. 1775. The beginning of the contest was animated. The Americans excited themselves in every possible way, to enlist Canada in their cause, either by persuasion or force ; and in an attack upon Quebec, their general, Montgomery fell ; while on the other hand, the English laid siege to Boston, and burned Charlestown. Perceiving that the existence of their country was at stake, the Americans now gave consistency to their cause, by adopting a regular form of constitution. The latter, however, was the work of years, and was destined to undergo various modifications, not merely arising from the action and reaction of parties, but because it was necessary on one hand to give an extremely popular form of government to a people which was summoned to face death in the cause of liberty : and on the other, because it was impossible to submit such measures as appeared necessary in a season of public danger, to the approbation of the multitude. With regard to the prominent features of the constitution, one principle was every where predominant ; but the various republican States were distinguished by slight shades of difference with regard to form, but all endeavoured to excite the energies of the people by enthu-

siasm, and to direct their exertions by the mature deliberations of the congress.

Apprehending that the contest would require a greater force to be called into action, than the country could conveniently supply, Great Britain concluded subsidiary treaties with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, the princes of Anhalt and Waldeck, and the margrave of Anspach, for a certain number of their troops. Treaties of this kind were by no means unusual; but the present occasion rendered them remarkable from the circumstance of the remoteness of the contracting powers from the theatre of war; and still more from the natural love of freedom which interested the virtuous individuals of all countries in the cause of the Americans. Many awaited the result of the contest in anxious expectation, fearful lest these regular troops should be found to possess an overwhelming superiority over a mere militia. But America fought for her own children: and the result demonstrated that only the greatest commanders—men possessed of courage—accustomed to victory, and embarked in a popular warfare, are competent to avail themselves of the highest species of tactics. The American war was conducted in so extraordinary a manner, as to lead many to suppose that the commanders of the British forces were induced to protract the contest from selfish motives; others contended, that the spirit of party rendered them incapable of prosecuting the war with energy and vigour, affirming that it was rather a ministerial than a popular quarrel; while some attributed its continuance and protraction to the talents of Washington, who was vested with the command of the American forces, and to the aggregate power of the colonies, adducing instances from history to prove that every great nation had acquired its freedom, as soon as it despaired of attaining it by any other means.

The expedition of the English against Charlestown, and the siege of Quebec were not productive of any beneficial results; and all the colonies of North America now united themselves in a general confederation for the preservation of their independence. The court of Versailles, ever vigilant of its own political interests, and conformably to its usual policy of supporting the weaker party in all their contests against the power of its rivals, on the news of this occurrence, resolved openly to adopt the cause of the Americans, which it had hitherto only favoured in secret; and to deliver the navigation of the seas and the commerce of the world from the preponderance, or rather the absolute control of the British flag. But a still more extraordinary spectacle was exhibited in the conduct of the king of Spain, who, although the sovereign and oppressor of South America, united his arms to those of France in order to promote the establishment of a free state in the northern division of the continent. But to do justice to the subject, it will be necessary to go a little into the detail of the military and political occurrences connected with this unfortunate war.

The American congress resumed its sittings at Philadelphia, May 10th, 1775, and measures were adopted for the issue of a paper currency for the support of the army, on the security of the United Colonies; a name now first adopted to designate the American states. They prohibited all supplies to the British fisheries in Newfoundland, with a view of retaliating upon Great Britain for the fishery bills; and so decisive was the blow they thereby directed against the trade, that the greater number of British ships were forced to return home unladen. Apprised of the approach to New York of the British troops that were intended for the subjugation of the province of Massachusetts, it was recommended to the inhabitants not to oppose an ineffectual resistance, but by retiring from the place to expose the troops to every inconvenience; the consequence of which was, that the commercial town of Boston was almost entirely deserted.

Towards the end of May, three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, arrived at Boston, with a large reinforcement of troops, including several regiments from Ireland; and the harbour was likewise filled with British ships of war. The continental congress passed a resolution in June,

declaring the compact dissolved between the crown and the people of Massachusetts, by the violation of the charter obtained from William and Mary; and they recommended it to them to proceed to the election of a governor, assistants, and house of assembly, conformable to the original terms of their charter. About the same time they passed resolutions with a view of obstructing supplies both of provisions and money to the British army; created a post-office, and appointed Benjamin Franklin its director; in all which they considered themselves to be fully justified by the undisguised hostility of the British government. One of the measures which congress at this moment adopted, and the wisdom of which was fully justified in the result, was the unanimous appointment of George Washington to the rank and station of commander-in-chief of the American forces. This illustrious patriot was then in his forty-fourth year, and well known to his countrymen, not less by his many private virtues, than by the military skill and diplomatic ability which he had evinced in the course of the seven years' war. Nobly declining pecuniary remuneration at this arduous crisis of his country's fate, he left it to his fellow citizens afterwards to appreciate the value of his services—a conduct which drew from congress an immediate resolution “that they would maintain, assist, and adhere to him, with their “lives and fortunes, in the cause of American liberty.” Having modestly expressed a distrust of his talents, and of the little experience he had yet had in military affairs, entreating the utmost indulgence of his constituents, he proceeded to visit the different camps that had been formed throughout the country, and was every-where received with joyous acclamations. Ward, Putnam, Schuyler, Montgomery, Lee, and Gates, were about the same time invested with subordinate commands. Lee and Gates were Englishmen by birth.

About this time general Gage issued a proclamation, offering, in the king's name, a pardon to all who should lay down their arms and immediately return to their occupations, with the exceptions of Samuel Adams and John Hancock; and declaring, that all who should not accept of this proffered mercy would be treated as traitors and rebels. It also proclaimed martial law, till the laws were restored to their due efficacy. But so little was this document regarded, that Mr. Hancock was chosen president of the continental congress.

On the morning of June 16th, the English were alarmed by a cannonade of the king's ships, and on examining its direction, were surprised by the appearance of a redoubt and other works thrown up in the night, on an eminence situated on a peninsula to the north of Boston, and within the distance of gun-shot of it, called Bunker's Hill. A cannonade also commenced from the town; but the provincials had taken care to secure themselves from its effects. A detachment under general Howe was debarked on Charles River, to drive them from their station. The British troops ascended the hill until they came within a short distance of the Americans, and as the troops approached the works, so hot a fire was opened upon them, that they were thrown into confusion, and for a short time general Howe was left almost alone. The troops, however, soon rallied, and rushing upon the American works with fixed bayonets, they forced them in every quarter. The Americans retreated to Cambridge without much loss; but in this affair, which is said to have been conducted with more spirit than military skill, the loss of the British was two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, including nineteen commissioned officers among the killed, and seventy among the wounded. That of the Americans was returned at four hundred and fifty. In the conflict, Charlestown, situated at the foot of Bunker's Hill, and which had been occupied by a party of the Americans, was set on fire, and burnt to the ground. Thus terminated this dear-bought, and, in the end, this fruitless victory.

In the beginning of July, general Washington arrived at the camp before Boston, which, notwithstanding its deficiency of every kind of stores, the English had made no attempt to molest; but Washington contented himself with continuing the blockade, and accustoming his undisciplined troops

to the fatigues of a military life. The Americans threw up works on another hill on their own side of Charlestown-neck; and securing their posts with strong redoubts, whilst they extended their lines to the fortifications on Boston-neck, they held the British troops closely invested in the peninsula, and rendered their situation very uncomfortable. The troops suffered much from sickness and scarcity of provisions; which last could only be supplied from England, and that at a vast expense; for of the great quantities that were sent, only a small proportion arrived safe and fit for use. The blockade continued through the year, during which nothing more occurred in this quarter that is worthy of record. General Gage returned to England in the month of October, and the chief command of the army devolved on general Howe.

All the colonies now began to act with open hostility against the British government. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, found it necessary to abandon the province, and take refuge with his family on board a ship of war. Being afterwards joined by a few Royalists, and some runaway negroes, he equipped a small marine force, with which, during the summer and autumn, he carried on a desultory warfare along the coast of Virginia.

On the 6th July, the congress published a declaration of the causes which had induced the colonists to take up arms. They disclaimed every intention of calling in foreign aid, or of dissolving the union between Great Britain and America, and which they sincerely wished to see restored. This was followed by an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain; another to the people of Ireland; and a petition to the king. Had there been any disposition, at this time, on the part of the British government to concede to the wishes of the colonists, a reconciliation might have been readily effected; but the opportunity was lost, and unhappily it never returned.

The first military manœuvre of Washington, in the spring campaign of 1776, strongly evinced his abilities. As soon as his army was recruited, he made a movement as if intending to attack Boston. The attempt, however, was merely a feint; and the garrison of that town discovered, to their great astonishment, that in one night he had fortified the whole chain of Dorchester heights. To frustrate every attempt at regaining them on the part of the British, he had chained together hogheads filled with stones, to roll down upon the heads of the assailants. In consequence of this masterly stroke of the enemy, Boston and its harbour became untenable; and Washington entered the town in triumph, where he found immense quantities of valuable stores, the barracks uninjured, and cannon fit for service. In fact, he found the place, upon the whole, improved rather than injured by the possession of the royal army. The hopes and efforts of Congress, and of the colonists in general, were encouraged by this event, even in Canada, where they had most declined. General Arnold erected batteries on the shores of St. Lawrence, and set fire to a number of houses in the neighbourhood. During five months the blockade of Quebec was kept up without intermission, until a daring sally of general Carleton drove the besiegers back in great confusion.

About the month of April, large reinforcements of troops arrived from both England and Ireland; and a detachment from general Howe, and another of foreign troops, having augmented the army of Canada to thirteen thousand men, general Carleton pursued the route of the Americans to Trois Rivières, a village about half-way between Montreal and Quebec. Here a body of Americans having attacked the advanced division of the British troops under the command of general Burgoyne, was repulsed with great loss. The provincials now found themselves under the necessity of evacuating Montreal and Fort St. John, and, crossing the lake Champlain, stationed themselves at Crown-point, where the British commander allowed them to occupy their post, for the present, unmolested.

While the campaign opened thus auspiciously for Britain in the north, an attempt was made to re-establish her authority in the south. The governors of the several colonies, had represented, that in the middle and southern provinces there was a considerable spirit of loyalty, but that the friends of Britain were afraid to discover their sentiments; and that if a powerful

force were sent from the mother-country to co-operate with them, they would immediately attach themselves to her cause. In consequence of this information, an armament was provided, and placed under the command of sir Henry Clinton and sir Peter Parker, with instructions to proceed to North Carolina, from the loyalists of which the most sanguine expectations were entertained.

The fleet anchored off Cape Fear on the twenty-third of May; but finding that nothing could be attempted upon Virginia, general Clinton determined to attack the city of Charlestown, and the fleet again anchored off the bar of that town. On the twenty-eighth of June, the Bristol and Experiment, each of fifty guns, advanced across the bar, to attack the fort on Sullivan's Island. A most furious cannonade now commenced from the shipping, and was returned with equal warmth from the fort. The ships, after keeping up the fire till evening, slipped their cables, and retired from the scene of action; but the Actæon of twenty-eight guns was unfortunately run aground, and set on fire. The design on Charlestown was however abandoned, and sir Peter Parker immediately set sail for New York. This failure of an attack upon one of the principal colonies, proved exceedingly unfavourable to the British cause, by inspiring the Americans with additional animation. Congress expressed its high approbation of the conduct of the officers who had so ably defended the fortress on Sullivan's Island; and the hopes of America naturally rising with her success, the state of Virginia instructed their representative to move in Congress, that America be declared independent. The debates on this subject were continued nearly a fortnight. John Adams was the principal supporter in Congress of the declaration of independence. On this important question, however, he was strongly opposed by Mr. Dickenson, a person of temperate and pacific views. On the question being put, there appeared six of the colonies to have voted on either side, and the delegates from Pennsylvania were equally divided. In Maryland the delegates had been instructed, by a majority of seven counties to four, to oppose the question of independence, and they acted conformably to their instructions; but, having given in their votes, they withdrew from the assembly. They, however, became convinced upon reflection that their conduct in this respect was unwise. The dread of being excluded from the general confederation, and of being reproached by the other states—perhaps an apprehension of their resentment, all combined to change their opinions, and gave a new turn to their conduct. These delegates were instructed to return to the Congress, and act in its deliberations as they thought would be most conducive to the interests of their country.

The fatal day at length arrived, July 4th, when thirteen British colonies in America declared themselves free and independent states, abjuring all allegiance to the British crown, and renouncing all political connexion with that country. Of this important document, the declaration of independence, it may be gratifying to give you in this place a summary of its contents. Thus it commences:—

“When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people
 “to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and
 “to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station
 “to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent
 “respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the
 “causes that impel them to the separation.” It then proceeds to state, that
 government being an institution for the happiness of the governed, whenever
 “it becomes destructive of that end, it ought to be dissolved. Having laid
 down this general rule, it proceeds to enumerate the facts which, in the
 opinion of Congress, prove the British government of their colonies to have
 been destructive of its end. They allege, that, in every stage of their op-
 pression, they had humbly petitioned the king for redress, but without effect.
 It is then declared, that “a prince, whose character is thus marked by every
 “act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.”—
 “We have applied, say they, also to our British brethren; we have reminded
 “them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement: we have

“ appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow those usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connexion and correspondence: they have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; we must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—in war, enemies; in peace, friends.” The declaration thus concludes:

“ We, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES, and OUR SACRED HONOUR.”

The declaration of independence on the part of the Americans was the passing of the Rubicon; and the points in dispute remained to be settled only by the success of arms. The conduct of the war on the part of Great Britain was now committed to general Howe; and his brother, lord Howe, was to be sent out to him at Halifax, with reinforcements from England. They were also vested with joint power, as commissioners under lord North's conciliatory bill, to effect a pacification between the mother-country and her colonies. General Howe, impatient of his brother's delay, sailed from Halifax on the 11th of June, and about the end of the month arrived at Sandyhook, near New York, to which place lord Howe, finding he had left Halifax, followed him; and on joining him his lordship was, to his inexpressible grief, made acquainted with the American declaration of independency. He nevertheless resolved to make an effort towards accommodation; and with a view to this, he sent circular letters to the governors of the colonies, and a declaration to the colonists in general. He likewise sent a message to general Washington, and another to Dr. Franklin, who was now returned from England and chosen a member of the Congress, informing them that himself and his brother were invested with full powers for a pacification, and wished the step he had taken to be considered as the first advance to that desirable object. Washington replied, that, from what had transpired, it was obvious their powers extended merely to the granting of pardons; but that those who had committed no fault needed no forgiveness—that the Americans were only defending what they deemed their indisputable rights. The answer which Dr. Franklin returned was, that, preparatory to any propositions of amity or peace, it would be required that Great Britain should acknowledge the independence of America, reimburse the expenses of the war, and indemnify the colonies for the burning of their towns. Lord Howe answered, that while they held such sentiments, an amicable adjustment of their differences was wholly impracticable.

On the 22d of August, 1776, the British army landed on Long Island, opposite to a large body of Americans which lay encamped near the village of Brookline. Between the two armies was a ridge of hills intersecting the island from east to west, through which lay three passes, each of which had been seized by the Americans, who placed strong detachments to guard them. In the evening of the 26th the main body of the British army, under generals Clinton, Percy, and Cornwallis, marched forward to gain the eastern pass, which they effected without difficulty. At nine the next morning the action commenced by a cannonade on the right wing of the Americans, and Clinton, by a successful manœuvre, having turned the left wing, took the right in the rear, and immediately threw it into confusion. In their retreat to Brookline, general Sullivan and ten other American officers were taken prisoners. Their whole loss on this occasion was estimated at three thousand

men, including one thousand prisoners, while not more than three hundred and fifty were lost by the British and Hessians.

During the night of the 29th the Americans withdrew unperceived, and crossed the channel which separates the island from New York, carrying with them their stores and part of their artillery. The British commanders, however, resolved to push their success, and on the 15th of September the troops were landed on the island in which New York is situated, taking up a position about three miles from the town. Washington, finding his troops dispirited by their late defeat, thought proper to abandon the town; and, in his hasty retreat, left behind him both artillery and military stores. The British troops then took possession of the city, which was soon after set on fire by some incendiaries, and nearly a third part of it was reduced to ashes.

The British arms were now crowned with a series of successes. General Howe having turned the works which the Americans still occupied at King's-bridge, marched against Washington, who, aware of the inferiority of his troops, was too wary to be brought to an engagement. The British forces stormed Fort-Washington, and took two thousand six hundred men prisoners of war. They next seized Fort-Lee, and overran New Jersey as far as Brunswick, while general Washington, who had passed the north river to protect those provinces, was obliged to retreat before him to Newark, and from thence, breaking down the bridge over the Raritan, to Princetown.

The American army was at this time so diminished by desertion and defeat, that its commander, in his flight to the Delaware, had little more than three thousand effective men to accompany him. Rhode Island yielded to the British forces with little opposition. Lord Cornwallis was fully aware of the wretched plight to which the affairs of the colonists were now reduced; but having pursued the retreating army to Brunswick, he was prohibited by the commander-in-chief from a farther pursuit, though he expressed his sanguine hope of being able to disperse the army of Washington, if allowed to follow it, or at least to capture his heavy baggage, before he could cross the Delaware. But general Howe persisted in recalling him. The sun of American independence now seemed to be on the eve of sinking into total darkness; but from the negligence of those who wished for its extinction, it soon rose again with renewed lustre. After an interval of several days, lord Cornwallis obtained permission to advance to Trenton; and the van of his army reached the Delaware, at the moment the rear-guard of the Americans had gained the opposite shore.

Among the incidents which at this time threw a gloom on the affairs of America, was the capture of general Lee, who commanded a body of the continental forces in the province of New York. This officer, who was by birth an Englishman, was not only regarded as an able commander, but was peculiarly obnoxious to government, who viewed him in the light of a deserter from the king's service, the resignation of his commission not having been accepted. He was on his march with the few men he could keep together, to join general Washington, and had taken up his quarters in New Jersey, at some distance from the main body. Intelligence of his situation being communicated to colonel Harcourt, he pushed on with a party of light horse, and, eluding the guard, seized the sentries, and carried off the general with a rapidity that prevented any rescue. His capture was a great triumph to the British, and equally mortifying to the colonists. Washington offered to exchange six field-officers for him; but the tender was rejected. Lee was committed to close custody; and it is supposed that a resolution had been taken in England to make him undergo the utmost rigour of martial law; but it was determined by Congress, that full retaliation should be made, on the persons of prisoners in their hands, for any violence that should be used towards him.

But in the midst of these disasters and discouragements, Congress preserved a firm countenance, and retained an unvaried appearance of dignity. On the 4th of October they signed a treaty of perpetual union and confederacy between the thirteen colonies. They also set themselves assiduously to devise means for levying a new army, and providing pecuniary resources for

its support. On the 10th of December they published an address to the people in general, for the purpose of animating them to resistance, expatiating on the relentless and inhuman manner in which, they affirmed, war was carried on by their enemies. The ill^e success of the American arms began, however, to produce internal effects as much to be dreaded as those of external force. Timidity and discord generally prevailed among them. After the taking of New York, a petition signed by a great number of the inhabitants, was presented to general Howe, declaring their acknowledgment of the supremacy of Great Britain, and requesting to be received into the king's peace and protection; and it was followed by another of a similar tendency from the people of Long Island: several of the leading men in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys also went over to the commissioners at New York. These proceedings induced general Washington to detach three regiments to the place, a measure which gave a check to the movements of the disaffected.

On the approach of winter, the British army went into cantonments, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick on the river Raritan to the Delaware. Among these posts, Trenton, which was situate on the Delaware, was occupied by colonel Rall, with three battalions of Hessians, and some British light horse and chasseurs. Washington formed the design of surprising them, and, with that object in view, pushed a corps across the Delaware on the 26th of December, which making a sudden attack on their picquets, brought Rall to their assistance. The latter received a mortal wound; and the Hessians, finding themselves repulsed in their endeavours to retreat, surrendered prisoners of war, to the number of nine hundred and eighteen. This success revived the drooping spirits of the Americans, not only as it was a turn in the tide of their affairs, but especially as it was a triumph over those whose ferocity and rapacity they equally dreaded and detested. Another of its effects was the return to their colours of many of their own brethren in arms who had deserted them.—While the American cause was undergoing these difficulties, their situation attracted the attention of many of the powers of Europe, who beheld them with a favourable eye, actuated in all probability by a spirit of jealousy towards Great Britain on account of her naval superiority. The ports of France and Spain were opened to them, both for trade and for the disposal of their prizes. Artillery and military stores were sent to the colonies, and several French officers and engineers entered into their service. The great increase of American privateers, some of which, in the West Indies, were French ships having taken out American commissions, with few or no American seamen on board, together with the large armaments fitting out in the French and Spanish ports, occasioned the British ministry to put sixteen more men of war into commission, and to issue proclamations increasing the bounty for entering the navy, recalling seamen who were in foreign service, and laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions.

Had general Howe followed up his successes at this period, he might, in all human probability, have brought the contest to a speedy and successful issue for Great Britain. But his negligent inactivity gave general Washington the opportunity he desired for strengthening his army and improving its discipline. Having allowed the spring to pass away without any spirited effort, the British general at length thought it prudent to advance against the enemy. It was now the month of June, and the American army was posted at Middle-brook in New Jersey, behind a ridge of strong heights near the river Raritan. The army at this station, exclusive of a small body of cavalry, did not exceed eight thousand five hundred men, of whom more than one half had never been in the field of battle. General, now sir William Howe, and knight of the bath, endeavoured to draw them from their post, by a feigned retreat. Washington fell into the snare; he detached a part of his force under general Green to harass the English, and he himself advanced from his camp at the head of his main body, while lord Stirling conducted another division. Howe, concluding that he now had an opportunity of bringing the enemy to action, recalled his troops, and sending lord Cornwallis to secure the heights, marched to attack the Americans at Quib-

bletown. But Washington, now sensible of his error, by rapid movements regained his camp; and lord Stirling only sustained a trifling check. Thus disappointed, sir W. Howe retired to Staten Island; from whence, after an unnecessary delay, he proceeded by sea to the capes of the Delaware; but finding that the Americans had obstructed the navigation of that river, he sailed to Chesapeak Bay, and disembarked his army in Pennsylvania. General Washington had already arrived in that province; and having considerably augmented his army, he was not unwilling to risk an engagement for the protection of Philadelphia.

Having received information that the English army was advancing, on the 11th of September, to attack his right wing near the Brandywine, the American general made the necessary dispositions to receive them, and a smart action ensued. But the undisciplined troops of Washington were thrown into confusion, from which they only recovered to be again disordered by the vigour of the British arms. On this occasion, the Americans sustained a severe loss, while the sacrifice on the part of the English was very inconsiderable. Sir W. Howe then began his march towards Philadelphia, the enemy retreating as he advanced, and entered it on the 26th of September, Congress having previously removed to Yorktown in Virginia.

LETTER XII.

History of the American war continued.—France and Spain take part with the Colonies.—England declares war against both countries.—Important naval operations, A. D. 1778—1779.

WHILE these things were in progress in the middle states, affairs of some moment were transacting in the northern, to which we must now revert. A plan had been formed for penetrating, by the lakes of Canada, to the north of Hudson's river, as far as Albany, in order to cut off the communication between the northern and southern colonies; and the execution of this enterprise was committed to general Burgoyne, in whose abilities much confidence was placed. The regular force entrusted to his command consisted of seven thousand two hundred men, British and German, with a train of artillery, besides a number of Canadians and several tribes of Indians, who were allured by presents and promises to take a part in the expedition. Burgoyne, who had passed the preceding winter in England, took the command of this force in the beginning of July, and advanced to the attack of Ticonderoga, which, on his approach, was deserted by the Americans, who being pursued and overtaken in their retreat, were routed with great slaughter. They afterwards abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga. The British troops were at this time full of spirits, and elated with their success, while dejection and dismay prevailed among the provincials. The New England states, however, exerted themselves greatly to collect troops for their defence, and general Arnold was sent to reinforce their army with a train of artillery. The American forces were increasing daily, from the very cause which was expected to operate in a contrary direction—namely, the cruelties committed by the Indian savages, which obliged every inhabitant to arm for his own protection. About this time, too, the British troops encamped before Saratoga began to suffer considerably from the want of provisions; and one of their detachments, being sent to gain possession of a depôt of stores collected at Bennington, was almost entirely cut off by the provincial militia. Another detachment, commanded by colonel St. Leger, was obliged to relinquish an attempt on Fort Stanwix, leaving behind them most of their artillery and stores.

During these transactions, a large body of provincials had been collected under general Gates, an officer of English birth, but who had entered the American service, and on whom Congress had placed much reliance. Bur-

goyne having formed the project of crossing Hudson's river, in order to join general Clinton at New York, began his march about the middle of September, and on the 19th of that month came in front of the American army at Still-water. A severe but indecisive action took place, and each army intrenched itself in its position. The Americans were now continually receiving reinforcements, while the British were daily weakened by desertions among the Canadians; and the Indians having no longer any expectation of plunder, abandoned the army at a moment when their services were most needed. The British troops had been under a short allowance of provisions some days previous to the 7th of October, the day on which general Burgoyne began his retreat towards Saratoga. Being under the necessity of dislodging the enemy, who nearly surrounded him, the general placed himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, and advanced to force a passage. The enemy perceiving the lines weakened by this movement, fell upon the left and centre, which being overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retire within the lines. The Americans closely pursued and stormed them in different parts; but general Arnold, who had the command, being wounded, and night coming on, they were obliged to retreat, though not before the German intrenchments had been carried sword in hand, which greatly endangered the whole camp.

During the night Burgoyne changed his ground, and occupied another strong post. The following day he offered to renew the battle, but the Americans declined it, having taken means to enclose the British army, and secure an easier victory. The British general again made a similar retreat, and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where he found all the passes secured by the enemy. No hope now remained but that of reaching Fort Edward by a rapid night march, and crossing the river: but he was informed that both the road and the fort, as well as the opposite bank of the river, were beset by the enemy. A council of war was then held, and the unanimous result was, that nothing remained for them but to open a treaty with general Gates. A convention was the consequence, by which it was agreed, that the British troops should march out with the honours of war, and then lay down their arms—to embark from the port of Boston for Europe, on condition of their not serving again in America during the present war. On this occasion the conduct of general Gates was characterized by the most honourable feeling: he would not permit any of his own soldiers to leave the lines to be spectators of the piling up of the British arms. The number of the British troops that surrendered on this occasion was stated at five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two men. Thus ended the Canadian expedition, in a result which not only raised the hopes of the Americans, but encouraged France and Spain to take part with them in the contest; thus verifying the prediction of lord Chatham, in those ever-memorable words, "France and Spain are watching the maturity of your errors."

It may be proper for us here to suspend the narrative of American affairs, in order to glance at the proceedings of the British parliament, which now assumed a considerable portion of interest.

The British parliament resumed its sittings in the month of November, when the debates turned chiefly on American affairs. The unfortunate result of the Canadian expedition, the plan of which is said to have originated with the officer to whom its execution was intrusted, had not then reached England, or at least was not generally known on this side the Atlantic; but it could not long be concealed, and the development of it subjected the ministry to the most bitter sarcasms and taunting invectives. The lofty style of the British manifesto issued by general Burgoyne on his taking the command of the army, became a fit subject for ridicule. It warned the colonists of the dangers impending over them should they resist his majesty's arms, and rhetorically amplified the terrors of a savage foe let loose upon them. Lord North was styled the political Sangrado, who prescribed bleeding for ills of every description; and who, if mortal symptoms appeared to attend his practice, would still persist in drawing more blood, because his reputation was staked on this effectual remedy. The ministry deprecated the pelting

of this merciless storm, and endeavoured to allay it by apparent dejection, and an acknowledgment that they had been unfortunate. This, however, afforded no reparation for the disgrace which the British arms had sustained; and as the means of investigating whether it ought to be attributed to the ignorance or incapacity of the ministry, lord Chatham moved, that there be laid before the House copies of all orders and instructions given to general Burgoyne relating to the expedition: the motion, however, was negatived.

During the recess of parliament, the spirits of the ministry, which had evidently been at a low ebb, began to recover their buoyancy, in consequence of the numerous voluntary tenders that were made by private individuals and public bodies, for raising new regiments to supply the loss of general Burgoyne's army; and it was now determined to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour.

On the 17th of February 1778, lord North, who appears always to have kept the object of conciliation in view, brought two bills into the commons; one for the purpose of declaring the intentions of parliament concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes on the colonies; the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with powers to treat upon the means for quieting the disorders now subsisting in America. In his preliminary speech he declared, that it had always been his opinion that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue, and that he had never proposed any taxes on the colonies; it was his misfortune to have found them taxed when he came into office. He justified the coercive acts, on the ground that they appeared to be necessary at the time, though they had produced effects which he never intended. With respect to the proposed commission, his lordship said, that it was proposed to treat with the Congress by name, as if it were a legal body; to order a suspension of arms; to suspend all restrictive laws, and grant all sorts of pardons and immunities; to restore to any of the colonies their ancient form of constitution; and where the king nominated governors, council, &c. to nominate others till his pleasure were known.

This motion of the minister excited expressions of strong disapprobation from the Tory part of the house, and some of the country gentlemen loudly complained of the deception practised on them relative to American taxation. On the other hand, the propositions were in general approved by the opposition, though accompanied with some severe remarks on the fruitlessness of a war, the objects of which appeared never to have been understood, and were now entirely renounced. The bills, however, passed with some amendments, one of which was a clause for the express repeal of the duty on tea.

In the debates which these bills give rise to, the members of opposition inveighed strenuously on their inefficiency at the present moment. They contended, that they were substantially the same that were proposed by the duke of Grafton in 1776, and which, had they been suffered to pass at that time, might have put a stop to farther hostilities; but matters were since that time greatly altered, and much to our disadvantage. There was, however, something like a chance, and they would not impede the execution of a plan which had conciliation for its object. Mr. Fox, in particular, was very severe upon the minister, whose arguments, said he, "might be collected into one point, his excuses comprised in one apology, in one word—ignorance; a palpable and total ignorance of America. He had expected much, and had been disappointed in every thing. Necessity alone had compelled him now to speak out." Mr. Fox then assured the house he had it from unquestionable authority, that a treaty had been signed at Paris, ten days before, between France and the American colonies, whereby the former acknowledged and entered into an alliance with the latter, as an independent state; and he called upon the minister to give the house satisfaction on that interesting point. Lord North reluctantly acknowledged that it was too probable such a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded. The duke of Grafton, in the house of peers, put the same question to ministers, when lord Weymouth, the secretary of state, answered, "that he knew nothing of any such treaty, nor

“ had he received any authentic information of its being either in existence or in contemplation.” Yet, a few days afterwards, lord North delivered a message from his sovereign to the commons, and lord Weymouth to the upper house, informing them that “ a rescript had been delivered by the ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, containing a direct avowal of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance, recently concluded with America ; in consequence of which offensive communication, his majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court ; and relying on the zealous support of his people, he was prepared to exert all the force and resources of his kingdom to repel so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression.” Addresses were carried through both houses, containing the strongest assurances of support.

On the 7th of April, the duke of Richmond, in supporting an address to the throne on the state of the nation, declared his conviction of the necessity of an immediate recognition of American independence. As the discussion was expected to take place that day, lord Chatham appeared in the upper house, tottering under corporeal infirmities, and supported by his son, Mr. William Pitt, and his son-in-law lord Mahon. When the duke of Richmond had concluded his motion, lord Chatham rose, and, after lamenting that his bodily infirmities should have prevented his attending to his duty at so important a crisis, he declared that he made an effort beyond his strength to appear there that day, perhaps for the last time, to express his indignation at the idea of yielding up the sovereignty of America. He then proceeded to address their lordships in the following striking language:— “ I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture ; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation, by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people, so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Is it possible? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom ; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. Any state, my lords, is better than despair. Let us, at least, make one effort, and, if we must fall, let us fall like men.” The duke of Richmond requested his lordship to point out the mode of making the Americans renounce their independence, adding, that if he could not do it, no man could. Lord Chatham rose to reply, but pressing his hand to his heart, he sunk to the floor in a convulsive fit, and the house was cleared. On the 11th of May he expired, in the 70th year of his age. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, his debts paid by the nation, and an annuity of four thousand pounds, out of the civil list, was settled upon the earldom of Chatham.

General Burgoyne arriving from America, a court of inquiry into his conduct was appointed ; but the general officers of which it was composed reported, that in his then situation of prisoner of war to the congress, no cognizance could be taken of it. The general demanded a court martial, which was refused on the same grounds. He then brought his case before parliament, and motions were made, in both houses for an inquiry into the causes and circumstances of his surrender ; but they were defeated by the influence of the ministry. He was refused admittance to the royal presence, and was ordered to rejoin his troops, whom the congress refused to receive until the convention of Saratoga had been formally ratified by Great Britain. A violent general refused a compliance with this, and was therefore deprived of the command of all his military commands.

The grand armies passed the winter near to each other, in a state of total inaction. The British troops had taken up their quarters at Philadelphia ; the Americans were in huts at Valley Forge. Some predatory expeditions undertaken from Philadelphia in the spring, and others from Rhode Island, succeeded in the pillage and destruction of American property in the Jerseys, and on the banks of the Delaware, to a large amount. The Americans

complained of some of these things as being acts of cruelty and wanton aggression.

In the beginning of May, Congress received copies of the treaties of alliance and commerce concluded between France and the United States: the intelligence occasioned great public rejoicings, and raised the spirits of the people to the highest pitch. Soon after, sir Henry Clinton arrived at Philadelphia to take the command of the English army, in the place of sir William Howe, who returned home.

In the month of June, the three commissioners appointed by lord North's conciliatory bills, namely, the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone, arrived in the Delaware. The concessions which they were empowered to tender were so ample, that, at an earlier period, they could scarcely have failed of acceptance; but it was the misfortune of the English ministry to be always out of season with their measures of conciliation. However, they were submitted to the consideration of Congress, among whom they produced considerable debates; and on the 17th of June the president returned an answer. In this document it was remarked, that the acts of the British parliament, and other papers emanating from the ministry, were so framed as to imply that the people of the United States were subjects of the crown of Great Britain, which could not be admitted. It was further said, that they would be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition to that purpose; the only proof of which, however, would be, the explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

A war with France being now considered as inevitable, it was deemed expedient to evacuate Philadelphia; and accordingly general Clinton retired in the month of June to New York. The troops were transported across the Delaware without molestation; but in its march the army was harassed by American detachments, and by an advanced corps under general Lee, who had been exchanged and restored to his military station. The British were encumbered with such a quantity of baggage, including provisions which it was necessary to carry with them, that their line of march extended twelve miles, and the extreme heat of the weather rendered their advance still more slow and toilsome. Their course was directed to Sandy-Hook; but when they had arrived at a place called Freehold, they were overtaken by some detachments of the American army, and brought to a partial action on the 28th of June. The valour and good conduct of the British troops, and the skill of their commanders, extricated them with a moderate loss from their perilous situation, after fatigues, the severity of which may be estimated from the extraordinary circumstance, that fifty-nine of the soldiers actually died without a wound, merely from the effects of toil and the heat of the climate. They reached Sandy-Hook on the last day of June, whither lord Howe, with his fleet from the Delaware, had arrived on the preceding day.

The attention of the British government was now directed to the maritime preparations of France; and intelligence was obtained that thirty-two sail of the line, with ten or twelve frigates, were lying in Brest harbour. Great efforts were consequently made to collect a naval force, able to cope with that of the French. Admiral Keppel, who was destined to the command of the British fleet, arrived at Spithead on the 13th of June, only six sail of the line fit for immediate service. On the 13th of June, however, he was enabled to put to sea with a fleet of twenty ships, and the promise of a speedy addition. Proceeding to the Bay of Biscay, two French frigates, with two smaller vessels, were descried taking a survey of the fleet. As war had not yet been declared between England and France, it became a matter of delicacy to determine how to act on the occasion: the British admiral, however, thought it his duty to stop the frigates. One of these, the *Licorne*, having been brought into our fleet, a shot was fired across her way as a signal to her to keep her course, which she returned by firing a whole broadside into a seventy-four gun

ship, and then struck her colours. Notwithstanding this provocation, not a shot was returned. The other frigate, the *Belle Poule*, being overtaken by an English frigate, a desperate engagement ensued, in which the English ship was so much disabled in her masts and rigging, that she was unable to prevent her antagonist from escaping to the French coast. Another frigate was detained by admiral Keppel, though he allowed several French merchant ships to pass through the fleet unmolested. Having ascertained the decided superiority of the French fleet in point of numbers, the British admiral, wishing to avoid so unequal a contest, returned to Portsmouth. The seasonable arrival of the West India and Levant fleets produced a supply of seamen, which enabled the admiral to put to sea again, on the 9th of July, with twenty-four ships of the line, and on his way he was joined by six more. The French fleet, about the same time, sailed from Brest in three divisions, under the count D'Orvillieres, commander-in-chief, the count Duchaffault, and the duke de Chartres, afterwards duke of Orleans. The English fleet was also disposed in three divisions: the van commanded by sir Robert Harland, vice-admiral of the red; the rear by sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue; and the centre by admiral Keppel. The two fleets, the English of thirty, and the French of thirty-two ships of the line, and the latter much superior in the number of frigates, came in sight of each other on the 23d of July. After manœuvring several days, during which two of the French line-of-battle ships had been separated from the fleet, an action was brought on upon the 27th, which proved wholly undecisive, not a ship being taken on either side, though both fleets were much shattered; of men, the loss was the greatest on the part of the enemy. With so unproductive a result, it can hardly be expected that the country should be satisfied; it gave rise to considerable discussions both in and out of parliament, and the nation seemed not a little disappointed and dissatisfied. The French, on the contrary, considered it as a triumph that they came off on equal terms from a contest with the British navy. The latter, however, soon afterwards, displayed its usual superiority. Admiral Keppel, after refitting, put to sea again, and rode triumphant in the Channel for the remainder of the season, effectually protecting the English commerce, whilst that of the French suffered much from captures by the British cruisers.

In the month of April, a French squadron had been fitted out at Toulon, consisting of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, under the command of the count D'Estaign, having on board a large body of land forces. Its destination was known to be America, and sanguine hopes were entertained by the court of Versailles, that he would find the British fleet in the Delaware and the army in Philadelphia. A long continuance of adverse winds, however, protracted the voyage of this fleet across the Atlantic to eighty-seven days—a circumstance most propitious to the English, since, in all human probability, it saved both their fleet and their army. A passage of two months would have brought D'Estaign to the Delaware, while lord Howe was yet in the river; and such was the superiority of the French force, that the British fleet must have been captured or destroyed; an event which would certainly have been followed by the destruction of the army. On his arrival at the Capes of the Delaware, the French admiral, finding his plan disconcerted, sailed to Rhode Island, with the intention of attacking the English fleet as soon as it should appear off the coast; but though lord Howe followed him there, having reinforced his squadron, and though he endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, in order to bring him to action, a violent tempest which came on separated and damaged the two fleets so severely; that an engagement was rendered impracticable. The French, who were the greatest sufferers, bore away for Boston to refit. Lord Howe, having repaired his damages, followed them, and entered the bay of Boston; but he found the French admiral so advantageously anchored under the protection of land batteries, that he saw no prospect of a successful attack. General Sullivan had landed on Rhode Island, on the day the French had sailed from Newport harbour, and had begun to break ground against the British works; but the appearance of lord Howe, and the departure of the French

fleet, so much diminished his chance of success, that he was deserted by the volunteers, of whom half his force was composed, and he found it necessary to retreat. Thus a scheme was frustrated on which the Americans founded sanguine hopes; and they were led to complain loudly of the conduct of their new allies. Lord Howe, who returned from Boston to Rhode Island, finding the danger there at an end, proceeded to New York, where he resigned his commission, and sailed for England.

The season for prosecuting hostilities was now drawing towards a close, but military transactions were still carrying on with considerable activity. On the 7th of September, the island of Dominica, in the West Indies, was compelled to surrender to a French force under the command of the marquis de Bouille. It appears that at this time the intelligence from England to the West Indies was so defective, that admiral Barrington, who was stationed at Barbadoes with a naval force, was first informed of hostilities between the two nations by a document from Paris, published at Martinico in the middle of August.

In the northern states of America, a strong party of the American loyalists, called Tories, with some Indians, under the command of one colonel Butler, appeared on the river Susquehannah about the month of July, and proceeded to attack Wyoming, an extremely beautiful and prosperous settlement, consisting of eight townships, situated on that river. They defeated in the field the garrison of the principal fort, slaughtered all the rest, with the women and children, and carried fire and sword throughout the settlement, committing the most shocking cruelties. On the other hand, an expedition was undertaken by some Americans from the back of Virginia, against the Canadian settlements on the Mississippi, which they reduced, exacting from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to the United States, while other parties of them retaliated upon the Indians the barbarities they had exercised at Wyoming.

The province of Georgia was so remote from the scene of action, that, for a considerable time past, it had partaken but sparingly of the ravages of war. It was, however, towards the close of this year, invaded with some success by the British troops. Sir Henry Clinton detached colonel Campbell with a force of British and Hessians, escorted by a small squadron of ships of war commanded by commodore Hyde Parker, to that quarter. The expedition sailed from Sandy-Hook, November 27th, and arrived at the mouth of the river Savannah, December 23d. The troops on landing proceeded with little opposition to the town of Savannah, the capital of the colony; and having completely defeated the American force under Robert Howe, they obtained possession of the fort, with its garrison, the town, and the shipping of the river, without further resistance. The American general withdrew the remains of his army to South Carolina, and in a short time the whole province was reduced to submit to the British government, with the exception of the town of Sunbury, which afterwards yielded to a body of troops brought against it by general Prevost, governor of East Florida.

The occurrences of the war, in 1779, were not so important as to require any particular detail. The commander of the British forces in North America did not undertake any memorable expedition; but he prevented general Washington from profiting by the inactivity of the British army. He dispatched a small force to Virginia, which succeeded in capturing or destroying many of the American vessels, and considerable military stores; he dispossessed them of some forts on the river Hudson; and the province of Connecticut was furiously ravaged, without bringing Washington to its relief. To punish the savages for the cruelty which they had perpetrated either by the direction or with the connivance of the English, Washington dispatched general Sullivan toward the Susquehannah, and eighteen villages were destroyed in this incursion. In the north, the American marine suffered considerably. A British detachment, from Halifax, having established a post on the river Penobscot, the Americans equipped a force, consisting of ninety-seven armed vessels, which sailed from Boston, and arriving in the river on the 25th of July, began to batter the fort. The attacks were con-

tinued for a fortnight, when sir George Collier, with a squadron from New York, coming in sight, the Americans instantly left their works, and their vessels ran up the river. They were, however, pursued, and finding escape impracticable, they set fire to their vessels, all of which were destroyed, except one of twenty guns and another of eighteen both of which were captured by the English.

The arrival of the French on the coast of Georgia was an event which infused fresh courage into the Americans. The count D'Estaing had sent four thousand men against the island of St. Vincent, which the governor soon surrendered, as many of the inhabitants were disaffected, and the soldiers not sufficiently numerous for a vigorous defence. The French next attacked Grenada, which also surrendered. Count D'Estaing afterwards sailed for Georgia, having under his command twenty-six line-of-battle ships, with about nine thousand troops. He made a descent near Savannah, and commenced the siege of that capital; and after the formality of regular approaches, he had recourse to the vigour of an assault. Each division of the besiegers planted a standard on the walls; but being at length driven from the fortifications with great loss, they abandoned the siege. D'Estaing retired to his fleet, and quitting the American coast, proceeded with part of his ships to France, sending the rest to the West Indies. During these transactions, the British troops were withdrawn from Rhode Island, of which the Americans again took possession.

The session of parliament was near its close, when lord North apprised — the house of the intended hostilities of Spain. This was an event that had for some time been expected, and consequently it excited little surprise. His Catholic majesty, affecting a desire of peace, had persuaded the courts of London and Paris to send to Madrid their respective propositions, that he might communicate to each court the sentiments and offers of the other. But, as the French insisted on the confirmation of American independence, these mediatory efforts, of which the sincerity is very questionable, were ineffectual and nugatory. An aggressive manifesto was then issued by Spain, which was ably answered by Great Britain, and both parties prepared for vigorous hostilities.

The confederated powers of France and Spain immediately after this formed a grand plan for an expedition to the coast of England, but with what specific object in view does not appear. The French fleet, commanded by the count D'Orvillieres, sailed from Brest on the 4th of June, and forming a junction with that of Spain off Cadiz, they shaped their course northwards, and entered the Channel with the formidable display of more than sixty sail of the line, attended by a great number of frigates and sloops of war. The combined fleets appeared for two or three days before Plymouth, where they excited great alarm; but no attempt against that important place was made, and the enemy ranged for some time about the Land's End and the Scilly Islands. On the 31st of August, sir Charles Hardy entering the Channel with near forty sail of the line, was pursued by the combined fleets as far as Plymouth; but many of their ships being out of condition and the men in a very sickly state, they returned to Brest, having performed nothing worthy of one of the most powerful armaments ever seen in those seas. The celebrated siege of Gibraltar was also commenced during this summer, and it is probable that the reduction of that important fortress was a principal object of the court of Madrid in entering into the war.

Whilst Great Britain was thus beset with perils from a foreign confederacy, the spirit of discontent became prevalent in the empire itself, which considerably enhanced her difficulties, and embarrassed her rulers. The passing of a bill in favour of the English Roman-catholics, induced some gentlemen in Scotland to propose its extension to that country at the ensuing session of parliament. The populace caught the alarm, and the subject was taken up, first in some of their provincial synods, and then among the lower orders of the people in Edinburgh and Glasgow. In the former of these cities a mob assembled in the night of February 2d, which committed the most horrible excesses, pillaging and burning the Catholic chapels, and

several houses belonging to persons of that persuasion. Similar disturbances also took place at Glasgow, and these tumultuous proceedings prevented the bill that had been projected from being brought forward.

In Ireland the state of affairs was far from being peaceable and settled. It is but too true that the sister realm had been long treated more like an alien or a stranger than a friend. Her interests had been neglected, her commerce fettered and restricted, her people impoverished and oppressed. A free parliament, it was thought, would more studiously promote the prosperity of that country than a legislature dependent on that of Great Britain; and a free trade was also wished, its beneficial effects being so conspicuous in England. To promote the attainment of these great objects, the patriots of Ireland encouraged a popular union. Amidst the dread of foreign invasion, the government allowed the lieutenants of counties to give out arms to active and able-bodied men. Hoping to intimidate the court by a display of their strength, the gentry stimulated the people to form associations and learn the military exercise; and the volunteers soon became so numerous, that the public stores could not supply the extraordinary demand for arms. The purses of individuals were opened to make up the deficiency; and a great national force was embodied—"an army unauthorized by the laws, and uncontrolled by the government of the country." Ministers could not fail of looking with some apprehension on such a state of things; but they deemed it most prudent to concur in a scheme which it was now out of their power to defeat. The Irish nation, feeling its strength, now began to consider of its rights, and a free and unrestricted commerce was the object which it resolved to pursue.

The ill success of the war, the alarming situation in which the nation was placed, and the loud complaints against the ministry, frequently refuted by votes rather than by reasonings, had, at this time, widely diffused a spirit of discontent, which at the opening of this year manifested itself by numerous county meetings, for the purpose of framing petitions to parliament for the redress of grievances. In these the county of York took the lead, and a petition signed by persons of the first consequence, both clergy and laity, stated in strong terms the evils arising from the war, the wastefulness of expenditure, the unconstitutional influence acquired by the crown in consequence of the increase of places and pensions, and the urgent necessity of correcting these abuses before new burdens were imposed on the people. The county of Middlesex followed the example of York; and it was succeeded by a number of other counties and towns, some with greater, others with less unanimity. After the Christmas recess, these petitions were presented to the house of commons, sir George Saville leading the way with that of Yorkshire.

LETTER XIII.

Disgraceful Riots in London—Lord George Gordon committed to the Tower—A. D. 1780—Progress of the war in America—Naval transactions—Dreadful hurricane in the West Indies—Declaration of war against Holland. 1780—1781—Siege of Gibraltar, &c.

You have already been apprised of the tumultuous proceedings that took place in Scotland, A. D. 1780, in consequence of the intimation that had been given of a repeal of the penal laws against the Catholics. An association was formed in that country, having for its object to guard against any relaxation of the penal statutes against the adherents to the church of Rome, at the head of which was lord George Gordon, brother of the duke of Gordon, a man of singular character, compounded of enthusiasm, artifice, and folly. Mainly through his exertions a spirit was excited in the British metropolis, as hostile to the repeal of those laws as that which had appeared in the mobs of Edinburgh and Glasgow. As early as January 4th, a deputa-

tion from a body calling itself the Protestant Association, of which lord George was the patron or president, waited on lord North, to request him to present a petition to parliament against the law which had passed in favour of the English Catholics; but with that request his lordship absolutely refused to comply. During the subsequent session of parliament, lord George Gordon, who was a member of the house of commons, frequently interrupted its business by the introduction of topics relative to religion and the danger from popery, and by dividing the house on questions in which he stood entirely or almost alone. His dress and manner were equally singular with his language; but he was regarded by the house rather as an object of amusement than of any serious apprehension. The association in London, however, appears to have been secretly increasing in numbers; and on May 29th a meeting called by public advertisement having been held at Coach-maker's-hall, lord George Gordon took the chair, and made a vehement and inflammatory harangue, in which he endeavoured to persuade his auditors of the alarming progress of popery in the kingdom; and concluded by moving a resolution, that the whole body of the Protestant association should, on the following Friday, accompany him to the house of commons for the delivery of their petition. He declared that he would not present it if attended by fewer than twenty thousand men; and moved that they should be arranged in four divisions, one of them composed of the Scotch residents in London, and all distinguished by wearing blue cockades. These motions were all carried with great applause; and in addition to this public procedure, lord George gave notice to the house of commons of his intention to deliver the petition, with the day and manner in which it would be done.

On the 2d of June, the associated body, amounting to several thousands, assembled in St. George's-fields, and marshalling themselves as directed, they proceeded in great order to the house of commons. Although their demeanour was at first peaceable, their passions soon became inflamed, and they began to commit violent outrages on the persons of such members of both houses as came in their way, especially such as were connected with the government, or were regarded as promoters of the obnoxious bill. Within the house of commons, lord George Gordon, having brought up the petition, moved that it be taken into immediate consideration. This occasioned some debate, during which his lordship often went out to inform the mob what was passing, as well as who were the principal opponents of their cause. His motion was negatived by one hundred and ninety-two votes to six. After a considerable time spent in much confusion and alarm, a party of horse and foot-guards arrived, headed by one of the magistrates, who assured the mob that the soldiers should be ordered away if they would disperse. They accordingly did so from the environs of the houses of parliament, but it was for the purpose of demolishing two Romish chapels, one in Lincoln's Inn-fields, the other in Golden-square, which they effected without opposition. On the following day the tumult appeared to have nearly subsided, but this calm was only the prelude to a much more furious storm. In such a place as the metropolis, whatever be the cause that first collects a riotous assembly, it never fails to be joined by a crowd of turbulent banditti, whose sole view is pillage and mischief. In the present case, it cannot be doubted that the petitioners mustered in St. George's-fields were the dupes of fanatical zeal, and to them may be attributed the outrages of the first day. But it is probable that they had in general withdrawn before the subsequent widely extended scenes of destruction; and that, in fine, all the scum and dregs of the metropolis overflowed its streets, inflamed with a blind and indiscriminate rage for devastation and plunder. During four days, the most scandalous riot, pillage, and conflagration prevailed. Many houses, both of Catholics and Protestants, were destroyed, among which may be specified the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. Newgate and other places of confinement were burnt, the prisoners having been first released; and so extensive was the havoc, that a dread of the general demolition of the city began to agitate the terrified inhabitants. The night of June 7th was particularly terrific and alarming. The prisons of the Fleet and King's-

bench were fiercely blazing—thirty fires were seen at one instant—individuals were running in every direction, some removing their effects for the purpose of security, some feloniously carrying off the property of others. Shouts of barbarous transport were heard intermingled with the appalling roar of musketry, the yell of intoxication, and the shriek of horror.

Amidst scenes so disgraceful to humanity, two hundred and ten persons were shot, and seventy-five others died of their wounds. Such was the statement furnished by a military return; but it should be observed, in addition to this, that many were crushed by the fall of houses, and others perished in the flames; and that in the conflagration of a distillery, many destroyed themselves by drinking spirituous liquors to excess. It is remarkable, that for some days both ministers and magistrates seemed to be sunk into a state of torpid inactivity, and to have been infected with no less terror than the inhabitants in general. The supineness of the magistrates, and the timidity of the ministers, indeed, became the universal topic of remark and censure; for it was not until the night of Wednesday that the military force was rendered adequate to the exigence of the case. But troops now poured into London from all quarters, and the king issued an order, that the soldiers should use their arms against the rioters without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate. From such exertions tranquillity was soon restored. The author of these calamitous proceedings, lord George Gordon, was apprehended, and, under a strong escort, committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried on a charge of high-treason, and acquitted, his crime not appearing to the jury to answer that description. A special commission was issued for the trial of a great number of the rioters that had been apprehended, many of whom underwent the full rigour of the law.

Calamitous as these proceedings certainly had been, and deeply to be deplored government was eventually a great gainer by them. The minds of the public became strongly impressed with the danger arising from popular meetings for political purposes; the result of which was, that the county associations for promoting reform fell into discredit, and were deserted by many persons who had previously lent them their countenance and support.

But it is now time to turn from domestic to foreign occurrences, which, nevertheless, yielded no pleasing prospect on which the eye could repose with much satisfaction. Admiral Geary, who had succeeded to the command of the Channel fleet on the death of sir Charles Hardy, sailed early in June with twenty-three ships of the line under his command, and was afterwards joined by five or six more. In the beginning of July he fell in with a homeward-bound fleet from the French West Indies, of which he captured twelve merchantmen; the rest, with the convoying ships of war, made their escape in a fog. He then proceeded southward as far as Cape Finisterre, in the hope of intercepting a detached squadron of French and Spanish ships of war. About the end of the month, a large and valuable fleet of English merchant ships, bound for the East and West Indies, under convoy of a man of war and two or three frigates, sailed from Portsmouth, and unfortunately came in the way of the combined fleets under the command of Don Cordova, when five East Indiamen and above fifty West Indiamen fell into their hands, and were carried into Cadiz. This was a severe stroke to the commerce of Great Britain: such a prize had never before entered the harbour. Besides the usual commodities, the East Indiamen had on board, arms, artillery, ammunition, and military stores, which were greatly wanted in that quarter, as well as a considerable supply of soldiers. About the same time intelligence was also received, that great part of a valuable outward-bound fleet, destined for Quebec, had fallen into the hands of some privateers on the banks of Newfoundland.

On the return of the English fleet into port, admiral Geary resigned the command into the hands of admiral Darby, it having been previously refused by admiral Barrington. In the month of September the Channel fleet put to sea again, and in November fell in with a French squadron, much superior in number, but in so wretched a condition, that neither party seem-

ed disposed to engage ; and after exchanging a few shots, the fleets separated without injuring each other.

In America several events transpired, during the autumn of this year, which deserve to be mentioned. A French squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line and five frigates, arrived at Rhode Island on July 11th, with six thousand troops on board, under the command of count Rochambeau, and commenced their operations in concert with the American army. On the 15th of August, lord Cornwallis gained a complete victory at Camden, over general Gates, who lost more than eight hundred men in killed, and one thousand taken prisoners, while the loss of the British scarcely exceeded three hundred. Several other skirmishes took place about this time, in one of which colonel Tarleton, with his legion, surprised the American officer Sumpter at the Fords of Catawba, and entirely routed him with a considerable loss in killed and prisoners. This advantage, however, was counterbalanced by the loss of colonel Ferguson, who, having been dispatched by lord Cornwallis, with a corps of light infantry and militia, to make incursions on the borders of North Carolina, was pursued on his return by a large force of cavalry, and being overtaken, was killed, with one hundred and fifty of his men, and eight hundred more were taken prisoners.

Soon after this event an incident occurred, which excited considerable interest at the time, and certainly forms one of the memorable events of the war. General Arnold had, from the beginning of the contest, signalized himself by his daring intrepidity and courage. In the early part of the war, he deserted the American standard, effected his escape to New York, and was made a brigadier-general in the British service. He had been accused of extortion and speculation, and sentenced by a court-martial to be reprimanded. These prosecutions were met on his part by loud complaints of injustice and ingratitude ; and though his past merits were appreciated by general Washington, who received him once more into favour, and he was placed in a situation of considerable rank and trust in the army, his mind became from this time quite alienated from his country. He secretly negotiated with sir Henry Clinton, to deliver up the post and the troops under his command to the British general. The person employed by the latter, for the purpose of conferring with Arnold and settling the plan of operations, was major André, an adjutant-general in the British army, an officer of the most amiable personal qualities, whose open and candid disposition probably rendered him less fit for such an undertaking than one more practised in artifices would have been. The post which Arnold now occupied was the command of West-point, on the north of Hudson's river, the loss of which, with the troops attached to it, would have been a severe blow to the American army in that quarter.

On the 21st of September, André was landed by night from a British sloop of war, and was received by Arnold, who conducted him to his camp, where he remained during that night and the following day. The British uniform, which he wore under his surtout, was now exchanged for a common dress ; and Arnold not having it in his power to convey him back by the way in which he came, he was sent on the second night through a remote part of the camp, provided with a horse and passport, and under the name of Anderson, to explore his way back to New York. He passed the outpost of the army in safety ; but on the following morning, he was stoped by three young volunteers, who examined his passport. At first they appeared satisfied, but suspicions occurring to the mind of one of them, he was more strictly examined, and, unaccustomed to deception, he disclosed himself by attempting to bribe his captors with a large sum of money, which, though in a humble rank of life, they honourably refused. André was consequently led to head-quarters, where papers were found upon him in Arnold's hand-writing, containing exact returns of the troops and ordnance at West-point, with a variety of information of what had passed at a council of war ; but nothing could be obtained from him respecting the writer, till Arnold was apprised of his danger, and had time to escape. The commanders of the British forces, finding that André was detected and in custody, demanded his release on various grounds ;

but general Washington summoned a council of officers to determine on the case. André's own confession was sufficient to fix upon him the character of a spy; and the dangerous extent of the attempted treachery, in their opinion, prohibited any relaxation of the punishment attached to it by the laws of war. The unfortunate officer only deprecated the ignominious mode in which he was doomed to forfeit his life; but, though he was treated in every other respect with humane sympathy, his sentence was rigorously executed, and not the smallest remission of it could be obtained. He met his unhappy fate with the bravery of a man and a soldier, and his memory was honoured with a monument in Westminster Abbey. Arnold, who had made good his escape to the British army, was made a brigadier-general, and now declared the most violent hostility to the American cause.

In the autumn of this year, 1780, the West Indies experienced one of the most tremendous hurricanes ever known in those parts. It commenced October 3d at Jamaica, when an irruption of the sea swept away the town of Savannah, with three hundred of its inhabitants. It did not reach the island of Barbadoes till the 11th of that month, when Bridgetown, the capital, was destroyed, with the loss of some thousand lives. The British and French islands equally partook of this calamity, and their shores were covered with the wrecks of ships belonging to different countries. Admiral Rodney, apprised of the danger of New York, had sailed thither in September, and, fortunately, thereby escaped the effects of this dreadful hurricane. It deserves to be recorded for the honour of humanity, that the marquess de Bouillé sent a flag of truce to commodore Hotham, with a message, accompanying some English sailors, declaring that he could not consider as enemies men who had escaped on his coast from the rage of the elements, and who from mere compassion were entitled to every relief which, in such a season of general calamity, could be afforded. The British squadron under admiral Rowley, convoying the Jamaica trade to Europe, also suffered severely from the hurricane; several of the ships, with that of the admiral, were obliged to put back disabled, and two ships of the line, one a sixty-four, and the other a seventy-four, were totally lost, in addition to which several frigates and other armed vessels were wrecked.

An affair happened in the month of September which proved of considerable political importance, in as much as it developed the hostile views of the States of Holland towards Great Britain. The *Mercury*, an American packet, having been captured by the Vestal frigate, Mr. Laurens, late president of the American Congress, was found on board; and his papers, which had been thrown overboard and dexterously fished up again, disclosed the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the States-general and the American provinces. Mr. Laurens was brought to England on the 6th of October, and committed to close confinement in the Tower, under a charge of high-treason as a British subject. On his examination he declined answering questions, but his papers furnished sufficient information of the projected treaty, which he was bringing to a conclusion with M. Van Berkel, the grand pensionary, who was the ostensible party on the side of Holland. Sir Joseph Yorke, the British ambassador at the Hague, was instructed to lay those papers before the States-general, with a strong memorial, in the way of complaint, respecting such a correspondence carried on with his majesty's rebellious subjects, at the same time demanding a formal disavowal on the part of the States, and the punishment of Van Berkel, as well as the other persons engaged in it. No immediate answer was given to this memorial, but a counter remonstrance was made by the Dutch minister in London, respecting some violence said to have been committed at the Dutch West India island of St. Martin, in seizing some American vessels under the cannon of the fort. A second memorial was presented to the States by sir Joseph Yorke in December, requiring a categorical answer; and no other being given than that the States had taken the matter *ad referendum*, the English ambassador was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and war was declared against Holland on the 20th of December. Thus was Great Britain engaged with a fourth enemy, without a single ally.

The country had now been engaged in a war with the colonists between five and six years; and so far were we from attaining the object in pursuit of which we set out, that, at the end of each succeeding year, the cause became less and less hopeful. It has frequently been contended, that the war was a popular one, both at the commencement and during the progress of the contest; but the assertion wants proof; and when referred to the general sense of the country, may reasonably be doubted. That many individuals besides the court lent their sanction to the measure, is unquestionably true; but the opposers of the war, both among the middle and lower classes, appear to have been more numerous, though the minister was very successful in securing his confiding majorities in both houses of parliament. But the warmth with which the enterprise had been undertaken, had now, in many minds, given place to more sober reflection; and the want of success, connected with the enormous expediture to which the country was necessarily subjected in carrying it on, to say nothing of the defeat and disaster that it entailed upon England, began at this juncture to open the eyes of many, both in and out of parliament, who had hitherto blindly lent their support to the measures of the cabinet; and they resolved to exert their influence in putting an end to the contest.

The campaign of 1781 had opened with very favourable prospects to the British arms in America, but before the session of parliament had closed, accounts had been received from that quarter, which completely falsified the flattering prospects held out by the king's speech at the opening of the session. We shall soon have occasion to notice these disastrous events in detail; in the mean time it may suffice to say, that the Gazette had announced the battle of Guilford, by which it appeared that the army of lord Cornwallis, ruined even by its own victories, had been obliged to abandon its hard-won conquests, and retire to the sea-side. On the 12th of June, Mr. Fox moved for a vote of the house, grounded upon the intelligence recently received, to recommend to his majesty's ministers every possible measure for restoring peace with America. In this debate Mr. Pitt distinguished himself for the second time, by a forcible display of eloquence against the minister. He inveighed with great energy against the unnatural, unhallowed, and accursed principle of the war in which we were engaged, pronouncing it to contain every characteristic of human depravity, and to portend every human mischief to the wretched people who had engendered it:—a war which drew the blood, the very sustenance, from the vitals of the country; which brought victories and defeats that were equally to be deplored; which filled the land with sorrow for our own devoted countrymen, slain in the cause of injustice, or recorded the virtuous struggles of their opponents, bleeding in the holy defence of their liberty. In the course of the discussion, the speakers on either side painted in lively colours the hopes and fears, the obstacles and probabilities of recovering America. The expediency and the evils of yielding so mighty a portion of the empire were contrasted and strongly argued; even the very right and legality of ceding it was discussed. At midnight, a majority of one hundred and seventy-two to ninety-nine rejected Mr. Fox's proposal. The session of parliament was closed by a speech from the throne on the 18th of July; and for the first time the royal address intimated, though indistinctly, hopes of peace.

We shall now direct our attention to the martial transactions of the country, which in the course of this year were very numerous, and highly important.

Of the military occurrences, the first that claims our notice was a renewed attempt of the French on the island of Jersey. The baron de Rullecourt landed about eight hundred men on the 6th of January, and leaving a part of them in a redoubt in Gronville-bay, which he had surprised, proceeded with the rest, before day-break, to the town of St. Helier, which he entered without opposition, and took possession of the market-place. Having made prisoners of the lieutenant-governor, the magistrates and principal inhabitants, he dictated a capitulation to the whole island, threatening instant destruction to the town should his proposition be refused. The capitulation

was accordingly signed by the lieutenant-governor, who appears to have been panic-stricken, and to have lost all presence of mind on the occasion. Elizabeth Castle was then summoned by the French commandant, but the officers in the garrison refused to pay any regard to a surrender made under such circumstances, and fired on the French troops as they advanced. In the mean time, the militia and other force which the neighbourhood supplied was collected by major Pierson, a spirited young officer, who disposed them advantageously on the heights above the town; and to a message from Rullecourt, requiring him to comply with the terms of the capitulation, he replied by saying, that if he and his troops did not surrender themselves prisoners of war within twenty minutes, they should be attacked. This event followed: the French were driven from street to street to the market-place, where their commanding officer, who had obliged the lieutenant-governor to stand close by his side, fell under several mortal wounds. Major Pierson, too, in the moment of victory, received a shot through the heart, and his death was a circumstance which threw a damp upon a success that was rendered complete by the capture or destruction of the whole of the invading party.

From the earliest commencement of hostilities with the house of Bourbon, the views of Spain were fixed upon the recovery of Gibraltar. The latest relief which had been afforded to that garrison was by the fleet under the command of lord Rodney, in the spring of the year 1780; their provisions were therefore become scanty, and very unwholesome through long keeping. Cut off as they were for supplies from the Barbary coast, their ancient market, the garrison and inhabitants were now suffering under the most distressing privation of the necessaries of life. When their situation was known in England, twenty-eight sail of the line under admiral Darby were dispatched with a convoy for relieving them, as well as to keep at bay the threatened descent of the Spaniards. Having succeeded in sending in the convoy to Gibraltar, and some large ships to cover them, the British admiral took his station at the mouth of the Straits, to watch the motions of the Spanish fleet, which had sailed into Cadiz, not wishing to risk an engagement. In the mean time, the Spanish gun-boats came out of Algeiras bay to cannonade the English shipping, as a prelude to the general attack of the fortress which was soon to take place. In the course of a week after the English fleet had moored in the harbour, the bombardment of the town took place, and immediately the whole bay and rock, by the incessant fire kept up on each side, exhibited one continued flake of fire. It was computed that the enemy must have expended *daily*, during three weeks, from the first attack, more than a thousand barrels of gunpowder, of one hundred pounds weight each, and from four to five thousand shots and shells. This tremendous cannonading continued for several months, though, after the first four weeks, on a much reduced scale, as no powers of supply could support such an expenditure.

General Elliot returned from the garrison, for some considerable time, a most effective and tremendous fire. His loss, however, during the severest of the bombardment, did not correspond to the magnitude of the siege; for the return that was made of the whole, from the 12th of April to the end of June, amounted to only one commissioned officer and fifty-two privates killed, and to seven officers, and two hundred and fifty-three others wounded. The horrible effects of these hostilities fell more severely on the wretched inhabitants; many of whom were buried under the ruins of their own houses, shattered to pieces by the shells that burst in thousands on every side. The vaults and cellars, which could alone afford shelter, were filled by the soldiers of the garrison; and happy did the individuals whose influence could procure them admission to these places of security account themselves, if they were allowed a few hours of repose, amid all the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded that were brought in from the works.

Though the town itself must necessarily have suffered severely by the cannonading that was so furiously kept up upon it during the whole summer months, the damage was thought too trifling to give any concern to the de-

fenders; but the duty and fatigue of the garrison were extremely great. The inhabitants about three thousand in number, consisting of two thousand Catholics and one thousand Jews, took the earliest opportunity of retiring from a situation so full of danger, and removed either to England or the adjacent countries. And the Spaniards began to find, that though they might destroy the lives and property of individuals, they could not secure their object by all their efforts, which were consequently suspended towards the close of the summer.

In the meanwhile, general Elliot appeared to be actively employed in strengthening his means of defence, while in reality he was meditating a tremendous attack on the enemy's camp. Having satisfied himself, that the preparations of the Spaniards had arrived at the utmost possible perfection, he conceived a project of frustrating all their mighty efforts, by attacking, storming, and destroying their works. He occupied the greatest part of the autumn in maturing his plans, and completing his arrangements for carrying into effect his grand design. His object was to attack the fortifications on every side at the same moment of time; and to effect this purpose, he distributed his various forces where the several parts of it could respectively be most efficient, and in such relative positions as rendered co-operation at once easy, expeditious, and impressive. To fertility of invention, the genius of Elliot united a comprehensiveness of mind, which grasped objects in all their bearings and relations; and to this was added a cool and vigorous judgment, and nice discrimination. He adjusted his plan with the greatest exactness in all its departments, making provision at the same time for every possible contingency. The time fixed for carrying this bold enterprise into effect, was a dark night during the month of November. Accordingly, on the 27th of that month, at three o'clock in the morning, the British force was put in motion, and marched in the following order:—The troops were divided into three columns; the centre was commanded by the Hanoverian lieutenant-colonel Duchenhause; the column on the right, by lieutenant-colonel Hugo, of the same corps; and the body on the left, by lieutenant-colonel Trigg, of the 12th regiment: the reserve was led by major Maxwell of the 73d; a party of seamen, in two divisions, was conducted by the lieutenants Campbell and Muckle of the Brilliant and Porcupine royal frigates; and the whole body was headed by brigadier-general Ross. In each column there was an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, a party of artillery-men carrying combustibles, a sustaining corps, and a reserve in the rear. With such silence did they march, that the enemy had not the smallest suspicion of their approach, until an universal attack conveyed the astounding intimation. The ardour of the British troops was every where irresistible. The Spaniards surprised, astonished, confounded, and dismayed, fled with the utmost precipitation, and abandoned those immense works which had cost them so much labour, time, and expense, in preparing. The whole efforts of Spanish power and skill for two years,—the mighty object of their pride and exultation, were, in the short space of two hours, destroyed by British genius, aiding British intrepidity, ardour, and skill. The most astonishing exertions were made by the pioneers and artillery-men, who spread their fire with such rapidity, that in half an hour, two mortar-batteries, consisting of ten mortars of thirteen inch diameter, the batteries of heavy cannon, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames, and every thing subject to the action of fire, was finally reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms destroyed. The magazines blew up one after another in the course of the conflagration; and before day-break the British troops, having completely executed their grand project, returned to the garrison.

Though the spirit of loyalty, which the victory obtained at Camden had revived in the Carolinians, received a check by the defeat and death of major Ferguson; lord Cornwallis was nevertheless so considerably reinforced by the accession of two thousand six hundred men from England, under the command of general Leslie, that he still cherished the hope of penetrating from the South into North Carolina. He also relied upon obtaining consi-

derable support, and succours from the army of the North. The reduction of Charlestown, and the submission of South Carolina, were considered by ministers as a happy presage of the success which was to crown the British arms with glory during this campaign, and of the desire of the colonists to return to their connexion with the mother-country. Unhappily, the exaggerated statements of deserters were received by them as the most authentic testimony. The defection of general Arnold, too, was another circumstance which tended to strengthen their hopes of recovering the colonies. They considered his manifesto, which described both the weakness and discontent of the American army, as unquestionable evidence. On such superficial views and feeble reasoning were their expectations and plans founded. It was thought that general Clinton, in consequence of the reported weakness and disaffection of Washington's army, would not only be able to afford that body full employment in the vicinity of New York, but also to co-operate powerfully with the army of the South, subdue such of the Americans as were still refractory, and enable the well-affected to declare their sentiments, and assert their loyalty. Such was the theory on which the plan of the campaign was constructed. Its prominent object was, that lord Cornwallis should traverse the interjacent provinces, unite his force with Arnold, and penetrating into Virginia, attack the marquis de la Fayette, an active partisan of the Americans, while sir Henry Clinton should, in the North, oppose general Washington and count Rochambeau, commander of the French troops in that quarter.

Lord Cornwallis, who had been making preparations even before the close of the former year, began to put his army in motion as early as the month of January, and advanced towards the borders between the Broad and the Catawba rivers, whilst general Greene, an officer of high reputation, who had succeeded general Gates on the resignation of the latter, made a diversion on Fort Ninetysix at the same time. Colonel Morgan, who had acquired distinction as a partisan in the northern war, advanced with a force of Virginia regulars and militia upon the Pacolet river. General Tarleton, who was on that side with his legion of cavalry and light infantry, with some other troops, was directed to attack Morgan's detachment. He accordingly advanced upon the latter, who retreated, till finding himself unable, without great danger, to cross the Broad river, which, owing to the swelling of the waters, had overflowed its bounds, he on the 18th of January took his ground for an engagement. Posting his men with great judgment, he received the impetuous attack of Tarleton in such a manner, that the forces of the latter, by an unexpected charge, were thrown into irretrievable disorder, and totally defeated with great loss. Tarleton rallied a part of his cavalry, and repelling an attack of that of the enemy, succeeded in bringing them away. On hearing of his defeat, lord Cornwallis dispatched a part of his army to intercept Morgan, but without success. Afterwards, divesting himself of every incumbrance, he pursued general Greene, who retreated before him. A long and fatiguing march ensued, in which hardships of every kind were experienced by the British army, and sustained with the greatest courage and perseverance, whilst in all the skirmishes to which they became exposed from hostile parties on their march, they proved victorious. At length, on the 15th of March, lord Cornwallis came in view of Greene's army, drawn up in line of battle, near Guilford Court-house, in number much exceeding his own. An engagement accordingly took place: the action was long, greatly diversified, and ably contested. It ended in the rout and retreat of the Americans, whom, however, the British army was not in a condition to pursue; and Cornwallis found it necessary to draw back his fatigued troops to the vicinity of Wilmington, in North Carolina, which town had previously been reduced by an expedition from Charlestown, and where they arrived on the 7th of April. The victory proved to be a dear bought one on the part of the British; their loss amounted to nearly a third of their whole strength; and indeed the whole fruits of the victory were insignificant, though the price was high, as the victorious general, instead of advancing, was obliged to leave a number of his wounded to the care of the enemy, and to proceed

for safety, and the bare necessaries of life, on a dreary march of six hundred miles, through woods, creeks, and morasses, in a wild, inhospitable, and hostile country, in which he had to encounter the severest hardships.

By the retreat of lord Cornwallis into Virginia, lord Rawdon was left alone in Carolina, to watch the motions of the army under the command of general Greene. The British force in this quarter was now so much diminished, and their provisions so scanty, that their commander was compelled to decline the proffered assistance of a body of loyalists, from absolute inability to afford them maintenance. Lord Rawdon was posted at Camden, when Greene, with two thousand men, took up his station at Hobkirke's-hill, a distance of about two miles, on the brow of a rocky steep, flanked on the left by a deep swamp. Though his own force did not amount to one thousand men, lord Rawdon determined not to wait the approach of the enemy, but sallied from his intrenchments before their numbers could receive a further accession, and killed or destroyed five hundred of Greene's army. By this gallant exploit, which took place on the 25th of April, lord Rawdon escaped being besieged by a superior force in Camden, and had a reinforcement been promptly sent him, it would have enabled him to stand his ground; but by the conflict his small band was reduced to eight hundred men, while the Americans, though defeated, were rapidly recruiting: and thus the valiant British officer was checked in the career of victory, and obliged to act on the defensive until fresh troops arrived. At length part of the expected reinforcement made its appearance at Charlestown, and the British general marched downwards to effect a junction. In his absence, Greene invested the strong post of Ninety-six, and at the same time sent a detachment to besiege the fortress of Augusta in Georgia. Under an apprehension that lord Rawdon would speedily return, Greene attempted to take the Fort Ninety-six by assault; but the garrison made so vigorous a defence, that the Americans were compelled to retire. The day after their retreat, lord Rawdon arrived, when he learned that the Americans had succeeded in taking Augusta, and that the besiegers had rejoined the army of Greene. The force of the Americans was now so powerful in this quarter, that great numbers of the provincials who had professed allegiance to Britain, threw off the mask and avowed their hostility. Perceiving dangers of various kinds to be gathering around him, lord Rawdon found himself reduced to the necessity of abandoning Fort Ninety-six, that he might concentrate his forces for the defence of the lower province, and especially the capital. On his march he learnt that a detachment of Americans was posted at Congaroe Creek, and he immediately hastened to the spot. The enemy, by breaking down a bridge, endeavoured to impede the progress of the British troops; but the latter advanced with surprising quickness; a party of them waded through the river, drove the enemy from its banks, and secured a passage for the rest of the army. After this, lord Rawdon made many attempts to bring Greene to action; but the cautious American, instructed by experience, skillfully avoided an encounter. Lord Rawdon's health soon after this obliged him to return to England, when the command in South Carolina devolved on colonel Stuart. In a little time, Greene having both reinforced his army in number, and improved his troops by discipline, resolved to attack the British forces. On the 8th of September he put his design in execution, and attacked colonel Stuart at the Eutaws. Great numbers were killed on both sides, but without producing any decisive event, though the result, upon the whole, was in favour of the enemy; and the British, from this time, were reduced to the necessity of confining their operations to the vicinity of Charlestown.

After the battle of Guilford, lord Cornwallis had marched to Wilmington, in North Carolina, from whence he proceeded in his intended expedition into Virginia. His progress was for some time unresisted, and signalized by the destruction of all the stores and military resources by which the enemy had organized their resistance in that province. At Halifax he defeated some of the enemy's troops, and in less than a month he made good his march from Wilmington to Petersburg. On the 20th of May he formed a junction with the army which Phillips had commanded, and had the further

gratification of finding it reinforced by one thousand eight hundred men, from the head-quarters of general Clinton. The only force which his lordship had to encounter in Virginia, was that under the command of La Fayette—a force so indifferently appointed, that in writing his military dispatches, his lordship expressed the most unqualified assurance of being able to overtake and subdue them. The marquis, however, not only eluded pursuit, but contrived incessantly to harass the outposts of the British, till the accumulating misfortunes of the British cause enabled him to change his desultory warfare into a more effective plan of hostilities.

But it was reserved for the genius of Washington, by one important blow, to put an end to this harassing and tedious campaign. Sir Henry Clinton, instead of reinforcing the British army in Virginia, bent his whole attention to the defence of New York, against which he apprehended an attack from the combined armies of France and America. To confirm him in this apprehension, the genius of Washington devised a stratagem, which successfully imposed on the sagacity, or rather credulity, of the British commander-in-chief. General Clinton had intercepted many of the American dispatches in the course of his command, and published them in the New York papers. Washington, now, to impose upon him, wrote letters to various officers, declaring that the only effectual way of saving Virginia was by attacking New York, in conjunction with the French troops, which he asserted would be soon attempted; for that he was much alarmed at the success of a general, whom, from experience, he knew to be so fertile in resources, so vigorous in decision, and so prompt and expeditious in improving every advantage! These letters were, according to the writer's intention, also intercepted, and completely imposed upon the British commander-in-chief. Still further to encourage the deception, Washington, accompanied by the principal officers of his staff, and attended by the engineers, reconnoitred the island of New York closely on both sides from the opposite shore; and to render appearances more certain, took plans of all the works, under the fire of their batteries. At this time the arrival of the count de Grasse was hourly looked for by the combined generals, who resolved to proceed by forced marches to Virginia, not doubting that the mass of land and sea forces which would then be united would overwhelm lord Cornwallis, unassisted as he must be by the commander-in-chief. On the 19th of August they commenced their march; and Clinton considered their departure merely in the light of a feint to cover their designs on New York. They, however, proceeded to Virginia, where they formed a junction with the army of La Fayette. About the same time, De Grasse arrived with his fleet from Europe, and blocked up York river with his ships, while his land forces effected a junction with the Americans.

Intelligence had been dispatched by sir George Rodney to admiral Graves, that the French fleet was destined for the Chesapeak, and that sir Samuel Hood was on his way to the same place, in expectation of meeting with admiral Graves and the New York squadron; but the dispatches having been unfortunately intercepted, did not reach the admiral. Sir Samuel Hood arrived off the Chesapeak on the 25th of August, and being disappointed in his expectations of finding admiral Graves there, proceeded to New York, which he reached on the 28th; and three days after, the united squadrons sailed for the Chesapeak, where they arrived on the 5th of September, with nineteen ships of the line, when they discovered the French fleet at anchor, amounting to twenty-four sail of the line. A partial engagement took place, in which several British ships were considerably damaged, but without any decisive event on either side. The hostile armaments continued in sight of each other for five successive days; but tempestuous weather having considerably increased the damage of the British fleet, they returned to New York to refit. Meanwhile Barras, who had succeeded M. de Torney in commanding the French naval force on the North American station, formed a junction with De Grasse, by which means the British army under lord Cornwallis was enclosed and surrounded by an immense naval force, and an army

of twenty-one thousand men, whilst his own corps did not exceed six thousand.

Conceiving it impossible that sir Henry Clinton could be so completely outwitted as he evidently was, lord Cornwallis expected speedy succours, and made the most vigorous dispositions for defending himself till they should arrive: he contracted his posts, and concentrated his means of defence, while the enemy instantaneously occupied those positions which the British general had abandoned. The trenches were opened by both armies in the night between the 6th and 7th of October; the batteries were covered with little less than one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; and their attacks were carried on with the utmost energy. In a few days most of the British guns were silenced, and the defence rendered hopeless. An express, however, having arrived from New York, informing lord Cornwallis that he might rely on receiving immediate succours, he strenuously persevered in his resistance. Two redoubts on the left of the British greatly impeded the progress of the siege. The second parallel of the enemy being now finished, they resolved to open their batteries on those works on the 14th of October. The British forces employed every effort to defend the fortifications, but were overborne by the immense superiority of number. Lord Cornwallis saw that it would be impossible to withstand a general assault, for which the enemy was now prepared. Finding no succours likely to arrive, and himself surrounded on every side, he conceived a design of forcing his way through a part of the enemy, and making his escape; but on mature deliberation, he found it would be impossible to effect it. Thus hemmed in by a very superior army, through no rashness of his own, but in the skilful and vigorous execution of his part of a concerted plan, this brave general had no alternative, but either to sacrifice his gallant army without answering any purpose, or to surrender. On the latter of these he at last resolved; and on the 19th of October surrendered by an honourable capitulation. The army, consisting of between five thousand and six thousand men, capitulated to general Washington; but such was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only three thousand eight hundred capable of bearing arms: the vessels in the harbour surrendered to count de Grasse. At length sir Henry Clinton set out from New York to attempt the relief of lord Cornwallis, two months after the departure of Washington and Rochambeau had left him at liberty to proceed to the relief of the distressed army. He brought with him seven thousand land forces, with a fleet which was now reinforced by admiral Digby, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line. He had previously informed lord Cornwallis, that the fleet might be expected to sail from New York on or about the 5th of October; and afterwards, from the assurances given him by the admiral, that it might pass the bar by the 12th of October, wind and weather permitting. Yet the fleet did not finally leave Sandy-Hook till the 19th, the day on which lord Cornwallis surrendered! The troops were embarked, and the fleet put to sea; but it was with extreme mortification that, when it arrived off the Capes of Virginia on the 24th of the month, they received such accounts as led them to believe that the fate of the unfortunate army was already decided. They, however, lingered off the mouth of the Chesapeake until the fact was placed beyond all dispute; and as the relief of lord Cornwallis and his army had been the sole object of the expedition, the admiral determined to return to New York. The last letter written by lord Cornwallis to the commander-in-chief, acquainting him with the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester, and relating the cause that led to that event, with the motives which had influenced his own conduct, produced a difference between them, which terminated in an appeal to the public.

Such was the fate of the gallant southern army and its brave commander, from whose skilful enterprises, and well-earned reputation, the most sanguine hopes were entertained, that the most valuable of the colonies would be recovered, and that the war with them would be brought to a successful termination. The experience which he had derived during his residence

there, fully satisfied him, that the information on which the minister and his adherents relied, respecting the friendly disposition of the Americans towards his country, was utterly unfounded; that every attempt to recover the country through the Americans themselves was chimerical, as much as every idea of reducing it by force. He was now convinced, that the plan had been concerted upon mistaken principles; and he had himself fatally learned, that though he, and the troops under his command, had done their utmost, there was almost an equal deficiency of support and co-operation for its execution. The surrender at York Town was the concluding scene of offensive war with America. All the profuse expenditure of British wealth, all the mighty efforts of British power, all the splendid achievements of British valour, though guided by British talents and skill, proved ineffectual: the momentous exertions of a war so wasteful of blood and treasure, were for ever lost.

The naval occurrences of the year 1781, which now demand our attention, were not inferior in moment to those of a military cast which have just been detailed. Early in the year an expedition was fitted out from the Havannah, under the command of Don Galvez, intended against Pensacola; but a violent hurricane, in which four capital ships, with several of inferior consideration, were lost, compelled him to return to port. The fleet was however refitted, and on the 9th of March appeared before Pensacola, with seven thousand or eight thousand troops. After a gallant defence by general Campbell, the place capitulated; and with it fell into the possession of Spain the province of West Florida, one of the principal acquisitions by the treaty of Paris.

It has been already mentioned, that admiral Darby having effected the relief of Gibraltar, endeavoured in vain to bring the Spanish fleet to action; he therefore returned to protect the English channel. In the interim, M. de Guichen, perceiving that the British fleet no longer interposed between Brest and Cadiz, sailed with eighteen ships of the line to join the Spanish fleet, and to support it in the invasion of Minorca, which, next to Gibraltar, was the principal European object of Spanish ambition. They sailed for Cadiz in the end of July, having ten thousand troops on board: proceeding with these to the Mediterranean, they left them at Minorca, and returning to the Atlantic, shaped their course to the English channel, with forty-nine ships of the line—a force so formidable, as to threaten at once the interception of our commerce from the West Indies, and even the destruction of the British navy. By this bold manœuvre they hoped at once to prevent succours from being thrown into Minorca, and to intercept our homeward-bound fleets, which were expected at this time to return, and a large outward-bound convoy, which was on the eve of sailing from Cork. And so little had our ministry either foreseen or suspected their design, that the combined fleets had formed a line from Ushant to the Scilly Islands, thus barring the entrance into the English channel, before it was known by the admiralty that they were out at sea. By the timely information of a neutral vessel, admiral Darby, then in the channel, happily escaped falling in with them. The British admiral, therefore, who had only twenty ships of the line under his command, returned to Torbay, there to wait for reinforcements and instructions from the admiralty. Having mustered a fleet of thirty sail of the line, he received orders to put to sea for the protection of our homeward-bound merchantmen; but as the enemy was so much superior to him in numbers, he was instructed to avoid an engagement, unless it were found necessary for the preservation of the convoy.

While the English fleet lay in Torbay waiting reinforcements, the French admiral conceived the project of attacking them in that station, but was overruled by his Spanish colleague. The latter represented the state both of the ships and men, of whom, and of the Spaniards in particular, great numbers were sick, as depriving them in reality of that superiority which they possessed in appearance. They therefore directed their attention solely to the interception of British merchandise, an object which the vigilance of admiral Darby, as soon as he began his cruise upon the coast, suffi-

ciently prevented; and the equinoctial gales coming on soon afterwards, the combined fleets were glad to separate, the French returning to Brest, and the Spaniards to their own coasts. The British fleet returned to Plymouth in November, having safely conducted our homeward-bound convoy from the Atlantic.

The French lost no time in refitting their ships; and, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, they proposed to reinforce the count de Grasse with both troops and ships of war in the west, and to support him with stores; to reinforce and supply Suffrein in the east; and to rejoin the Spanish fleet, that they might prevent England from relieving Minorca. The several squadrons and convoys were ordered to sail together, as far as their course lay in the same direction. Admiral Darby heard of these preparations and their object, but without being correctly informed of the force which was to carry them into effect, and which proved to be nineteen sail of the line. He, however, dispatched admiral Kempenfeldt with twelve ships of the line, one fifty gun ship, and four frigates, to intercept the French squadron and convoy. On the 12th of December he descried the enemy, at which time the fleet and convoy were dispersed by a gale of wind, and the latter considerably behind. The British admiral instantly determined to avail himself of this situation, by first cutting off the convoy, and then engaging the ships of war. For the intended service Kempenfeldt's number of frigates was far too small; yet he succeeded so far as to capture twenty transports and store-ships, in which were eleven hundred land forces, seven hundred seamen, a great quantity of ordnance, arms, warlike stores, camp equipage, clothing, and provisions: many ships, however, were dispersed, and escaped seizure. The French admiral, in the mean time, endeavoured to collect his fleet, and form a line; but night came on before he could accomplish his purpose. Kempenfeldt, still ignorant of the force of the enemy, made preparations for engaging them the following morning; and at day-light, perceiving them at leeward, he formed his line; but on a nearer approach, discovering their strength, he considered it most prudent to decline an engagement. Nor were the French so confident in their superior numbers as to urge the British to battle: both fleets, therefore, parted as by mutual consent. The capture which Kempenfeldt had made was considered to be important; but much dissatisfaction was expressed against the admiralty, for not furnishing that gallant commander with a force sufficient to enable him to seize the convoy, and, at the same time, vanquish the fleet; especially as there were ships lying idle in our harbours, which ought to have been employed in this service.

The war, though by this time very adverse to Holland in other quarters, had not produced in Europe any decisive engagement with that power. To watch their motions, and annoy their commerce in the north, admiral Parker was dispatched from Portsmouth with four ships of the line, and one of fifty guns. After sailing, he was further joined by several other ships, which augmented his force to six sail of the line, viz. one of eighty guns, two of seventy-four, one sixty-four, one sixty, one of fifty, and a frigate of forty-four guns, which the admiral was obliged through necessity, to admit as a ship of the line. The Dutch admiral, Zoutman, with a valuable convoy for the north, had sailed from the Texel with eight ships of the line, mounting from seventy-four to fifty-four guns, and ten frigates. He was also joined by a large American frigate, carrying on one deck thirty-six forty-two pounders, and as large in length as a ship of the line. Early in the morning of the 5th of August 1781, the hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the Dogger-bank, and, without any manœuvring or delay, approximated within pistol-shot to one of the bloodiest actions that ever was fought between the same number of ships. After a cannonade of three hours and forty minutes, both fleets lay like logs in the water, incapable of action or mutual annoyance; and it could only be determined which of them had the preferable claim to victory, by comparing the destruction of ships and havoock of men on either side. The English counted one hundred and four killed, and three hundred and fifty-nine wounded. The Dutch did not acknowledge their

full loss, but it appeared by authentic private intelligence, that it exceeded eleven hundred men, in killed, wounded, and drowned. One of their sixty-eight gun ships sunk in the night after the engagement; and by the circumstance of the English having brought off her colours, it appears that the action off the Dogger-bank was, on the whole, in favour of the English arms. The other large ships belonging to the Dutch squadron were rendered almost unfit for repair. Admiral Zoutman returned to the Texel; but neither himself nor his convoy presumed afterwards to proceed on their destination. Though in this, as in Kempenfeldt's affair, the public applauded the valour of their seamen, yet they were extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the admiralty, in allotting to admiral Parker so small a force, when the object was so important, and the acquisition might have been rendered so secure and easy. The admiral himself justly complained of this circumstance, and, openly censuring the admiralty, resigned his command.

A squadron of British ships, under the command of commodore Johnstone, had been appointed in the spring of this year to annoy the Dutch in another quarter. They were to attack the Cape of Good Hope, a settlement extremely valuable to the United Provinces; and having done that, the expedition was to proceed to the Spanish settlement of Buenos Ayres, in South America, where an insurrection of a formidable nature had taken place, which had given great alarm to the court of Madrid. The Dutch, aware of their inability to defend the Cape, applied for assistance to France. The latter being also deeply interested in preventing England from obtaining so important a possession, ordered M. de Suffrein, in his way to India, to watch the motions of the British squadron. The force under commodore Johnstone consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, one of sixty-four, and three of fifty guns each, besides several frigates, a bomb-vessel, a fire-ship, and some sloops of war. The land-force which he took out consisted of three new regiments of a thousand men each. Several outward-bound East Indiamen and store ordnance vessels proceeded under the escort of this convoy; and the whole fleet, including transports and armed ships, amounted to more than forty sail. With these commodore Johnstone stopped at the Cape de Verde Islands, for water and fresh provisions; and for the purpose of collecting these supplies, a great part of the crews, suspecting no enemy at hand, were dispersed on shore. At this moment the French squadron, which consisted of five ships of the line, with a body of land forces, having obtained information of the situation of the British, expected to take them by surprise. On the 16th of April, the French admiral leaving his convoy at a distance, attacked the British squadron in Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago. He advanced as if to certain victory, but was speedily convinced of his mistake. The British force, though surprised, was so far from being intimidated, that they not only rallied, but entirely beat off the enemy, with considerable loss of men and damage to the shipping. Suffrein, disappointed in this attempt, made the best of his way to the Cape, where, by means of a junction with the Dutch garrison, he knew he should be able to defend it against the British force; and commodore Johnstone finding, on his arrival, that success would be impracticable, forebore the attempt. Soon after, meeting with five richly laden Dutch East Indiamen, homeward-bound, he captured four of them, and burnt the other; after which, perceiving that he could not accomplish the original purpose of his expedition, he returned to England with his prizes.

LETTER XIY.

Naval Exploits of Great Britain—Proceedings in the British Parliament—Resignation of Lord North—Success of Lord Rodney in the West Indies—Defeat of the combined fleets—Relief of Gibraltar—Preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles, 1762—1764.

THE French ministry, during the campaign of 1761, appear to have pursued the same plan of operation that had been defeated in the preceding, namely, to overpower the English force in the West Indies, and afterwards compel Britain to relinquish her trans-atlantic colonies. There were already eight sail of the line at St. Domingo and Martinique, with a considerable body of land forces. On the 22d of March, count de Grasse, with twenty ships of the line, one of fifty-four guns, and six thousand troops, sailed for the West Indies, with an immense convoy, amounting to no less than two hundred and fifty ships, and arrived off Martinique. In the end of April admiral Rodney having dispatched three of his ships, under admiral Hotham, to escort the St. Eustatius booty to Britain, had only twenty-one ships of the line remaining, while De Grasse, being reinforced from Martinique, had twenty-four. Rodney himself remaining with general Vaughan at St. Eustatius, dispatched sir Samuel Hood towards Martinique, in order to intercept De Grasse's fleet and convoy. On the 28th of April admiral Hood was informed, by his advanced cruisers, that the enemy were approaching in the channel between St. Lucia and Martinique. The next morning he descried the fleet before the convoy; and though he had only eighteen ships of the line to encounter twenty-four, and the French had the wind in their favour, the British commander determined to hazard an engagement. With great skill and dexterity he endeavoured to gain the wind, and come to close action. De Grasse, however, declined a decisive engagement; and, from his windward position, being enabled to preserve the distance which he chose, he began to cannonade so far from the British ships, as to admit of little execution on either side. During the first conflict, the British van, however, and the foremost ships of the centre, after repeated endeavours, at last succeeded in approaching nearer to the enemy; and having received a very heavy fire, were considerably damaged in their masts, hulls, and rigging, before the rest of our ships came up to their assistance. Finding his wounded ships in a very shattered condition, admiral Hood thought it prudent during the night to sail for Antigua. In the absence of our fleet, the marquis de Bouillé attempted to reduce St. Lucia on the 10th of May, but by the vigorous resistance of the garrison he was compelled to relinquish the design. Admiral Rodney now found it necessary, instead of spending more time at St. Eustatius, to employ his whole force against the French armament: he therefore sailed to Antigua, and as soon as the ships were prepared, proceeded towards Barbadoes.

At the instant that admiral Rodney, with the fleets from Antigua, arrived at Barbadoes, a French squadron, with a considerable body of land forces, under the command of M. de Blanchelande, late governor of St. Vincents, appeared off the island of Tobago. On the 23d of May, the day on which the enemy appeared, Mr. George Fergusson, the governor, sent the intelligence to admiral Rodney, whom it reached on the 26th. The admiral, mistakenly underrating the enemy's force, appointed six sail of the line and some frigates to proceed under the command of admiral Drake, with about six hundred land forces, for its relief. That officer having, on the 30th, arrived off Tobago, descried the enemy's fleet, consisting of twenty-four sail of the line, lying between him and the land. Finding it impossible to land his troops, he retired, and sent the commander-in-chief intelligence of the posture of affairs; and in the mean time, about three thousand French troops

landed on the island. The white inhabitants who were capable of bearing arms, including a few soldiers and the colonial militia, scarcely exceeded four hundred men, but they found most intrepid and faithful auxiliaries in the blacks. Governor Fergusson himself was distinguished for his humane manner of treating the Negroes, the joint result of judgment and humanity, by which he secured their obedience while he conciliated and established their affection and fidelity. The island, however, not being far advanced in cultivation, the number of Negroes fit to bear arms was but small. The gallant Fergusson made a skilful and vigorous defence against an enemy four times the number of his brave band. Relying upon his receiving speedy succours, he occupied a strong post, and for seven days checked the enemy's progress. The marquis de Bouillé, who commanded the invaders, found all attempts to dislodge his opponents vain; and to compel them to surrender, he began to destroy their plantations. The inhabitants, perceiving the approaching devastation of their property, were awed to concessions which the fear of personal danger could not extort, and at last agreed to capitulate, which they did on honourable and advantageous terms. Admiral Rodney did not escape censure for not having adopted more prompt and effectual measures for the relief of Tobago; and it was asserted, not indeed without reason, that the French, whose naval force was not greatly superior, had in this campaign acquired a most important advantage in the West Indies. De Grasse continued in the West Indies from the capture of Tobago in the beginning of June to the beginning of August, without being encountered by Rodney, and in July sailed for St. Domingo, where, after being reinforced by five sail of the line, he escorted the rich mercantile convoy with a fleet amounting to twenty-eight ships of the line. He conducted the convoy northwards until they were out of danger, and then proceeded to the second object of his expedition. Admiral Rodney, conceiving that his health required an immediate return to his native country, escorted the West India convoy home, and sent the greater part of his ships, under sir Samuel Hood, to watch the motions of the French fleet.

Although the events of the year 1781, which have been now detailed were of a varied complexion, and some of them highly honourable to the British arms both by sea and land, yet upon a calm and deliberate review of them, the country began to be seriously impressed with the folly of prosecuting any longer an offensive contest with America, and even ministers themselves began to entertain similar sentiments. The bad principles of the war, which might have passed with impunity among a large class of home politicians had they been crowned with success, were now very generally condemned, as the project of coercing America appeared more palpably impracticable. From hostile confederacies and disasters abroad, the ministry could not turn, without alarm, to the growing dissatisfaction of the nation. The authority of the mother-country had been so often explained and qualified, and by ministers themselves partially renounced, that men came to think it might be actually renounced without involving in it the ruin of the parent state. And the pride of the country, habituated to anticipate the event of American independence, at length became familiarized to the idea of degradation. All that had been predicted by the wisdom of lord Chatham and Mr. Fox, respecting the issue of the contest, was now fatally fulfilled by the surrender of the army under the command of lord Cornwallis. The public could no longer remain blind to the future effects of the war, or slumber in their former torpid state of security.

Parliament assembled on the 27th of November 1781, and no inconsiderable degree of surprise was excited, on finding that the speech from the throne was quite silent on the subject of peace. The continuance of the war was still ascribed to the restless ambition of our enemies; and the royal speech offered the highest congratulations to the public on the protection which our navy had been enabled to afford to our commercial fleets, and the prosperous aspect of our East Indian affairs. In the house of commons, the motion for an address produced an important debate of considerable length on the question at issue. The declaration, in the proposed address, to pledge the house

to an unqualified support of the war after seven years of disaster, and the boldness of holding such language at the very moment when the calamities which the measures of administration had entailed upon the country called aloud for humiliation and sorrow, were topics urged by Mr. Fox with his usual warmth and energy. He pointedly reprehended the principles of the war, animadverted indignantly on the delusions by which parliament had been led on, year after year, to support it, and the gross and criminal mismanagement which characterized every branch of administration. He even imputed the loss of the army under lord Cornwallis to the incapacity of lord Sandwich, who was at the head of the admiralty. That minister, he said, had declared in another assembly, that a first lord of the admiralty who should fail in having a fleet equal to the combined force of France and Spain, would deserve to be dragged from his situation to condign punishment. But such a case, he contended, was now before them. The inferiority of the British fleet in every quarter of the globe, might be proved from the events of the campaign; and he conjured the house to bring their marine minister to the reward which, by his own confession, he so richly merited. Mr. Fox went on to observe, that it had been avowed by one of the highest members of administration, that if the capture of Charlestown produced no decisive result, he should grow weary of the war. That event had taken place, and brought disasters in its train; and yet ministers persisted in wishing to prosecute the war—they even seemed to love it as it grew more disastrous. He concluded by moving an amendment to the address, the object of which was to leave the expediency of continuing the war open to future debate, instead of binding the house to any specific course of measures.

The impression which this speech appeared to make on the house, and the silence of those who had been accustomed on all occasions to justify the principle and the policy of the war, called up lord North in an early part of the debate. He defended the grounds of the colonial contest, and asserted that the war was not maintained for the prerogative of the king, but of parliament, against which the revolted colonists had unjustly taken up arms. He contended, that neither the speech from the throne, nor the proposed address, pledged the house to a continuance of the war. "A melancholy disaster," said his lordship, "has occurred in Virginia,—are we, therefore, to lie down and die? By dejection and despair every thing must be lost; by bold exertion, every thing might yet be saved." The war, he allowed, had been unfortunate, but it was not unjust; and should the share he had had in supporting a war, in defence of the rights of parliament and the British constitution, lead him to the scaffold, his opinion would remain unaltered. Mr. Dundas made an elaborate speech in support of the address, which called up Mr. Burke, who inveighed most indignantly against the pertinacity of ministers. The war, he said, had teemed with calamities; but this speech of the king's was the greatest calamity of all. "Most excellent rights!" he exclaimed, alluding to lord North's defence of the war, as a vindication of parliamentary rights, "which have cost Great Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, a hundred thousand men, and seventy millions of money, her empire over the ocean, her rank among nations, her dignity and commerce abroad, her happiness at home—rights which have deprived us of all this, and yet threaten to spoil us of what remains!"

The debate was renewed on the 14th of December, when the eloquence of Pitt was again displayed, in describing the total contrariety of principles which prevailed in the present cabinet. He described them as being at war with each other's opinion, distrustful of mutual support, yet meanly continuing in power for the enjoyment of office, thus standing responsible for measures of which they could not approve. Their only principle of coherence, their only common object, he averred, seemed to be the ruin of the empire; an object which he feared they would accomplish ere the vengeance of the people could overtake them. "And God grant," said Mr. Pitt, "that the punishment be not so long delayed as to involve a great and innocent family, who, though they share not the guilt, most likely will participate in the atonement."

But the period was now arrived, when the opinion of the public respecting the continuance of the American war was to be rendered so apparent, that no secret wish for a further prosecution of it should induce the ministers to take any measures for retarding a final adjustment. On the 22d of February, general Conway moved in the house of commons, that an address should be presented to his majesty, imploring him to listen to the advice of his faithful commons, that the war in America might be no longer pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and to express their hopes that a happy reconciliation might be effected with the revolted colonies. A long debate ensued, in which the ministers continued to speak on the subject in a vague and indeterminate manner. After both sides of the house had exhausted their often repeated arguments, the country gentlemen, as they are called, gave up the support of ministers, and the motion was negatived by a majority of one solitary vote; there being only one hundred and ninety-four to one hundred and ninety-three. The opposition now cherished the most sanguine hopes of victory; and accordingly, on the 27th of February, proposed the same motion under another form. The usual arguments were repeated, and on a division of the house, the opposition succeeded in carrying their point, by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and fifteen. Thus, after a contest of eight years, Mr. Fox and his party succeeded in their efforts to procure a vote from the house for requesting the king to conclude the American war. The resolution thus carried was as follows:—"Resolved, February 27th, in the house of commons, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies; tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity, so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America; and, by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire, graciously expressed by his majesty, to restore the blessings of public tranquillity." To this address his majesty returned the following answer:—"Gentlemen of the house of commons; There are no objects nearer to my heart, than the ease, happiness, and prosperity of my people. You may be assured, that, in pursuance of your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, till such a peace can be obtained, as shall consist with the interests and welfare of my kingdom."

It was now confidently expected that lord North, in conformity with the manly language he had held in the debate, would have instantly resigned a post in which he was no longer supported by the confidence of parliament; but some secret reasons induced him still to linger in his seat; and he even defeated, by small majorities, some motions of the opposition which involved in them strong censures on the past conduct of the administration. Confiding, however, in its increasing strength, the opposition resolved to bring this question to immediate issue. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, lord John Cavendish proposed a string of resolutions to the following effect: That, from the year 1775 to that time, the nation had expended upwards of one hundred millions of money in a fruitless war, during which we had lost thirteen colonies, many of our valuable West India and other Islands; that the rest were in imminent danger; that we were now engaged in an expensive war with America, France, Spain, and Holland, without a single ally; and that the chief cause of these accumulated misfortunes was, the united incapacity and misconduct of administration.

Thus ended the administration of lord North; a period, of which the greater part teemed with calamitous events beyond any of the same duration to be found in the annals of British history. His lordship certainly was not destitute of talents; he had wit and learning at command; but he pos-

seemed neither the acute penetration nor the sound and discriminating judgment of a great statesman. He was an intelligent financier; but some of his taxes were partial and injudicious. As a war minister he cannot be extolled; his errors exposed him to ridicule, and his misconduct entitled him to censure. If, as has been asserted, he entered on the war with the colonists in repugnance to his private opinion, and allowed a court-favourite to direct him, we cannot but blame his mean servility and time-serving hypocrisy. It is more candid, however, to suppose, that whatever truth there may be in the report of his subserviency to a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself, the war was of that description which suited his prejudices. In private life, he claimed the praise of good-nature and humanity; he was a pleasant companion, and a kind friend. And however erroneous and hurtful the measures of his administration eventually turned out to be, the blame ought not to be restricted to ministers: the far greater part of it devolves on parliament, who by its approbation sanctioned the acts of government; and to the people themselves, of whom the greater part were eager for commencing and continuing the war. When the nation censures this disastrous and burdensome contest, productive of such an enormous load of debt and taxes, it is proper they should recollect, that the war *originated with themselves*.

From these patriotic efforts at home, we now come to take a view of the national energies abroad; and though these are mingled with a few adverse circumstances, it will present to us the brightest period of the war. Sir Henry Clinton, who resigned the command of the American army, before the end of the year was succeeded by sir Guy Carleton. The fate of lord Cornwallis, and the news of the state of parties at home, kept the hostile armies in America without a motive to attack each other, from the obvious expectation that peace was not distant. The Spaniards, embarking from Cuba, invaded and seized from us the Bahama islands, which had been left defenceless, having not more than two hundred persons in them capable of making resistance. Nevis and Montserrat, as we have already seen, had followed the fate of St Christophers; so that of all our West India possessions, only Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, remained to us at the end of lord North's administration.

The possession of Jamaica had long been the object of Spanish ambition; and a bold attempt to capture it was now made by the count de Grasse, who was to be joined by a Spanish fleet and army for that purpose. At Cuba and Hispaniola, the Spaniards had already mustered twenty-six ships of the line, and a strong military force. The fleets, by forming a junction, would have amounted to sixty ships of the line, and twenty thousand land-forces, independent of De Guichen's expected reinforcement of ships and soldiers from Europe. The British force in Jamaica, consisting of a faithful militia, and six battalions of the line, amounted in all to six or seven thousand men. From a fleet so very inferior to that of the enemy, they had little to expect in the way of succour or defence. Their main confidence was in the strength of many posts in the island, and the zeal of the inhabitants, who, apprehending that the conquest of the island would be followed by a transfer of property and a change of proprietors, were resolved on a desperate defence. In this anxious state of matters, the pleasing intelligence arrived, that De Guichen's fleet and convoy, after their encounter with admiral Kempenfeldt, had been obliged to return to France, and that only two of their whole number could join De Grasse.

By the arrival of sir George Rodney, who had sailed from England with twelve sail of the line, and his junction with admiral Hood at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, the number of the British grand fleet under the command of the former now amounted to thirty-three ships, and these were soon after joined by three others, thus making a total of thirty-six line-of-battle ships. De Grasse, with thirty-four sail of the line, only wished to join the Spaniards, while Rodney's success, and the safety of our West India possessions, depended on preventing that junction. On the 8th of April, De Grasse weighed anchor, and proceeded from Fort-Royal in Martinique for

Hispaniola. The British were all upon the alert, and so rapid was the communication of intelligence, that about noon of the same day Rodney pursued him from Gros-islet in St. Lucia, and by day-light the following morning both fleets were ready for action off Dominique. It was nine o'clock, however, before the breeze could bear the van of our fleet into action, while the centre and rear lay becalmed. This circumstance stimulated the French admiral to hasten to action. The van of the British, commanded by sir Samuel Hood, was assailed for more than an hour by the superior force of the enemy; but the centre and rear, under Rodney and sir Francis Drake, at last coming up, and the French admiral perceiving the line fairly closed, lost all hopes of advantage from that source; and having the command of the wind, easily withdrew from action, though severely disabled in many of his ships. Several days were now spent in refitting; and, on the 11th, the French had got so far to the windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and were scarcely seen from the top masts of the English centre. About noon, however, the falling to leeward of two of their disabled vessels, occasioned so vigorous a pursuit by the British, that, to save them, De Grasse was reluctantly brought to action.

The night, which prevented an immediate engagement, was passed in anxious preparation on both sides; and at half past seven in the morning the engagement commenced. The scene of action is described as a moderately large basin of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints, and Marignante. The fleets met on opposite tacks, but the wind was rather faint. The British ships, as they came up, ranged slowly along the line, exchanging a close and terrible fire, which was chiefly formidable to the French from the unerring precision of the British guns, and the number of men crowded in their ships. About noon, sir George Rodney, on board the Formidable, with his seconds, the Duke and the Namur, broke through the enemy's line, and throwing out signals for the van to tack, wore round, so that the British gained the wind, and stood on the same tack with the enemy. This intrepid and dexterous manœuvre threw the French into confusion, and decided the fate of the day. The French van bore away to leeward, wishing to re-form their broken line, but were unable to accomplish it. Sir Samuel Hood's division, which had been long becalmed, now came up with their leading ships, and completed the preponderance of our advantage. Yet the contest was continued with persevering obstinacy through the whole of the day. The French, though broken in their line, resisted in single encounters, and some of their ships fought for a while even against double antagonists. The captain of the *Cæsar*, a French seventy-four, nailed his colours to the mast; but his death, and the total wreck of his vessel, terminated the contest of this ship with the *Centaur*, captain Inglefield. The *Diadem*, another French seventy-four, went down by a single broadside of a British vessel. Towards evening, captain Cornwallis of the *Canada*, having compelled the *Hector*, an enemy's ship of equal force, to surrender, attacked in the most gallant style the French admiral's ship, the *Ville de Paris*, which in two hours he reduced to a wreck. Still admiral De Grasse refused to surrender, till sir Samuel Hood arriving in the *Barfleur*, the fire of the French admiral ceased, only three men, it is said, being left on the upper deck, of whom De Grasse himself was one. When the firing of the *Ville de Paris* had ceased, the English called out to her, demanding to know why she did not strike her colours. The answer returned from the French ship was, "The admiral of France does not strike to any enemy; but you may come on board;" which was accordingly done.

The *Ville de Paris* was the largest ship then known, either in the French or any other service. She mounted one hundred and twenty guns, and was built at the expense of one hundred and seventy-six thousand pounds sterling. When captured, no less than thirty-six chests of treasure were found on board her. As it grew dark, the British admiral thought it necessary to collect the fleet, and secure the prizes. The enemy made off to leeward in the greatest confusion, and were totally out of sight in the morning. The superiority of British ships and seamen was so strikingly exemplified on this

occasion, that it has rarely been disputed since that memorable period. The enemy's loss in men was prodigious; upwards of three thousand were either drowned or killed, and six thousand wounded, independent of about two thousand taken prisoners. On the part of the British the loss was one thousand and fifty, including two distinguished officers, captain Blair of the *Anson*, and lord Robert Manners, the amiable and gallant son of the late marquis of Granby. When the darkness of night prevented all further pursuit, some of the enemy's ships escaped to the Dutch island of Curaçoa; but the major part of them, under the vice-admirals De Bougainville and De Vaudrevil, keeping in a body, made their way to Cape François. In a few days afterwards, sir Samuel Hood, proceeding in pursuit of the fugitives, came up with five sail of French vessels in the Mona passage, between Porto Rico and St Domingo; and, after several hours' chase, the *Valiant* and *Magnificent*, of seventy-four guns each, took the *Jason* and *Caton* of sixty-five guns each, with two attendant frigates, a third frigate effecting its escape. Thus, by one decisive blow, eight ships of the line were taken from the navy of France, together with all the stores, money, and artillery which had been treasured up for the projected assault of the combined fleets on the island of Jamaica. To that island admiral Rodney now repaired, displaying to the rejoicing inhabitants the trophies of his victory and of their deliverance. On his return to England, he was honoured with an English, and sir Samuel Hood with an Irish peerage. Indeed, the fortune of Rodney was eminently glorious during the present war. Within little more than two years, he had given a severe blow to the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch navy, and taken an admiral of each nation. He had in that time added twelve line-of-battle ships, all captured from the enemy, to the British navy; and he had destroyed five more. Of these, the *Ville de Paris* is said to be the only first-rate man of war that had then ever been taken and carried into port, by any commander of any nation.

This period of success was also signalized by the reduction of some Dutch forts on the coast of Africa, effected by captain Stirling, in the *Leander* of fifty guns. The artillery in the captured forts amounted in all to one hundred and twenty-four pieces. The Dutch also sustained a loss of still greater importance in the east, at the commencement of this year. On the 5th of January, the town of Trincomalé, in the valuable island of Ceylon, was reduced by the spirited exertions of sir Edward Hughes.

The naval exploits, which had languished under the neglect of lord Sandwich, received a new impulse from the change of administration; and by the vigilance and intrepidity of our naval officers, the combination of the allied fleets was frustrated, and prevented from producing its usually dreadful effects. Admiral Barrington, with twelve ships of the line, chased the French fleet off Ushant, and captured several transports and a number of troops. Captain Jarvis, commanding a British seventy-four, captured a French ship of equal force, and, while conveying his prize homeward, made another valuable prize of a sixty-four, laden with stores and treasure. For this gallant exploit he received the honour of knighthood. Lord Howe, with twelve sail of the line, blockaded the ports of Holland, and terrified the Dutch from the designs they had formed on the British trade in the Baltic and northern seas. Returning from this station, his lordship had the arduous task of protecting our homeward-bound Jamaica fleet (May 29th), which he accomplished with this inferior force, opposed to the French fleet under the command of De Guichen, and the Spanish fleet, though the combined force of the enemy amounted to more than double his number. This formidable force again occupied the chops of the Channel, and captured eighteen of our Quebec and Newfoundland traders; but the able tactics of lord Howe kept them at bay, and prevented them from committing further depredations on our coast. The events of the year exhibited no farther disasters, except what the unsparring visitation of the elements produced. On the 20th of June, some of the finest prizes which admiral Rodney had made on the memorable 12th of April, foundered on their homeward passage. To aggravate this misfortune, when lord Howe, after his successful cruise, had returned home, and was

preparing a new equipment for the relief of Gibraltar, the Royal George, of one hundred and eight guns, which was destined for this service, and undergoing repairs, was unfortunately upset in harbour by the rising of a sudden squall, and instantly buried in the waves. In this fine ship, which had successively borne the flags of Hawke, Kempenfeldt, and Rodney, there were at the moment nearly one thousand individuals, men, women, and children, all of whom perished by this memorable and melancholy accident; and, among the rest, the brave admiral Kempenfeldt. A victualling ship, which lay alongside the Royal George, was swallowed up in the vortex occasioned by the submersion of so large a body.

Having secured her own coasts and trade, and prevented the junction of the Bourbon fleets with that of Holland, Britain now directed her naval attention to the relief of Gibraltar. From the surrender of Minorca, the king of Spain hoped the key of the Mediterranean would be his next acquisition. The spirited sortie which had taken place in 1781, by which general Elliot had succeeded in destroying the principal of the advanced works of the Spaniards, did not discourage them from renewing their efforts. On the contrary, the siege seemed to commence from a new era, and with redoubled zeal. The duke de Crillon, a French nobleman, who had commanded at Minorca, undertook the supreme conduct and management of the siege, and in this he was assisted by a great number of the ablest officers of both countries, and particularly of the most skilful engineers and officers of artillery that his own country could produce. An immense increase of both land and sea-forces was brought from France and Spain to aid the troops already before Gibraltar; and many of the nobility from both countries enrolled themselves as volunteers in the service. Two princes of the blood-royal of France, one of them the king's own brother, the count d'Artois, sought the glory of combating and defeating the brave British garrison and its illustrious commander. In the spirit of loyalty which was then diffused through the French soldiery, the presence of their princes excited an enthusiastic desire of distinguishing themselves before such high spectators: the same spirit pervaded the Spaniards, and both became impatient for action.

The besiegers had prepared new and extraordinary machines; battering ships, which, though of an astonishing bulk, could go through all their evolutions with the ease and dexterity of frigates. Twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were to play from land and sea, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches. The land and sea-forces by which these operations were to be carried on, amounted to forty thousand men, independent of the combined fleet, consisting of fifty ships of the line, which was to cover and support the attack. While dispositions were making for so tremendous an assault, the besiegers amused themselves with calculations of the exact time when Gibraltar would be taken! Some said the garrison would hold out twelve hours after the onset commenced; others, less sanguine, thought it would be sixteen, and a very few allowed even twenty-four hours for completing the conquest.

Without precisely knowing what the inventions of the enemy were, general Elliot had a general idea that their dispositions were both mighty and extraordinary; and with that foresight and courage which so eminently distinguished him, he prepared against every species of attack. Perceiving their works on the land-side to be nearly completed, he determined to try how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment with red-hot balls, carcasses, and shells, might operate to their destruction.* On the 8th of September, at seven in the morning, he commenced a firing so powerful, and so skillfully directed, as to commit considerable devastation on the enemy's works. Enraged at this loss, the besiegers hurried on their grand attack. On the 13th of September, this tremendous operation commenced both by sea and land, the various parts being very skillfully adjusted, their batteries appeared to have prodigious effect; their battering-ships especially, so formidable for offence, during several hours seemed exquisitely adapted for defence, and even to be invulnerable to the red-hot balls that were pouring from the garrison. The execution of these terrible instruments, though not instantaneous, was

nevertheless effectual. About two o'clock, the admiral's ship was seen to issue smoke; at night she was in flames, and several others were perceived to be on fire. Soon after, the conflagration was general over the battering-ships, and all the efforts of the enemy were now exerted in saving the men.

The small naval force employed in the garrison of Gibraltar was commanded by captain Curtis. That brave officer and his men had, in the preceding attacks from the garrison, performed very difficult and important services by land; an opportunity now occurred of exerting themselves upon their own element. During the confusion and distress of the enemy hurrying from the burning battering-ships, captain Curtis, with twelve gun-boats, flanked their line, raked them on one side, whilst the garrison was destroying them from another. The Spanish boats durst no longer attempt to assist the battering-ships; and, when day-light appeared, the assailants who had been stationed in those, were seen perishing in the flames, or, in their endeavours to escape, overwhelmed by the opposite element.

The British now seeing that they had completely destroyed these formidable batteries, with characteristic humanity set themselves to rescue the remainder of the crews who defended them; and captain Curtis and his gallant band, at the peril of their own lives, succeeded in saving the lives of about four hundred. Such was the signal and complete defensive victory obtained, by comparatively a handful of heroes, over the combined efforts and united powers, by sea and land, of two great, warlike, and potent nations, who, sparing no expense nor exertion of art for the attainment of a favourite object, exceeded all former examples, both in the magnitude and formidable nature of their preparations.

The enemy, disappointed in their sanguine hopes and expectations of taking this fortress by assault, now rested their sole confidence in being able to effect it by blockade, which they were not long in resuming. Their object was to prevent lord Howe from relieving the garrison with ammunition and provisions. They professed ardently to look forward to the arrival of the British fleet, and assured themselves of compensating their direful disasters by a brilliant victory. On the 9th of October, a violent storm dispersed the combined armament, and exposed them to imminent danger. Lord Howe, having been retarded by contrary winds, did not arrive at the Straits until the 11th of October, though he had sailed a month before; and, when he arrived, a considerable part of his fleet during the night, having missed the Bay of Gibraltar, entered the Mediterranean; and the next day the admiral followed to collect together the scattered ships, having left the Buffalo of sixty guns, and the Panther of the same force, in the Straits, to stop the store-ships as they arrived in the Bay. On the 13th, the hostile fleets passed the Straits, with about forty-seven ships of the line, three of their men-of-war having been disabled by the tempest; and they discovered lord Howe, with thirty-two ships of the line, off Grenada: on the following morning, however, they were out of sight.

The British admiral, now sailing westward, sent his convoy safe into Gibraltar. It contained a reinforcement of troops, with a plentiful supply of ammunition, and provisions of every description for the use of the garrison. The enemy did not make their appearance until this great object of the expedition had been completely effected. On the 19th of October, when lord Howe, who had been joined by the Buffalo and Panther, was entering the Gulf of Gibraltar with thirty-four ships, he descried the enemy sailing from the north-east towards the Straits, with the wind blowing fair from the Mediterranean. Concluding that it would not be wise in him, with so inferior a force, to hazard an engagement in a dangerous road, well known to the enemy, though not to his fleet, lord Howe proceeded to the open ocean. On the 21st of October, he observed the enemy following him at about five leagues to windward, and he immediately formed a line of battle. The enemy had the wind in their favour, and, of course, had the choice both of the time of action and the distance from which they should engage. At sun-set the combined fleets began a cannonade, which the British returned with such effect as to produce considerable damage, and to throw their antagonists into

evident confusion. The French and Spanish admirals drew off their ships about ten at night; and in the morning they were seen at a great distance sailing away in the direction of Cadiz. Lord Howe was prevented by many considerations from pursuing the enemy:—he had effected the main object of the expedition in relieving Gibraltar; he had received orders from the admiralty to dispatch eight of his ships, after relieving the garrison, to the West Indies; the force of the enemy was so superior, as to render the issue of a battle extremely doubtful, and, even if he should succeed, he was to expect his ships to be so much damaged, as to disable them from proceeding to the other destined services. Lord Howe was too prudent to rush into a conflict, merely for the sake of fighting, and to incur certain danger without any definite object. He therefore proceeded to England, where, after having on his way detached part of his fleet to the West Indies, he arrived safely with the remainder. And thus, in the protection of her coasts and trade, preventing the Dutch fleet from forming a junction with those of the house of Bourbon, and having effected the relief of Gibraltar, Great Britain secured the three grand objects of the campaign of 1782. A confederacy extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, comprising the three greatest maritime powers in the world, and almost all the naval force of continental Europe, found their mighty efforts against the navy of England recoil on themselves.

The period had now arrived when the various contending parties began to have their eyes open to the nature of the contest in which they were engaged. They perceived, upon reflection, that whatever partial advantages they had gained, the war ultimately tended to the general injury of all the belligerent powers. France had indeed succeeded in her efforts to separate the American colonies from the mother-country, but had been foiled in her principal purpose, of obtaining naval and commercial supremacy. Her operations had been carried on at an enormous expense, which not only annihilated all the treasure that had been heaped up by her reforming accountants, but infinitely exceeded her revenue, and overwhelmed her with new debt. The war which caused such unprecedented expenditure, had been far from producing any advantage likely to secure an eventual equivalent. The confederacy in India was crumbling to pieces, and British superiority was again manifest. All the sanguine projects of France against the West Indies had fallen under the victorious arms of Rodney; and America, impoverished by her long and arduous struggle, was more likely to drain than to supply her allies with treasure. Spain had engaged in the war as the tool of French ambition, which, artfully playing on the weakness, personal prejudices, and vanity of its monarch, dazzled him by the splendid promises of Gibraltar and Jamaica, and thereby blinded him to his real interests, to which nothing could be more contrary than either the encouragement of revolt in the American colonies, or hostilities with England. All her mighty and costly preparations against Gibraltar had fallen under general Elliot's red-hot balls; her projects against Jamaica had been completely defeated by the skill and valour of Rodney; her hopes of naval and commercial aggrandizement, through the depression of England, had perished; her ships had been captured, and her fleets vanquished. In four years, all her extraordinary exertions, all her waste of blood and treasure, had terminated in the conquest of the defenceless province of West Florida, and the barren island of Minorca, which was little better than an hospital. America alone had succeeded in the contest, and attained the objects for which she fought; but she prevailed by efforts which drained her resources, by labours which required a respite as soon as it could be procured consistently with her public engagements. During her short warfare, Holland, in the loss of her settlements, the seizure of her treasures, and the destruction of her trade, had been instructed how dangerous it is for a state deriving its subsistence from commerce, to provoke to war a neighbour that rules the ocean. England, for the last five years, had been engaged in a war to defend her maritime sovereignty; and great as had been her maritime losses, she had upon the whole maintained that grand object. But her defence, though manifesting her energy, had

drained her resources. Her expenditure was enormous; her debt and taxes had far surpassed the anticipation of her most desponding politicians. Trade was interrupted; difficulties and distress pervaded all ranks of her people; increasing demands appeared to portend the derangement of her finances, and the downfall of her credit. From all these circumstances, it was obviously the interest of each party individually, and of all conjointly, to cultivate the attainment of peace.

The preliminaries of the treaty between England and France, and England and Spain, were signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January. By the first of these treaties, France obtained an extension of her rights of fishery at Newfoundland, and unrestricted possession of the isles of St. Pjerré and Miquelon, on that coast. In the West Indies St. Lucia was restored, and Tobago ceded to her; whilst she restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa, France obtained the cession of the river of Senegal, and its dependencies and forts, with a restoration of Goree; and England the possession of Fort James and the river Gambia. In the East Indies all that France had lost was restored to her, with considerable additions; in particular, England was bound to procure certain districts round Pondicherry and Karical, to be annexed to those places. England further consented to the abrogation of all the articles relating to Dunkirk, which had been inserted in the treaty of Utrecht, and in every posterior treaty. By the preliminaries with Spain, England relinquished to her Minorca and West Florida, and ceded East Florida, but obtained the restitution of the Bahama islands.

The States-general of the United Provinces having acceded, under the influence of France, to agree to preliminaries of peace with Great Britain, the articles were accordingly signed at Paris on the 2d of September. Of these the most important were the cession of Negapatam to Great Britain, but with a proviso of treating for its restitution in case of an equivalent being offered by the States; and the restoration to the States of Trincomalee, and of all the other places conquered from them. The definitive treaties of peace between Great Britain and the other belligerents, viz. France, Spain, and America, were signed on the following day. Thus terminated the most inauspicious war in which Great Britain was ever engaged, and the country was now restored to the blessings of tranquillity, for which it had so long ardently thirsted.

LETTER XV.

State of France at the time Louis XVI. ascended the Throne.—Distressed condition of her Finances.—Ministerial changes, Maurepas, Turgot, Malesherbes, Necker, and Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse.—Opposition to their respective measures for relieving the embarrassments of the Government.—Necessity of a Revolution, A. D. 1780—1789

WE are now, my dear son, brought, by the order of events, to enter upon a subject of such fearful magnitude, so portentous in its origin, and terrific in its consequences, that the annals of the human race, scarcely present us with its parallel. You will readily anticipate, that I allude to the French revolution—an event which introduced a new state of society in Europe, as the English revolution had been the epoch of a new system of government. In entering upon the history of this phenomenon in the civilized world, you must allow me to go back a little, and take a retrospective view of the causes and events which led to such a fearful issue.

The government of France, from the reign of Louis XIV. to the revolution, was arbitrary rather than despotic; for the monarchs had much greater power than they exercised; their immense authority was resisted only by the feeblest barriers. The crown disposed of the person by *lettres-de-cachet*;

of property, by confiscations; of income, by imposts. It is true, certain bodies possessed a means of defence, which they called privileges; but these privileges were seldom respected. The parliament had the privilege of consenting to or refusing an impost; but the king enforced registration by a bed of justice. (*lit de justice*,) and punished its members by letters of exile. The noblesse were exempt from imposts; the clergy had the privilege of taxing themselves by voluntary grants. Some of the provinces had the privilege of compounding for these imposts; and others that of making the assessment themselves. Such were the small guarantees of France, and even these were still turned to the advantage of the favoured classes, and to the oppression of the people.

France, thus enslaved, was also most wretchedly organized: the excesses of power were less insupportable than their unequal distribution. Divided into three orders, which were again subdivided into several classes, the nation was abandoned to all the evils of despotism, and all the miseries of inequality. The noblesse were divided into courtiers who lived on the favours of the prince, or in other words, on the labours of the people; and who obtained either the governments of the provinces, or high stations in the army,—upstarts, who directed the administration, and were appointed to intendancies, and made a trade of the provinces; lawyers, who administered justice, and monopolized its appointments; and territorial barons, who oppressed the country by the exercise of their private feudal privileges, which had displaced the general political right. The clergy were divided into two classes, of which one was destined for the bishopricks and abbasies, and their rich revenues, the other to apostolic labours, and to poverty. The *tiers-état*,(1) borne down by the court and harassed by the noblesse, was itself separated into corporations, which retaliated upon each other the evils and the oppression which they received from their superiors. They possessed scarcely a third part of the soil, upon which they were compelled to pay feudal services to their lords, tithes to the priests, and imposts to the king. In compensation for so many sacrifices, they enjoyed no rights, had no share in the administration, and were admitted to no public employments.

This order of things could not continue for ever, and it was the prince himself who was destined to bring it to a crisis. His extravagance had exhausted his means, and destroyed the equilibrium between his necessities and his revenues; by patronising genius, he had invited examination into his government, and conferred the power of intelligence on the enslaved and humiliated *tiers-état*; incessantly requiring new imposts, he had made himself dependant, first on those who authorized, and next on those who contributed them; and he provoked the resistance of the nation after having emboldened the opposition of the parliaments. It is thus that courts are tempted to indulge in the prodigality which arbitrary power places within their reach, that extravagance leads to exhaustion, and exhaustion to reform. It is always from this very exuberance of power that a government creates its necessities, and by these necessities that its power is finally subverted.

Louis XIV. had stretched the springs of absolute monarchy too far, and exercised them too violently. Irritated by the troubles of his youth, smitten with the love of domination, he swept away all resistance, and forbade all opposition; that of the aristocracy, which was manifested by revolt; that of the parliaments, which was shown in remonstrances; and that of the Protestants, which exercised itself by a liberty of conscience which the church deemed heretical, and the court held to be factious. Louis XIV. subdued the *grands* by calling them to court, where they received in pleasures and in royal favour the price of their dependance. The parliament, which hitherto had been the instrument of the crown, wished now to become a counterpoise to it, and the prince haughtily imposed on it a submission and silence of sixty years. The revocation of the edict of Nantes, was the finishing stroke to these acts of despotism. But arbitrary power is not content barely with non-resistance, we must, moreover, admire and imitate it. Having unmi-

(1) The third estate, or common people.

lated free-agency, it persecutes the conscience, for it must be in action, and hunt out victims when they no longer present themselves. The immense power of Louis XIV. was exercised at home against heretics, abroad against Europe; oppression found ambitious men to counsel it, soldiers to serve it, successes to encourage it; the wounds of France were covered with laurels, and its groans were stifled by the songs of victory. But, in the end, men of genius died, victories ceased, industry emigrated, money disappeared, and he saw full well that tyranny, even in its success, exhausts its means, and that it devours in advance the resources of the future.

The death of Louis XIV. was the signal for re-action: it produced a sudden change from intolerance to incredulity, and from the spirit of obedience to the spirit of discussion. The court prosecuted wars which were ruinous, without being brilliant; it engaged in a silent contest with opinion, an avowed one with the parliament. Anarchy was introduced into its bosom, the government fell into the hands of mistresses, the sovereign power was rapidly declining, and opposition was every day making new progress.

The position and the system of the parliaments had changed. The royal authority had invested them with a power, which they now turned against it. As soon as the ruin of the aristocracy was completed by their common efforts, the parliaments, like all allies after victory, separated themselves from their royal associate. The parliament sought to domineer over the crown, and the crown endeavoured to crush an instrument, which, in ceasing to be useful, had become dangerous. This struggle, favourable to the monarch under Louis XIV., alternating with successes and reverses under Louis XV., terminated only at the revolution. From its very nature, the parliament had only been called on to serve as an instrument. As the exercise of its prerogative, and its ambition as a body, had induced it to succour the feeble, and oppose the strong; it served, in turn, the crown against the aristocracy, and the nation against the crown. Hence it became so popular during the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., although it opposed the court only in the spirit of rivalry. Opinion demanded no account of its motives; it did not applaud its ambition, but its resistance, and supported the parliament, because by the parliament it had been defended. Emboldened by these encouragements, it became formidable to the sovereign authority. After having stemmed the will of the most imperious and the best obeyed of sovereigns; after having opposed itself to the seven years' war; after having obtained the control of the financial operations, and the destruction of the Jesuits, its resistance became so energetic and so frequent, that the court, every where encountering its interposition, found that it must either obey or subdue it. The court therefore put in execution the plan of disorganization proposed by the chancellor Maupeou. This intrepid man, who, to use his own expression, had offered to *rescue the crown from the hands of its jailor*, replaced this hostile by a devoted parliament, and enforced the same change through all the magistracy of France which had followed the example of that of Paris.

But the time for manœuvres of state-policy had passed away. Arbitrary power was so discredited, that the king hazarded the exercise of it with distrust, and encountered even the opposition of the court. A new power had sprung up, the power of opinion, which, without being recognised, was not therefore the less felt, and whose decrees were already becoming sovereign. The nation, hitherto nothing, resumed its rights by degrees; first it influenced power, and then participated in it. This is the march of all bodies which raise themselves: before being admitted into the government, they act on it externally, and from the right of control they pass to that of co-operation. The epoch at which the *tiers-état* was to have a share in the government had arrived. It had in other times made fruitless, because premature attempts. It was then too little emancipated, it had nothing of that which establishes superiority and confers power, for we can vindicate our rights only so far as we are able to enforce them. Thus it occupied the third order only in insurrections, as it did in the States-general. Every thing was done with it, nothing for it. Under the feudal tyranny the *tiers-état* had

served the kings against the lords, and under the ministerial and fiscal tyranny it had served the grantees against the kings; but in the first case it was only employed by the crown, and in the second by the aristocracy.

After an age of absolute submission, it re-appeared in the arena, but on its own account. The past recurs no more; and it was as little possible for the noblesse to recover from their defeats, as at the present day it would be for absolute monarchy to rise up from its overthrow. Another antagonist of the court was necessary, for there must always be one, since power never can be without a candidate. The *tiers-état*, whose wealth, firmness, and intelligence, were daily increasing, was destined to combat and dispossess it. The parliament did not constitute a class but a body, and in this new contest could assist in the displacement of power, but could not appropriate it to itself.

The court itself had favoured the progress of the *tiers-état*, and had contributed to the diffusion of intelligence, the great source of its power. The most absolute of princes had aided the efforts of genius, and, without intending it, had created public opinion. In encouraging panegyric, he had prepared for censure; for he could not solicit examination in his favour, without inducing it also to his disparagement. When praises were exhausted, discussion began; and the philosophers of the eighteenth century succeeded to the scholars of the seventeenth. Every thing became the object of their research and their reflections,—governments, and religion, and laws, and their abuses; they discovered the rights, pointed out the wants, and proclaimed the wrongs of mankind. A vigorous and enlightened public opinion was formed, which acted upon the government, and whose voice could not be stifled. It even converted those whom it attacked; courtiers through their politeness, power from necessity, submitted to its decisions; and the age of reform was prepared by the age of philosophy, as this had been prepared by that of the fine arts.

This was the condition of France when Louis XVI. ascended the throne. Finances which neither the regenerating administration of the cardinal de Fleury, nor the bankrupt administration of the abbé Terray, could restore; the royal authority deranged, parliaments intractable, public opinion imperious; such were the embarrassments which the new reign inherited from its predecessors. Of all princes, Louis XVI. was he whose intentions and whose virtues were best adapted to his times. He was weary of arbitrary power, and anxious to abandon it; he was irritated by the burthensome licentiousness of the court of Louis XV., and he was a man of pure manners, and inexpensive habits; ameliorations now became indispensable, were loudly demanded, and he felt the public necessities, and made it his glory to satisfy them. But it was as difficult to operate good as to continue evil; for he must have the power to make the privileged class submit to reforms, or the nation to abuses, and Louis XVI. was neither a regenerator nor a despot. He was wanting in that sovereign will which alone accomplishes great changes in states, and which is as necessary for the monarch who would limit, as for him who would aggrandize his power. Louis XVI. had just views, and amiable dispositions; but he was without decision of character, and had no perseverance in his measures. His projects of amelioration encountered obstacles which he had not foreseen, and which he could not vanquish. Thus he fell by his attempts at reform, as another would have fallen by his refusal. His reign, up to the period of the States-general, was a long tissue of ameliorations, which produced no result.

His choice of Maurepas as prime-minister, when he ascended the throne, contributed greatly to stamp this character of irresolution on his reign. Young, strongly impressed with his duties and his insufficiency, he had recourse to the experience of an old man, who had been disgraced under Louis XV., for opposition to his mistresses. But instead of a sage, he found a courtier, whose counsels extended their pernicious influence through his whole life. Maurepas cared little for the good of France, and the glory of his master; he was attentive only to win his favour. He rendered the mind of Louis XVI. uncertain, his character irresolute; he habituated him to half-

measures, to changes of system, to inconsistent exertions of power, and above all, to the necessity of doing every thing by another, and nothing by himself.

Maurepas had the choice of the ministers. * These maintained themselves in his favour, as he maintained himself in that of the king. Frivolous in every thing that concerned the government, he did not judge of systems of administration by their utility, or of ministers by their conduct, but both the one and the other by the temper of the court. In fear of endangering his own power, he kept from the administration men of strong connexions, and called into it new men who required his aid to maintain their place, and effect their reforms. Thus he successively introduced to the direction of affairs, Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker. But they had too many conditions to fulfil. If they essayed amelioration, they incurred the displeasure of the courtiers or the privileged; if they continued abuses, they roused the people to discontent: if they won the favour of the monarch, they alarmed the minister, and in all these we see so many causes of their deposition. Thus these popular ministers gave way to courtier-ministers, who were just as unable to keep their places.

Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker attempted useful reforms, each in the department of state which had been the special object of his labours. Malesherbes, descended from a family of lawyers, inherited the virtues without the prejudices of a parliamentarian. With a liberal mind he combined the most amiable dispositions. Oppression appeared to him at once illegal and wicked. He wished to restore to every one his rights, to the accused the power of being defended, to Protestants liberty of conscience, to writers the freedom of the press, and to all Frenchmen security of person; he proposed the abolition of torture, the re-establishment of the edict of Nantes, the suppression of *lettres de cachet*, and those of the censorship. Turgot, possessing a vigorous and comprehensive understanding, an energy and firmness of character very uncommon, attempted the realization of projects still more extensive. He joined himself with Malesherbes, in order to effect, with his support, the establishment of a system of administration, which should restore unity in the government and equality in the state. This virtuous citizen was constantly employed in ameliorating the condition of the people. He undertook alone that which the revolution afterwards effected, the suppression of privileges and feudal services. He proposed to deliver the country from the tax of feudal service (*corvée*), the provinces from their barriers, commerce from internal duties, industry from its restraints, and finally, to make the nobility and the clergy contribute to the imposts in the same proportion as the *tiers-état*. This great minister, of whom Malesherbes said, "*he had the head of Bacon and the heart of l'Hôpital*," wished, by means of provincial assemblies, to familiarize the nation with public life, and prepare it for the return of the States-general. Necker, a stranger, a banker, and a steward rather than a statesman, showed himself less bold than Turgot: he had been called to the administration to supply the court with money, and he availed himself of its necessities to procure the liberties of the people. He restored the finances by means of order, and made the provinces concur in a proportionate manner in their administration. His ideas were just and comprehensive, and consisted in putting the receipts on a level with the expenditure, and in reducing the latter: in employing imposts in ordinary times, and loans when imperious circumstances made it necessary to draw on the future for the uses of the present; in making the provincial assemblies assess the imposts, and in order to facilitate the negotiation of loans, in rendering a clear and regular statement of accounts. This system was founded on the nature of a loan, which, having need of credit, requires publicity of administration, and on that of an impost, which having need of consent, confers a voice in the distribution of it. Whenever the government is in want, and requires money, if it address itself to lenders, it must exhibit the state of its finances, if it address itself to contributors, it must grant them a share of power. Thus the loans led to the publication of the budget, and imposts to the States-general; two events of which the first

placed the ruling power under the jurisdiction of opinion, the second under that of the people.

But Necker, less impatient indeed for reforms than Turgot, although he wished to compensate the abuses which his predecessor would have destroyed, was equally unsuccessful. Under the regime of partial privileges and general slavery, all objects of public good were impracticable. These different ministers encountered invincible obstacles, and they quitted power. Turgot had discontented the courtiers by his ameliorations, offended the parliament by the abolition of *corvées*, alarmed the old minister by the ascendancy which his virtue had given him over Louis XVI. Louis XVI. abandoned every thing, saying, at the same time, that he and Turgot were the only persons who wished the good of the people; so much reason is there to envy the condition of kings! Necker, without exciting regret so vivid, experienced the same fate. His œconomy had disgusted the courtiers, and the labours of the provincial assemblies had incurred the disapprobation of the parliaments, who wished to preserve for themselves the monopoly of resistance, and the prime-minister could not pardon him an appearance of credit.

The death of Maurepas followed shortly after the retreat of Necker. The queen replaced him in the favour of the sovereign, and he inherited all his influence over him. This amiable but weak prince, Louis XVI., was incapable of directing himself. His wife, young, beautiful, active, ambitious, took into her hands, in a great measure, the reins of government. Yet we may say that the daughter of Maria Theresa had too little of her mother; her love of domination was mixed with much frivolity, and she distributed the power which she had thus assumed, to men who caused the ruin of the state and her own. Maurepas, who distrusted courtier-ministers, had always chosen popular ministers; it is true that he had not supported them, but still if he accomplished no good, he aggravated no evil. After his death, courtier-ministers succeeded to popular ministers, and rendered inevitable, by their mal-administration, the crisis which the others wished to prevent by their reforms. This difference in the choice of ministers is very remarkable and led by a change of men to a change of measures in the administration. The revolution dates from this epoch; the abandonment of reforms, and the return of licentiousness accelerated its approach and embittered its violence.

Calonne was called from the intendency of a province to the general control of the finances. This department of state, the most important of all, had become exceedingly difficult to fill. There had been already two successors to Necker, neither of whom could supply his place, when it was put into the hands of Calonne. Calonne was daring, acute, eloquent; a man of accomplished manners, and of a fertile but superficial genius. Whether by accident or design, he adopted a system of administration completely opposed to that of his predecessor. Necker had counselled œconomy; Calonne boasted prodigality. Necker had fallen by the courtiers, Calonne wished to maintain his power by them. His sophisms were supported by largesses; he convinced the queen by splendid entertainments, and the great lords by pensions; he created vast activity in the finances, in order to induce a belief in the justness of his views by the number and facility of his operations; and he deceived even the capitalists by the punctuality with which at first he made his payments. He continued loans after the peace, and exhausted the credit which the wise conduct of Necker had obtained for the government. Arrived at this point, deprived of a resource which he had not the skill to husband, to prolong his power he resorted to imposts. But to whom should he address himself? the people could pay nothing, the privileged would offer nothing. But the emergency admitted not of indecision, and Calonne, trusting to its novelty, convened an assembly of the notables. A resort to the assistance of others is the crisis of a system of prodigality. The minister, who has been raised by largesses, cannot maintain his power by begging.

The notables, chosen by the government from the high classes, was a ministerial assembly, having no proper existence or mandatory authority. It was thus that Calonne, to avoid the parliament of States-general, addressed himself to an assembly more subordinate, and which he thought would

therefore be more manageable. But composed of the privileged, it was little disposed to make sacrifices. It became still less so when it beheld the abyss into which a devouring administration had plunged itself. It discovered with dismay that within a few years loans had been raised to the amount of one thousand, six hundred, and forty-six millions of francs, and that there was in the revenue an annual deficit of one hundred and forty millions. This discovery was the signal for the fall of Calonne. He retired, and was succeeded by the archbishop of Toulouse, Brienne, his antagonist in the assembly. Brienne believed that the majority of the notables were devoted to his purposes, because they had joined him in combating Calonne. But the privileged felt as little disposition to make sacrifices to him as to his predecessor, they had seconded his attacks, which were in their interest, and not his ambition, to which they were strangers.

The archbishop of Toulouse, who has been accused of acting without a plan, could not in fact have had one. It was not possible to continue the extravagance of Calonne, and it was too late to return to the economizing schemes of Necker. Economy, which at a former epoch was a means of safety, was no longer so in this. He must either have recourse to imposts, and the parliament opposed itself to them; or to loans, and credit was exhausted; or to sacrifices on the part of the privileged, and they would not make them. Brienne, whose whole object through life had been to obtain the ministry, and the difficulty of whose position was only equalled by the feebleness of his means, attempted every thing, and succeeded in nothing. He possessed a mind active, but without force, a character impetuous, but without perseverance. Bold before the execution of a plan, but feeble afterwards, he lost himself by his irresolution, his want of forecast, and his change of measures. He had only bad parts to take, but he did not know how to decide upon one and follow it up. This was the true error of his policy.

The assembly of notables shewed itself very unmanageable and parsimonious. After having approved the establishment of the provincial assemblies, a regulation in the corn-trade, the suppression of *corvées*, and a new tax on stamps, it dissolved itself. It spread through all France, what it had discovered concerning the necessities of the throne, the misuse of the ministers, the dilapidations of the court, and the irremediable miseries of the people. Brienne, deprived of this assistance, recurred to imposts, as a resource which had for some time been abandoned. He demanded the registration of two edicts, that of stamps, and one for a territorial subsidy. But the parliament, which was then in its full vigour, in the full career of its ambition, and to which the financial embarrassments of the government offered a certain means of increasing its power, refused the registration. Banished to Troyes, it became weary of exile, and the minister recalled it, on condition that it would accept the edicts. But this was only a suspension of hostilities, the necessities of the crown soon rendered the struggle more active and rancorous. The minister had new demands of money to make; his existence was attached to the success of several successive loans to the amount of four hundred and forty millions. It was absolutely necessary to obtain the registration of them.

Brienne expected the opposition of the parliament. He therefore made them register this edict in a bed of justice; and in order to appease the magistracy and public opinion, in the same sitting the Protestants were re-established in their rights, and Louis XVI. promised the annual publication of the state of the finances, and the convocation of the States-general before the expiration of five years. But these concessions were insufficient, and the parliament refused the registration, and opposed itself to the tyranny of the ministers. Some of its members, and among others, the Duke of Orleans, were exiled. The parliament, by a decree, protested against the *lettres de cachet*, and demanded the recall of its members. The decree was quashed by the king, and confirmed by the parliament. The war between them raged with increasing violence. The magistracy of Paris was supported by all the magistracy of France, and encouraged by public opinion. It

proclaimed the rights of the nation, its own incompetency in matters of impost; and become liberal by interest, rendered generous by oppression, it resisted the arbitrary detentions, and demanded the regular convocation of the States-general. After this act of courage, it decreed that its own members should be irremovable, and the incompetency of any one who should usurp its functions. This bold manifesto was followed by the arrest of two parliamentarians, Epréménil and Goislard, by the reform of the body and the establishment of a *cour plénière*.

Brienne had found that the opposition of the parliament was systematic, and that it was renewed at each demand for subsidies, or each authorization of a loan. Exile was only a momentary remedy, which suspended opposition without destroying it. He projected, therefore, the reducing of this body to judicial functions; and he associated with himself Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, in the execution of this enterprise. Lamoignon was a bold statesman;—he had audacity, and, with the energetic perseverance of Maupeou, he combined a greater share of reflection and integrity. But he miscalculated the force of power, and the extent of what it was possible to accomplish in his time. Maupeou had renewed the parliament by a change in its members; Lamoignon wished to disorganize it. The former of these expedients, had it been successful, could have produced only a temporary repose; the latter ought to have produced a final result, since it would have destroyed the power which the other was content with displacing. But the reform of Maupeou was transient, and that of Lamoignon could not be effected. The execution of this last scheme was nevertheless sufficiently well-conducted. In one day all the magistracy of France was displaced, in order to make way for the new judicial organization. The keeper of the seals divested the parliament of Paris of its political attributes, in order to clothe with them a *cour plénière*, ministerially composed, and he reduced its judicial competence in favour of the bailiwicks, whose cognizance he extended. But public opinion was indignant; the *châtelet* protested; the provinces rose in rebellion; and the *cour plénière* could neither form itself nor act. Troubles broke out in Dauphiny, in Brittany, in Provence, in Flanders, in Languedoc, and in Béarn. The ministry, instead of the regular opposition of the parliaments, encountered an opposition still more vigorous and factious;—the noblesse, the commons, the provincial states, and even the clergy, made a part of it. Brienne, harassed by the want of money, had convoked an extraordinary assembly of the clergy, which immediately voted an address to the king, requiring from him the abolition of his *cour plénière*, and the prompt convocation of the States-general. They alone could repair the disorder of the finances, re-assure the public creditor, and put an end to these conflicts of authority.

The archbishop of Sens, by his contest with the parliament, had adjourned the financial difficulty, by creating a difficulty of power. As soon as this last ceased, the other re-appeared, and determined the retirement of the minister. Alike unsuccessful in obtaining either imposts or loans,—unable to make use of the *cour plénière*,—and unwilling to recall the parliament, Brienne tried a last resource, and promised the States-general. But this was the termination of his career. He had been called to the department of finance to remedy embarrassments—he had augmented them;—to find money, and he had not been able to obtain any. So far from this, he had exasperated the nation, stimulated into resistance the several bodies of the state, compromised the authority of the government, and rendered the convocation of the States-general, (in the opinion of the court the worst means of getting supplies,) inevitable. He yielded. The occasion of his fall was a suspension of the payment of the *rentes* of the state, which was in fact the commencement of a bankruptcy. This minister has been the most decried, because he came the last. Heir to the faults and the embarrassments of the post, he had to struggle against the difficulties of his position with the feeblest means. He tried intrigue, oppression; he exiled the parliament, suspended it, disorganized it; every thing was an obstacle in his way—nothing aided him. After enduring a long series of attacks, he fell, from las-

astute and feebleness—We dare not say from want of skill ; for, had he been much more skilful and sagacious—had he been a Richelieu or a Sully—he would still have fallen. It was no longer, in the power of any individual either to obtain money, or to exercise oppression ; and we must say, in acquittal of Brienne, that the position from which he was unable to extricate himself he had not made, and that his only error was presumption in accepting it. He perished by the mal-administration of Calonne, as Calonne had profited, in his dilapidations, by the confidence which Necker had inspired. The one destroyed the credit—the other, wishing to re-establish it by force, destroyed the authority of government.

The States-general had become the only means of government, and the last resource of the throne. They had been demanded with earnestness by the parliament and the peers of the realm, on the 13th of July, 1787 ; by the states of Dauphiny, in the assembly of Vizille ; by the clergy, in its assembly of Paris. The provincial states had prepared the public mind for it ; the notables had been its harbingers. The king, after having promised, on the 18th of December, 1787, the convocation within five years, on the 8th of August, 1788, fixed the opening for the 1st of May, 1789. Necker was recalled, the parliament re-established, the *cour plénière* abolished, the bailiwicks destroyed, the provinces satisfied, and the new minister made every arrangement for the election of the deputies, and for the holding of the states.

At this juncture, a great change took place in the opposition, which had hitherto been unanimous. The administration under Brienne had encountered the resistance of all the bodies of the state, because it had wished to oppress them. It incurred under Necker the resistance of these same bodies, who were wishing to secure the power for themselves, and oppression for the people. From being despotic, it had become national, and still they had opposed it. The parliament had maintained a contest of authority, and not of public good ; the noblesse had re-united themselves to the *tiers-état*, rather against the government than in behalf of the people. Each of these bodies had demanded the States-general, in the hope, the parliament of ruling them as they had done in 1614, and the noblesse of resuming their lost power. Thus the magistracy proposed as the model for the States-general of 1789 their form in 1614, and opinion abandoned it ; the noblesse refused to consent to the double representation of the commons, and division sprang up between these two orders.

This double representation was demanded by the intelligence of the epoch, by the necessity of reform, by the importance which the *tiers-état* had acquired. It had been already admitted into the provincial assemblies. Brienne, before leaving the ministry, having made an appeal to writers, in order to know what would be the best mode of composing and holding the States-general, the celebrated pamphlet of Sieyès on the *tiers-état*, and that of Entraignes on the States-general, were added to the works on the rights of the people. Opinion declaring itself more decidedly every day, Necker, wishing to satisfy it, and not daring,—desirous of conciliating all orders, of obtaining the approbation of all parties,—once more convoked the notables. He had believed that they would consent to the doubling of the *tiers* ; they refused it, and he was compelled to decide in defiance of them, that which he should have decided without them. Necker did not know how to avoid contest by settling all difficulties in advance. He did not take the initial measure on the doubling of the *tiers*, as in the sequel he did not take it on the vote by order or by poll. When the States-general were assembled, the solution of this second question, on which depended the fate of power, and that of the people, was abandoned to force.

Although Necker had been unable to prevail on the notables to adopt the doubling of the *tiers*, he procured its adoption by the council. He obtained the admission of *curés* into the order of the clergy, and of Protestants into that of the *tiers*. The assemblies of burghers were convoked for the elections ; every one exerted himself to procure the nomination of men of his own party, and to publish pamphlets and papers expressive of his own opinion. The parliament had little influence in the elections : the court none

at all. The noblesse chose some popular deputies; but the most part were devoted to the interests of their order, and as opposed to the *tiers-état* as to the oligarchy of the great families of the court. The clergy nominated bishops and abbots favourable to their privileges, and *curés* favourable to the popular cause which was their own. Finally, the *tiers-état* chose men enlightened, firm, and unanimous in their views. The opening of the States-general was appointed for the 5th of May, 1789.

Thus was brought about the Revolution. The court tried in vain to prevent it, as in the sequel it tried vainly to quash it. Under the direction of Maurepas, the king appointed popular ministers, and made essays of reform; under the direction of the queen, he appointed courtier ministers, and made essays of authority. Oppression was as little successful as reform. After having uselessly resorted to the courtiers for economy; to the parliaments for imposts; to the capitalists for loans; he had recourse to a new class of contributors, and made an appeal to the privileged. He demanded from the notables, composed of the noblesse and the clergy, a participation in the charges of the state, which they refused. This led him to address himself to all France, and to convene the States-general. He treated with detached bodies of men before he treated with the nation; and it was only on the refusal of the first, that he appealed to a power of which he dreaded the interposition and the support. He preferred partial assemblies, which, being isolated, would be secondary to a general assembly, which, representing all the interests of the realm, would combine all its power. Up to this great epoch, each year saw the necessities of the government increase, and resistance extend itself. The opposition passed from the parliament to the noblesse, and from the noblesse to the clergy, and from all to the people. In proportion as each of them participated in power, it commenced its opposition, until all these particular oppositions were confounded in one great national opposition, or dwindled into nothing before it. The States-general only decreed a revolution which was already virtually accomplished.⁽¹⁾

LETTER XVI.

Affairs of France, during the year 1789.—Opening of the States-general.—Formation of the National Assembly.—Insurrection of Paris.—Formation of the National Guard.—Destruction of the Bastille.

It is an undoubted truth, my son, that no great revolution can be accomplished without the infliction of misery, and the commission of excess at which humanity revolts. This unfortunately is true, in an especial manner, of those revolutions which, like that of France, are strictly popular. Where the people are led by a faction, its leaders find no difficulty in the re-establishment of that order which must be the object of their wishes, because it is the sole security of their power. But when a general movement of the popular mind levels a despotism with the ground, it is far less easy to restrain excess. There is more resentment to satiate, and less authority to control. The passion which produced an effect so tremendous, is too violent to subside in a moment into serenity and submission. The spirit of revolt breaks out with fatal violence after its object is destroyed, and turns against the order of freedom, those arms by which it had subdued the strength of tyranny. The attempt to punish the spirit that actuates a people, would be vain if it were just, and if it were possible, would be cruel. The number is too great to be punished in a view of justice, and too strong to be punished in a view of policy. The ostentation of vigour would in such

(1) Considerations on the principal events of the French Revolution, by the Baron de Stael, vol. 1.—Sir James Mackintosh's Defence of the French Revolution.—Histoire de la Revolution en 1789, tom. 1.

a case prove the display of impotence, and the rigour of justice conduct to the cruelty of extirpation. No remedy is therefore left but the progress of instruction, the force of persuasion, the mild authority of opinion. These remedies, though infallible, are of slow operation; and in the interval which elapses before a calm succeeds the boisterous moments of a revolution, it is vain to expect that a people, inured to barbarism by their oppressors, and which has ages of oppression to avenge, will be punctiliously generous in their triumph, nicely discriminative in their vengeance, or cautiously mild in their mode of retaliation. They will break their chains on the heads of their oppressors.

I offer these remarks, my dear son, with the view of preparing you for those scenes of tumult and carnage which the state of matters in France gave birth to—scenes which the friends of freedom deplore as tarnishing her triumphs. Let us now return to the proceedings in the French capital.

The 5th of May, 1789, was appointed for the opening of the States-general. The watching, a religious ceremonial, preceded their installation. The king, his family, his ministers, the deputies of the three orders, went in procession from the church of Notre-Dame to the church of Saint-Louis, to hear mass at the opening; they beheld with intoxication the return of this national solemnity, of which France had been so long deprived. It bore the aspect of a festival. An immense multitude, from all parts, had resorted to Versailles; the occasion was magnificent, the pomp of decoration had been lavished with prodigality; the chaunting of music, the benevolent and satisfied air of the king, the beauty and noble deportment of the queen, and above all, the common expectations, inspired and animated all minds. Nevertheless they beheld with pain, the etiquettes, the costume, and the subordination of the states which had been observed in 1614. The clergy, in cassocks, large cloaks and square bonnets, or in a purple robe and lawn sleeves, occupied the first place. Then came the noblesse, habited in black, having the vest and facing of silver cloth, the cravat of lace, and the hat with a white plume, turned up after the fashion of Henry IV. The modest *tiers-état* were in the last place, clothed in black, a short cloak, muslin cravat, and the hat without plumes or loops. At the church the same distinctions were observed, as to the places of the three orders.

The next day the royal sitting was held in the hall of the privy treasury. The galleries of the amphitheatre were filled with spectators. The deputies were called and introduced by the government according to the order established in 1614. The clergy were led to the right, the noblesse to the left, and the commons, in front of the throne, were placed at the bottom of the hall. The most animated applauses announced the deputation of Dauphiné; that of Crepi in Valois, of which the duke of Orléans made a part; and that of Provence. M. Necker was also greeted on his entering with general enthusiasm. The public favour attached itself to all those who had contributed to the convocation of the States-general. When the deputies and ministers had taken their places, the king made his entrance, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant retinue. The hall resounded with plaudits on his arrival. Louis XVI. seated himself on his throne, and when he had put on his hat, the three orders covered themselves at the same time. The commons, contrary to the usage of the ancient states, imitated, without hesitation, the clergy and the noblesse. The time had passed away when it was necessary for the third estate to stand uncovered and speak upon its knees. They waited in the most profound silence for the king's address; they were anxious to ascertain the real dispositions of the government to the states. Whether it would assimilate the new assembly to those which had been formerly held, or whether that importance would be attached to it which the necessities of the state, and the magnitude of circumstances required.

"Gentlemen," said the monarch, with emotion, "this day, which my heart has so anxiously expected, has at length arrived, and I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the nation I have the glory to command. A long interval has elapsed since the last holding of the States-general; and the convocation of these assemblies appears to have fallen into desue-

"tude. I have not hesitated to re-establish an usage from which the realm may derive new energy, and which may open out to the nation new sources of prosperity." These first words, which promised much, were followed only by explanations upon the debt, and announcements of reduction in the expenditure. The king, instead of wisely tracing out to the states the march which they ought to follow, invited the orders to act in harmony with each other, told them the necessities of the state, declared his apprehensions of innovation, and complained of the inquietude of the public mind without announcing any measure which might satisfy it. He was nevertheless loudly cheered when he ended by these words, which painted well his intentions. "Every thing which you can expect from the tenderest regard for the public welfare, every thing which you can demand from a sovereign, the fast friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from my sentiments. May, gentlemen, a happy union reign in this assembly, and may this epoch become henceforward memorable for the happiness and prosperity of the realm! this is the desire of my heart, the most ardent of my wishes; this is, in a word, the reward which I expect for the rectitude of my intentions, and my affection for my people."

Barentin, the keeper of the seals, spoke next. His harangue was a mere rhetorical declamation on the subject of the States-general, and on the favours of the king. After a long preamble, he adverted to the questions of importance. "His majesty," he said, "in granting a double representation in favour of the most numerous of the three orders, that on which the burden of imposts principally fall, has not changed the form of the ancient deliberations. Although the vote by poll, producing only a single result, appears to have the advantage of manifesting more clearly the general will, the king has been desirous that this new form should be put in operation only by the free consent of the States-general and with the approbation of his majesty. But in whatever way we pronounce upon this question, whatever distinctions be made among the different objects which may come under discussion, we cannot doubt that the most perfect agreement will unite the three orders relative to the imposts." The government was not opposed to the vote by poll in matters respecting money, because it was more expeditious, whilst on political questions it declared itself in favour of the vote by the three orders severally, because this was better adapted to prevent innovation. The government wished to attain its object, subsidies, without permitting the nation to attain its object also, which was reform. The manner in which the keeper of the seals defined the privileges of the States-general, manifested still more the intentions of the court. He reduced them, in some degree, to the examination of the impost, in order to vote it; to the discussion of a law upon the press, in order to impose restrictions on it; and to the reform of the civil and criminal legislation. He proscribed all other changes, and he exclaimed, "Just demands have been acceded to; the king has not been influenced by indiscreet murmurs, he has deigned to cover them with his indulgence; he has pardoned even the expression of these false and strange maxims, in favour of which they would substitute pernicious chimeras for the unalterable principles of monarchy. You will reject, gentlemen, with indignation, these dangerous innovations, which the enemies of the public weal would confound with the happy and necessary changes which would produce that regeneration which is the first wish of his majesty."

This harangue manifested either great ignorance of the wishes of the nation, or great hardihood in combating them. The assembly expected another language from M. Necker. He was the popular minister, he had obtained the double representation, and they had hoped that he would approve the vote by poll, by which alone the *tiers-état* could avail itself of its numbers. But he spoke with great reserve and caution; his harangue, which lasted three hours, was a long budget of finances; and when, after having wearied the assembly, he touched upon the question which occupied all minds, he left it undecided, that he might neither commit himself with the court nor the people.

The government had very imperfectly comprehended the importance of the States-general. The return of this assembly, in itself announced a great revolution. Ardently wished for by the nation, they reappeared at an epoch when the ancient monarchy had fallen, and when they alone were capable of reforming the state, and purveying for the necessities of the throne. The embarrassments of the time, the nature of their summons, the choice of their members, every thing declared that they were no longer convoked as contributors, but as legislators. The right of regenerating France was accorded them by the decree of opinion, devolved on them by the budget, and they found in the enormity of abuses, and in the encouragement of the people, the power to undertake and accomplish this great task.

To the monarch it was of the last importance that he should associate himself in their labours. He would thus have been able to restore his power, and to guarantee himself from a revolution, by operating it himself. Had he taken the first step in these changes, and prescribed with firmness, but with justice, the new order of things; had he, realizing the wishes of France, defined the rights of the citizens, the prerogatives of the States-general, the limits of the royal power; had he renounced arbitrary sway for himself, inequality for the noblesse, privileges for corporate bodies; finally, had he executed all the reforms which were demanded by opinion, and which were executed by the Constituent Assembly, this resolution would have prevented the destructive dissensions which afterwards blazed forth. But it is rarely that we find a prince who consents to a participation in his power, and who is sufficiently enlightened to yield up that which he will be compelled to part with. Louis XVI. however, would have done it, had he been less under the dominion of his household, and had he followed his own suggestions. But the greatest anarchy reigned in the councils of the king. When the States-general assembled, no measure had been taken; no precautions had been provided for the prevention of disputes. Louis XVI. floated irresolute between his ministry, directed by Necker, and his court, directed by the queen and some princes of his family.

The minister, satisfied with having obtained the double representation of the *tiers-état*, dreaded the indecision of the king, and the discontent of the court. Not sufficiently appreciating the importance of the revolution, which he contemplated rather as a statesman than as a citizen, he suffered events to take their own course, and flattered himself that he should be able to conduct them, without having done any thing to prepare them. He felt that the ancient organization of the states could be no longer maintained; that the existence of the three orders having each the right of refusal, was a barrier to the execution of reforms, and the march of the administration. He hoped, after the proof of this triple opposition, to reduce the number of the orders, and procure the adoption of the English government, by uniting the clergy and the noblesse in one chamber, and the *tiers-état* in another. He did not see that, the struggle once begun, his interposition would be unavailing; that half-measures would suit no one; that the weak, by their obstinacy, and the strong, by their natural weight, would refuse this mediating system. Concessions only satisfy before the victory is won.

The court, far from wishing to invest the States-general with a regular form, was desirous of annulling them. It preferred the accidental resistance of the great bodies of the realm, to a participation of authority with a permanent assembly. The separation of the orders favoured its views; it reckoned upon fomenting their discord, and preventing their effectual co-operation. Formerly they had never produced any result, from the defects of their organization; the court hoped the more confidently that the same force would be acted over again, as the two first orders were little disposed to concur in the reforms solicited by the last. The clergy wished to preserve their privileges, and their opulence; they foresaw very clearly that they would have many sacrifices to make, and few advantages to gain. The noblesse, on its part, in resuming a political independence which it had long since lost, was ignorant that it would have much more to yield up to the people, than to demand from the sovereign. It was almost entirely in favour

of the people that the new revolution was about to operate, and the two first orders were induced to coalesce with the court against it, as not long before they had coalesced with it against the court. Interest alone produced this change of party, and they re-united themselves to the monarch without attachment, as they had defended the people without regard for the public good.

No efforts were spared to maintain the noblesse and the clergy in these dispositions. The deputies of these two orders were seduced by every species of flattering attention. A committee of the most illustrious individuals composing this party, sat at the house of the countess de Polignac; their principal members were admitted there. It was here that they gained over d'Epréménil and d'Entraques, two of the most ardent defenders of liberty in the parliament before the States-general, and who became afterwards its most decided opponents. It was here that the costume of the deputies of the different orders was regulated, and that they endeavoured to separate them, first by etiquette, then by intrigue, and lastly by force. The remembrance of the ancient States-general governed the court; it believed that it would be able to regulate the present by the past, to restrain Paris by the army, the deputies of the commons by those of the noblesse, to control the states by dividing the orders, and to separate the orders by reviving the ancient usages, which elevated the noblesse and depressed the commons. It was thus that, after the first sitting, they believed that by granting nothing they had placed obstacles in the way of every thing.

The day after the opening of the states, the noblesse and the clergy met in their respective chambers, and formed themselves. The commons, to which the double representation had made the lull of the states more suitable, as furnishing greater accommodation, waited there for the two other orders; regarded its situation as provisional, its members as presumptive deputies, and adopted a system of inaction until the two others should join it. Then commenced a memorable struggle, of which the issue was to decide whether the revolution should be accomplished or interdicted. The future condition of France depended on the separation or the re-union of the orders. Most opportunely this important question arose contemporaneously with that of the verification of the powers. The popular deputies justly contended that the verification should be made in common, since even in rejecting the re-union of the orders, it could not be questioned but that each order had an interest in examining the powers of the other two. The privileged deputies contended, on the other hand, that the orders having a distinct existence, the verification should be several. They felt that a single operation in common would thenceforward render all separation impossible.

The commons, at this delicate epoch, acted with the greatest circumspection, wisdom, and firmness. It was by a series of efforts, which were not always without peril, by successes slow and indecisive, by struggles constantly reviving, that they attained their object. That system of inaction which they adopted from the commencement, was the wisest and most certain plan: there are occasions when we have only to know how to wait, to be triumphant. The commons were unanimous, and they alone constituted a numerical half of the States-general; the noblesse had among them popular dissidents; the majority of the clergy, composed of some bishops, friends of peace, and a numerous class of curates, which was the *tiers-état* of the church, were favourably disposed towards the commons. Inaction ought, therefore, to lead to a re-union. This was what the *tiers-état* hoped, what the bishops dreaded, and what induced them to offer themselves as mediators. But this mediation led to no result, since the noblesse would not consent to vote by poll, nor the commons to vote by order. Thus, these conciliatory conferences, after having been vainly prolonged, were broken off by the noblesse, who declared themselves for the separate verification.

The day after this hostile determination, the commons resolved to declare themselves the assembly of the nation, and, in the name of the God of peace, and of the public welfare, invited the clergy to a re-union with them. The court, alarmed by this measure, interposed, to induce the states to resume

their conferences. The first commissioners to effect reconciliation had to settle the differences of the orders; the ministry recharged itself with settling the differences of the commissioners. By this means the states depended on a commission, and the commission had for its arbitrator the council of the prince. But these new conferences had no happier termination than the former; they were protracted to a great length, without any of the orders yielding to the other, and the noblesse ended by breaking them off in confirming all its resolutions.

Five weeks had elapsed in these useless parleys. The *tiers-état*, seeing that the moment was come to constitute itself as a substantive body, that longer delay would indispose the nation, whose confidence it had obtained by the refusal of the privileged orders, determined to act, and displayed the same moderation and firmness which it had manifested in its inertia. Mirabeau announced that a deputy of Paris had a motion to make; and Siéyès, naturally timid, but of an enterprising mind, who had the authority of superior knowledge, and who more than any other person, was calculated to move for a decision, demonstrated the impossibility of agreement, the urgency of the verification, the justice of making it in common, and he induced the assembly to decree that the noblesse and the clergy should be invited to meet in the hall of the states, in order to assist in the verification, which would take place *whether they were absent or present*.

The measure of the general verification was followed by another still more energetic. The commons, after having terminated the verification, upon the motion of Siéyès, constituted themselves the *National Assembly*. By this bold measure, the most numerous of the three orders, and the only one whose powers had been legalized, declared itself the representation of France, and rejected the two others till they had undergone the verification, settled the questions hitherto undecided, and changed the Assembly of the States into the Assembly of the People. The régime of the orders disappeared in the political powers, and this was the first step towards the abolition of the classes in the private régime. This memorable decree of the 17th of June was pregnant with the night of the 4th of August; but it was necessary to defend the measures which they had dared to decide, and it was to be apprehended that they would not be able to maintain such a determination.

The first decree of the *National Assembly* was an act of sovereignty. In proclaiming the indivisibility of the legislative power, it had placed the privileged under its dependence. It remained to control the court in the matter of imposts. It declared their illegality; voted, nevertheless, the provisional receipt of them, so long as it should be assembled, and their cessation if it should be dissolved; in consolidating the public debt, it re-assured the capitalists; in appointing a committee of subsistence, it provided for the wants of the people.

This firmness and forecast inspired the enthusiasm of the nation. But they who directed the court felt that the divisions which had been fomented among the orders had failed in their object, and that to obtain this object they must have recourse to other artifices. The royal authority appeared to them alone capable of prescribing the maintenance of the orders, which the opposition of the noblesse had failed to accomplish. They availed themselves of an excursion to Marly to withdraw Louis XVI. from the prudent and pacific counsels of Necker, and prevail on him to adopt hostile projects. This prince, equally accessible to good and evil counsels, surrounded by a court abandoned to the spirit of party, being supplicated by the interests of his crown, and in the name of religion, yielded to their artifices, and promised every thing. They decided that he should present himself in state to the assembly; that he should quash their decrees; that he should command the separation of the orders, as constitutive of the monarchy; and should himself fix all the reforms which the States-general were operating. From that time the secret council occupied the government, and it no longer carried on its operations in secret. Barentin, the keeper of the seals, the count of Artois, the prince of Conde, the prince of Conti, alone conducted the plots which they had concerted. Necker lost all influence; he had proposed to

the king a conciliating plan, which could not now, indeed, avail, although it might have succeeded before the struggle had reached its present animosity. He had advised another meeting in the royal presence, in which should have been granted the vote by poll in matters of impost, and that by order should still have been permitted to subsist in matters of privilege and private interest. This measure, which was unfavourable to the people, since it would have tended to maintain abuses by investing the clergy and the noblesse with the power of preventing their abolition, would have been followed by the establishment of two chambers for the next States-general. Necker loved half-measures, and wished to operate, by gradual concessions, a political change which should have been effected at a single stroke. The time was come when its rights must be granted to the nation, or it would take them itself. His project of a royal sitting, already very insufficient, was changed into a state manoeuvre by the new council. This council believed that the injunctions of the throne would intimidate the assembly, and that France would be satisfied by some promises of reform: it did not know that the last hazard to which the royal power should be exposed is that of disobedience.

State manoeuvres in general are suddenly disclosed, and surprise those whom they are intended to strike. It was not so in this case; the preparations contributed to prevent its success. It was apprehended that the clergy would recognise the assembly by uniting themselves to it; and to prevent this decisive measure, instead of hastening the royal sitting, the hall of the states was closed, in order to suspend the assembly till it should take place. The preparations required by the presence of the monarch were made the pretext. Bailly then presided over the assembly. This virtuous citizen, without seeking for them, had obtained all the honours of the rising spirit of liberty. He was the first president of the assembly, as he had been the first deputy of Paris, and was to be its first mayor. He was beloved by his friends, respected by his enemies, and though endowed with virtues the most bland and enlightened, he possessed in a high degree the courage of duty. Apprized by the keeper of the seals, on the night of the 20th of June, of the suspension of the sittings, he shewed himself faithful to the wish of the assembly, and did not shrink from disobeying the court. The next day, at the hour appointed, he appeared at the hall of the states, found it invaded by an armed force, and protested against this act of despotism. Meantime the deputies arrived, the uproar increased, all were resolved to brave the perils of a re-union. The most indignant wished to go and hold the assembly at Marly, immediately under the windows of the prince; some one cried out the "Tennis Court." This proposition was applauded; the deputies went there in a body; Bailly at their head; the crowd following them with enthusiasm; the soldiers came to escort them; and there, in an empty hall, the deputies of the commons standing, with their hands upraised, and their hearts full of the sanctity of their mission, swore, with the exception of one individual, that they would not separate until they had given a constitution to France.

This solemn oath, taken on the 20th of June, in the face of the nation, was followed, on the 22nd, by an important triumph. The assembly, deprived of the place of its sittings, and no longer able to meet at the tennis-ground, which the prince had occupied in order that it might be refused, assembled at the church of St. Louis. It was in this sitting that the majority of the clergy united themselves to it, in the midst of the most patriotic transports. Thus the measures taken to intimidate the assembly raised its courage, and hastened that very re-union which they were designed to prevent. It was by two checks that the court anticipated the famous sitting of the 23rd of June.

It arrived at length. A numerous guard surrounded the hall of the states; the gate was opened to the deputies, but closed to the public. The king appeared, surrounded by all the circumstance of power. He was received, contrary to custom, in profound silence. His harangue fanned to its extremity the spirit of discontent, by the tone of authority with which he dictated measures disapproved by opinion and by the assembly. The king complained of a disagreement excited by the court itself; he condemned the

conduct of the assembly, which recognised only the order of the *tiers-état*, he quashed all its resolutions; prescribed the conservation of the orders, imposed reforms and determined their limits, enjoined upon the States-general their acceptance, threatened to dissolve them, and to do alone what the good of the realm might require, if he encountered any opposition from them.

After this scene of authority, which was very little suitable to the occasion, and which in truth was alien to his own feelings, he commanded the deputies to separate, and withdrew. The clergy and the noblesse obeyed. The deputies of the people, immoveable, silent, indignant, did not quit their seats. They remained some time in this attitude, and Mirabeau, suddenly breaking the silence, "Sirs," he said, "I confess that what you have heard might be for the good of the country, were not the boons of despotism always dangerous. What means this insulting dictation? the display of arms, the violation of the national temple, in order to command you to be happy! Who is it that makes this command? your proxy! Who gives you imperious laws? your proxy! he who ought to receive them from you, from us, gentlemen, who are invested with a political and inviolable priest-hood; from us, from whom twenty-five millions of people expect certain happiness, because it ought to be consented to, given and received by all. But the liberty of your deliberations is chained down; a military force environs the assembly! Where are the enemies of the nation? Is Catiline at our gates? I demand that you, clothing yourselves in your dignity and your legislative authority, be firm in the sacredness of your oath; it does not permit us to separate till we have made the constitution." The grand master of the ceremonies, seeing that the assembly did not separate, was about to remind it of the order of the king. "Go," exclaimed Mirabeau, "tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that we shall depart only at the point of the bayonet." "You are to-day," added Sieyès, with calmness, "what you were yesterday; let us deliberate!" and the assembly, full of resolution and majesty, proceeded to its deliberation. Upon the motion of Camus, it persevered in all its decrees; and upon that of Mirabeau, it decreed the inviolability of its members.

On this memorable occasion, the royal authority was lost. The initiation of laws as well as the moral power passed from the monarch to the assembly. Necker, whose retirement had been decreed in the morning, was in the evening entreated to remain, by the queen and the monarch. This minister had disapproved of the royal sitting, and, in refusing to assist at it, had conciliated anew the confidence of the assembly, which he had forfeited by his hesitation. The period of disgrace was for him the period of popularity. He became then, by his refusal, the ally of the assembly, which declared itself his defender. It is at all epochs necessary to have a leader, whose name shall be the standard of a party; so long as the assembly had to struggle against the court, that man was Necker.

At the first sitting, that part of the clergy which had re-united itself to the assembly in the church of St. Louis, resumed its seats in it; a few days after, forty-seven members of the noblesse, among whom was the duke of Orleans, also effected their re-union, and the court saw itself compelled to solicit the noblesse and the minority of the clergy to cease from a separation which was become unavailing. The deliberation became general, the orders ceased to exist in point of right, and very soon disappeared in point of fact. They had preserved, even in the common hall, distinct places, which were, however, soon confounded; the vain pre-eminence of particular bodies vanished in the presence of the national authority.

The court, after having tried in vain to prevent the formation of the assembly, was no longer able, even by associating with it, to direct its labours. It might, nevertheless, by prudence and good faith, have repaired its errors, and made the assembly forget its attacks. There are times when we can volunteer sacrifices, there are others when we can claim nothing but the merit of submitting to them. The monarch, at the opening of the States-general, had the power to make the constitution himself: he must now receive it from the assembly, and if he had submitted to this position, his con-

dition would infallibly have been ameliorated. But, recovered from the first surprise of defeat, the advisers of Louis XVI. determined to resort to the employment of bayonets, after having failed in that of authority. They persuaded him that obedience to his orders, the security of his throne, the maintenance of the laws of the realm, the happiness even of his people, required that he should reduce the assembly to submission; that this last, situated at Versailles, in the vicinity of Paris, two towns which had declared in its favour, ought to be subdued by force; that he must either remove or dissolve it; that this determination was urgent in order to arrest it in its progress; and that it was necessary, in the execution of these measures, to call in, without delay, the assistance of the troops, to intimidate the assembly, and control Versailles and Paris.

While these plots were hatching, the deputies opened their legislative labours, and prepared the constitution so impatiently expected, and which they thought should be no longer retarded. Addresses to them were poured in from Paris and the principal towns of France, congratulating them on their wisdom, and encouraging them to pursue the work of regenerating France. In the mean time, the troops arrived in great numbers; Versailles presented the appearance of a camp; the hall of the states was environed with guards, and entrance prohibited to the citizens; Paris was surrounded by different bodies of the army, who seemed posted there to be ready, as occasion might require, for a siege or a blockade. These immense military preparations, trains of artillery arriving from the frontiers, the presence of foreign regiments, whose obedience was unlimited, every thing announced some sinister project. The people were agitated, the assembly rushed to inform the throne, and demand from it the return of the troops. Upon the proposition of Mirabeau, it tendered an address to the king, respectful and firm; but which was unavailing. Louis XVI. declared, that he alone was competent to judge of the necessity of assembling these troops, or of causing their return; that this was only an army of precaution, in order to prevent troubles and guard the assembly. He offered, moreover, to transfer the assembly to Noyon or Soissons, that is, to place it between two armies, and deprive it of the support of the people.

Paris was in the greatest fermentation; this immense town was unanimous in its devotion to the assembly. The perils by which the representatives of the nation were menaced, its own, and the deficiency in the means of subsistence, disposed it to an insurrection; the capitalists, from motives of interest, and in the fear of a bankruptcy; men of intelligence, and the whole of the middle class, from patriotism; the people, pressed by its wants, ascribing its sufferings to the privileged and the court, desirous of agitation and of novelty, had embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the revolution. It is difficult to conceive the convulsion which agitated the capital of France; it started from the repose and the silence of servitude, it was surprised by the novelty of its situation, and it was absolutely drunk with liberty and enthusiasm. The press inflamed the public mind, the journals spread the deliberations of the assembly, and thus in some degree assisted at its sittings; the people discussed in the open air, in public places, the questions which were then agitated in its bosom. It was at the Palais-Royal in particular that the assembly of Paris was held. It was always filled by a multitude, which seemed permanent, and which was incessantly renewed. A table served as a tribune, any citizen for an orator; there they harangued upon the dangers of the country, and excited it to resistance. Already, upon a motion made at the Palais-Royal, the prisons of the Abbaye had been forced, and the grenadiers of the French guards, who had been imprisoned for refusing to draw upon the people, had been brought out in triumph. This uproar, however, produced no effect; a deputation had solicited, in favour of the prisoners, the interest of the assembly, which had recommended them to the clemency of the king; they were remitted to prison, and they received their pardon. But this regiment, one of the most brave and complete, was become favourable to the popular cause.

Such were the dispositions of Paris when Necker was removed from the

ministry. The court, after having established troops at Versailles, at Sèvres, at the Champ-de Mars, at St. Denis, thought itself able to execute its plan. It commenced by the exile of Necker, and a complete change in the ministry. The marshal de Broglie, Lagallissennière, the duke of Vaugouon, the baron de Bréteuil, and the intendant Foulon, were appointed to succeed Puiségar, Montmorin, Luzerne, Saint-Priest, and Necker. The last received, on Saturday, the 11th of July, while at dinner, a note from the king, commanding him to quit the realm immediately. He very calmly finished his dinner, without taking any notice of the order he had received, then got into a carriage with madame Necker, as if going to Saint-Ouen, and took the road for Brussels.

The following day, the 12th of July, about four in the afternoon, intelligence was spread in Paris of the disgrace of Necker, and his departure into exile. This measure was considered as the execution of the plot, of which they had observed the preparations. In a few moments, the town was in an uproar; crowds collected from all parts, more than ten thousand persons met at the Palais-Royal, agitated by this new act of despotism, ready for the most desperate measures, and not knowing where to begin. A young man, more hardy than the rest, an habitual haranguer of the mob, Camille Desmoulins, ascended the tribune, having a pistol in one hand, and exclaiming:—"Citizens, there is not a moment to lose; the removal of Necker is the tocsin for a St. Bartholomew of patriots! This evening all the Swiss and German battalions are coming out of the Champ-de-Mars to slaughter us! There remains for us only one resource; let us rush to arms." This was approved, by the most deafening acclamations. He proposed to take cockades, in order to recognise and defend themselves. "Will ye," said he, "have green, the colour of hope, or red, the colour of the free order of Cincinnati?" "Green, green," re-echoed the multitude. The speaker descended from the tribune, attached a branch of a tree to his hat; they all imitated him; the chestnut trees of Paris were almost despoiled of their leaves, and this troop went in tumult to the house of the sculptor Curtius.

They took the busts of Necker and the duke of Orléans, for it was reported that he also was exiled; they covered them with crape, and carried them in triumph. They traversed the streets Saint-Martin, Saint-Denis, Saint-Honoré, and gained fresh accessions at every step. The people compelled all those whom they met to pull off their hats. The horse patrol was found in their route, the crowd took them for an escort; they advanced to the place Vendôme, where they carried the two busts in procession round the statue of Louis XVI. A detachment of the German Royals arrived, wishing to disperse the populace, but was put to flight by showers of stones, and the multitude continued its course till it arrived at the place Louis XV. But there it was attacked by the dragoons of the prince of Lambesc; it resisted for some moments, and was broken; the carrier of one of the busts, and a soldier of the French guards, were killed; the people were dispersed, a part flying towards the quays, others falling back upon the boulevards, the remainder throwing themselves into the Tuileries by the turning bridge. The prince of Lambesc pursued them into the garden, with a drawn sabre, at the head of his cavaliers; he charged a multitude without arms, which was, in fact, merely a crowd, promenading peaceably along. In this charge an old man was wounded by a stroke of a sabre; they defended themselves with the seats, and mounted upon the platforms; the indignation became general, and the call to arms resounded through every quarter, in the Tuileries, in the Palais-Royal, in the city, and in the Fauxbourgs.

The regiment of the French guards was, as we have already seen, well-disposed toward the people; they had confined it in its barracks. The prince of Lambesc, fearing, nevertheless, that it might take a part, gave orders to sixty dragoons to go and place themselves in front of its dépôt, situated in the Chaussée-D'Antin. The soldiers of the guards, already discontented at being retained prisoners, became indignant at the sight of those strangers, with whom they had had a quarrel a few days before; they wished to run to arms, and their officers, alternately employing menaces and prayers, with

great difficulty restrained them. But they would hear nothing more; when some of them came to announce the charge at the Tuileries, and the death of one of their comrades, they seized their arms, broke the gratings, ranged themselves in line of battle at the entrance of the barracks in front of the dragons, and gave the word, "*Qui vive ?*" "The Royal Germans." "Are ye for the *tiers-état*?" "We are for those who give us orders." The French guards instantly fired upon them, and killed nine of their men, wounded three, and put the rest to flight. They then marched forward in the charging pace with their bayonets in advance to the place Louis XV. placed themselves between the Tuileries and the Champs-Élysées, the people and the troops, and guarded this post all the night. The soldiers of the Champ-de-Mars immediately received orders to advance. When they had arrived in the Champs-Élysées, the French guards received them with musket shots. Orders were given them to engage, but they refused; the *Petits-Suisses* were the first to give this example, which the others followed. The officers, in despair, ordered a retreat; the troops retired toward the Grille de Chaillot, whence they presently assembled in the Champ-de-Mars. The defection of the French guards, and the refusal even of the foreign troops to march upon the capital, assured the failure of the projects of the court.

During this evening the people went to the Hotel-de-Ville, and demanded that the tocsin should be sounded, the districts assembled, and the citizens armed. Some electors met at the Hotel-de-Ville, and they took the authority into their hands. They rendered, during these days of insurrection, the greatest services to their fellow-citizens, and the cause of liberty, by their courage, prudence, and activity; but in the first confusion of the insurrection they could scarcely obtain a hearing. The tumult was at its height; every man obeyed the impulse of his passion. Among the citizens, well intentioned, were also men of suspicious character, who sought in insurrection only the means of disorder and pillage. Troops of labourers, employed by the government in the public works, the most part without a home, without a character, burnt down the barriers, infested the streets, plundered several houses; these were the men who were called *brigands*. The nights of the 12th and 13th passed in tumult and alarm.

The departure of Necker, which had created an insurrection in Paris, did not produce a less effect at Versailles, and in the assembly; the surprise and discontent were there the same. The deputies met early in the morning in the hall of the states; they were sullen, but their sadness had more of indignation than dejection. "At the opening of the sitting," said a deputy, "many addresses of adherence to the decrees were listened to in sullen silence by the assembly, less attentive to the reading than to its own thoughts." Mounier first spoke; he denounced the dismissal of ministers dear to the nation, the choice of their successors; he proposed an address to the king to demand their recall, to shew him the danger of violent measures, the misfortunes that might follow the approach of the troops, and to tell him that the assembly was solemnly opposed to an infamous bankruptcy. At these words, the emotion of the assembly, hitherto constrained, burst forth in clapping of hands and shouts of approbation. Lally-Tollendal, the friend of Necker, then advanced with a sorrowful air, demanded a hearing, and pronounced a long and eloquent panegyric on the exiled minister; he was listened to with the profoundest interest: his grief corresponded with the public sorrow, the cause of Necker was then that of the country. The noblesse itself made common cause with the members of the *tiers-état*, whether it considered the peril as being common, or feared that it should incur the same blame as the court, unless it should disapprove its conduct, or that it was carried along by the general sympathy.

A noble deputy, the count of Vireu, gave the example. "Assembled for the constitution," was his language, "let us make the constitution; let us bind closer our mutual bonds of connexion; let us renew, confirm, consecrate the glorious resolutions of the 17th of June; let us unite ourselves to this celebrated resolution of the 20th of the same month. Let us all

“swear, yes, all, all the orders united, to be faithful to these illustrious resolutions, which alone can now save the realm.” “The constitution shall be made,” added the duke de la Rochefoucault, “or we will be no more.” But the agreement was still more unanimous when the insurrection at Paris was announced to the assembly, the excesses which had been the sequel of it, the barriers burnt down, the electors assembled at the Hotel-de-Ville, the confusion in the capital, and the citizens ready to be attacked by the troops, or to slaughter themselves. There was only one cry in the hall; “Let the remembrance of our momentary divisions be effaced; let us unite our efforts for the salvation of the country.” They sent immediately a deputation to the king, composed of twenty-four members, among whom were all the deputies of Paris; the archbishop of Vienne, president of the assembly, was at its head. It was to represent to the king the dangers which menaced the capital and the realm, the necessity of sending away the troops; and of confiding the protection of the city to burghess militia; and if they obtained from the king these demands, they were to send a deputation to Paris to announce this consoling intelligence. But this deputation very soon returned with an unsatisfactory answer.

The assembly then saw that it had only itself to depend on, and that the projects of the court were irrevocably fixed. Far from being discouraged, it became only the more firm, and instantly decreed unanimously the responsibility of the actual ministers, and of all advisers of the king, of whatever rank or state they might be; it voted an address of regret to Necker, and the disgraced ministers; it declared that it would not cease to insist on the removal of the troops, and the establishment of the burghess militia; it placed the public debt under the safeguard of French honour, and confirmed all its preceding resolutions. After these measures, it took another not less necessary. Apprehending that in the night the court might close the hall of the states with soldiers, in order to disperse the assembly, it established itself in permanence till a new order should be made; it decided that a part of the deputies should sit during the night, and that another should come to relieve it early in the morning. To lessen the fatigue of a continual presidency to the venerable archbishop of Vienne, they nominated a vice-president, to supply his place at these extraordinary times. The choice fell on La Fayette, who held the sitting during the night. The night passed without deliberation, the deputies being upon their seats, silent, but calm and serene. It was by these actions, by these public remonstrances, by these resolutions, by this unanimous enthusiasm, by this sustained wisdom, by this unshaken course of conduct, that the assembly rose more and more to the height of its dangers and its mission.

At Paris the insurrection took, on the 13th, a more regular character; in the morning the people presented themselves at the Hotel-de-Ville; they sounded the tocsin of the common-house, and that of all the churches; drums were beat along the streets to summon the citizens. They collected in the public places; they formed themselves into troops, under the name of the volunteers of the Palais-Royal, volunteers of the Tuileries, of the Bazoche, of the Arquebuse. The districts re-united themselves; each of them voted two hundred men for their defence. They only wanted arms; they searched every place where they hoped to find any; they seized upon those they found among the gun-smiths and sword-cutlers, granting receipts for them; they went to the Hotel-de-Ville to demand arms there; the electors, always assembled, answered in vain that they had none; they, by some means or other, were resolved to have them. The electors then sent for the head of the city, M. de Flesselles, provost of the merchants, who alone understood the military state of the capital, and whose authority among the people might be of great service in so difficult a conjuncture. He arrived amid the applauses of the multitude. “My friends,” said he, “I am your father, you shall be satisfied.” A permanent committee formed itself at the Hotel-de-Ville, to take measures touching the common safety.

About the same time it was announced that the house of the Lazarists, which contained a large quantity of grain, had been plundered, the

Garde-Meuble had been forced in order to take from it the ancient armour, that the shops of the gun-smiths had been pillaged. The greatest excesses on the part of the multitude were apprehended; it was let loose, and it appeared difficult to restrain its impetuosity. But this was a moment of enthusiasm; it disarmed man of suspicious character: the corn found at the house of the Lazarists was carried to the market-hall. It robbed no private houses; the carriages, the chariots filled with provisions, moveables, household furniture, stopped at the gate of the city, were conducted to the Place de Grève, now become a vast magazine; the multitude constantly crowded together, always shouting out the cry of *Arms! Arms!* It was almost one o'clock, the provost of the merchants announced the near arrival of twelve thousand muskets of the manufacture of Charleville, which would very shortly be followed by thirty thousand more.

This assurance appeased for a time the people, and the committee proceeded with a little more calmness to the organization of the burges militia. In less than four hours the plan was digested, discussed, adopted, printed, and posted up. They decided, that till new orders, the Parisian guard should consist of forty-eight thousand men. All the citizens were invited to inscribe their names and become a part of it; each district had its battalion, each battalion its captains; they offered the command of this burges army to the duke d'Aumont, who demanded twenty-four hours to make his decision. In the mean time the marquis of Salle was nominated second in command. The green cockade was then replaced by the red and blue cockade, which were the colours of the capital. The districts declared their concurrence in the measures which the permanent committee had taken. The clerks of the Châtelet, those of the Palais, the medical students, the soldiers of the watch, and what was still more important, the French guards, offered their services to the assembly; patrols were formed to scour the streets. But the people were waiting impatiently for the result of the promises of the provost of merchants; the muskets did not arrive, the evening was approaching, and they dreaded in the night an attack of the troops; they believed that they were betrayed, when they learned that five thousand pounds of powder had been secretly removed from Paris, and that the people at the barriers had seized it. By-and-by chests arrived inscribed with *artillery*; this calmed the effervescence; the people escorted them to the Hotel-de-Ville, believing them to contain the expected muskets of Charleville: they opened them and found them filled with old linen and bits of wood. The people now clamoured at the treachery, and broke forth in murmurs and menaces against the committee and the provost of the merchants. He excused himself by saying that he had been deceived, and in order to gain time, or to disengage himself from the multitude, he sent it to Chartreux to seek for arms there; but there was none, and it returned more jealous and furious.

The committee saw then that they had no other resources for arming Paris and for divesting the mob of its suspicions, than by having pikes forged; they ordered the immediate fabrication of fifty thousand. To prevent the excesses of the preceding night, the town was illuminated, and patrols scoured it in every direction.

Next day those who had not been able to obtain arms came to demand them again from the committee very early in the morning, reproaching it with its refusal and evasions on the preceding evening. The committee had in vain sought for arms; none had come from Charleville, none had been found at Chartreux, even the arsenal was empty. The people, who would no longer receive any excuse, which believed itself more and more betrayed, went in a body to the Hotel of the Invalids, which contained a considerable depot of arms. It manifested no fear of the troops established in the Champ-de-Mars, penetrated into the Hotel in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, M. de Sombreuil, found twenty-eight thousand muskets concealed in the cellars, seized them, took the sabres, the spears, the cannon, and carried off the whole in triumph. The cannon was posted at the entrance to the Fauxbourg, at the castle of the Tuileries, upon the quays, upon the bridges,

for the defence of the capital against the invasion of the troops, which they were expecting every moment.

During this morning the alarm was given, that the regiments posted at Saint-Denis were on their march, and that the cannon of the Bastille was pointed upon the street Saint-Antoine. The committee took measures immediately on this discovery, placed citizens to defend this side of the town, and sent a deputation to the governor of the Bastille to engage him to withdraw his cannon, and not to commit any act of hostility. This activity, the apprehension which the fortress inspired, hatred of the abuses it protected, the necessity of occupying a point so important, and of no longer leaving it to their enemies in a moment of insurrection, directed the attention of the multitude to this point. From nine in the morning to two in the afternoon, there had only been one cry from one end of Paris to the other, *To the Bastille! to the Bastille!* The citizens assembled there from all parts of the town in groups armed with muskets, pikes, sabres; the crowd which already surrounded it was considerable; the sentinels of the place were posted, and the bridges raised as in a period of war.

A deputy from the district of Saint-Louis-de-la-Culture, called Thuriot de la Rosiere, demanded an interview with the governor, M. Delaunay. Admitted into his presence, he summoned him to change the direction of the cannon. The governor answered that the pieces were at all times placed on the towers; that he had it not in his power to get them down; and that, finally, informed of the disturbed condition of Paris, he had made them retire some paces and to point from the embrasures. Thuriot with difficulty succeeded in penetrating farther, and examined if the state of the fortress was as satisfactory for the town as the governor affirmed. He found as he advanced three pieces of cannon directed upon the avenues of the place, and ready to play on those who should attempt to force it. About forty Swiss and twenty-four invalids were under arms. Thuriot urged them as well as the *état-major* of the place, in the name of honour and of the country, not to shew themselves enemies of the people. The officers and soldiers all swore not to use their arms unless they were attacked. Thuriot then ascended the towers, and from thence beheld an immense multitude approaching from all parts, and the Faubourg St. Antoine advancing *en masse*. Already from without they were alarmed that Thuriot did not return, and they demanded him with loud cries. To re-assure the people, he shewed himself on the platform of the fortress, and shouts of applause rang from the garden of the Arsenal. He descended, rejoined his friends, made known the result of his mission, and then presented himself before the committee.

But the multitude impatiently demanded the surrender of the fortress. From time to time these words rose from the multitude: *We want the Bastille! We will have the Bastille!* Two men suddenly sprang from the crowd, rushed upon a sentinel and struck the chains of the great bridge with a hatchet. The soldiers called out to them to retire, and threatened to fire. But they continued their blows, broke the chains, let down the bridge, and threw themselves forward with the multitude. They advanced toward the second bridge, in order to batter it down also. The garrison made a discharge of musketry and dispersed them. But they returned to the attack, and during several hours all their efforts were directed against the second bridge, the approach to which was defended by a constant fire from the place. The people, furious at this obstinate resistance, tried to break the gates with blows of the hatchet, and to set fire to the guard-house. The garrison then made a discharge of case-shot, murderous to the besiegers, and which killed or wounded many; this only infuriated them; they had, at their head, men who, like Elie and Hulin, possessed extraordinary courage and audacity, and they continued the siege with impetuosity.

The committee of the Hotel-de-Ville was in the greatest anxiety. The siege of the Bastille appeared to it a rash enterprise. It received from time to time news of the disasters which were happening at the foot of the fortress. It was placed between the danger from the troops if they were victorious, and that of the multitude, which was demanding from it ammunition

to carry on the siege. As they could not give what they did not possess, they were accused of treachery; they had sent two deputations to procure the suspension of hostilities, and invite the governor to confide the keeping of the place to the citizens; but in the midst of tumults, of shouts, of the discharge of musketry, they could not make themselves heard; they sent a third with a drum and a flag of truce, for the purpose of being more easily recognised, but they were not more successful. Neither side would hear any thing. In spite of its endeavours and its activity, the assembly of the Hotel-de-Ville was still exposed to the suspicions of its party. The provost of the merchants especially excited the greatest distrust. "He has already," said one, "made many shifts in this business." "He advises us," said another, "to open a trench, that he may gain time, and we may lose every thing."—"Comrades," exclaimed an old man, "what have we to do with these traitors? March, follow me, and in less than two hours the Bastille shall be taken."

The siege had continued more than four hours, when the French guards arrived with cannon. Their arrival changed the face of the combat. The garrison itself urged the governor to surrender. The unfortunate Delaunay, fearing the lot which awaited him, would then have blown up the fortress, and buried himself under its ruins, and those of the Faubourg. He advanced in desperation, with a lighted match in his hand toward the powder. The garrison itself seized him, hoisted a white flag upon the platform, reversed their muskets, and lowered their cannon in token of peace. But the garrison, fighting and advancing on, continued to exclaim, "*Let down the bridges!*" A Swiss officer demanded, across the battlements, leave to capitulate, and march out with the honours of war. "No, no!" cried the multitude. The same officer made a proposal to lay down their arms, if the besiegers would promise to spare their lives. "Let down the bridge," answered the foremost of the assailants, "no harm will befall you." On this assurance, they opened the gate, let down the bridge, and the besiegers threw themselves into the Bastille. Those who were at the head of the multitude wished to save from its vengeance the governor, the Swiss, and the invalids: "*Give them up to us, give them up to us, they have fired on their fellow-citizens, and they deserve to be hanged.*" The governor, some Swiss, and some of the invalids, were torn from the protection of their defenders, and put to death by the implacable mob.

The permanent committee was ignorant of the result of the combat. The hall of its sittings was encumbered by a furious multitude, which menaced the provost of the merchants and the electors. Flesselles began to be uneasy in his situation. He was pale and anxious; exposed to reproaches and the most furious menaces; they had forced him from the hall of the committee to the hall of the general assembly, where an immense number of citizens had assembled. "Let him come, let him follow us," had been called out from all parts. "This is too much," said Flesselles, "let us march since they wish it; let us go where I am expected." But he had scarcely arrived in the great hall, when the attention of the multitude was arrested by cries from the Place de Grève. They heard "*Victory! Victory! Liberty!*" These were the conquerors of the Bastille, whose arrival was thus announced. Presently they entered the hall, presenting a spectacle the most popular and the most imposing. The most distinguished among them were carried in triumph, and crowned with laurels. They were escorted by more than five hundred men, their eyes gleaming, their hair in disorder, bearing all kinds of arms, crowding one upon another, and making the boards resound with the stamping of their feet. One carried the keys of the Bastille, and the flag; another the "orders" suspended from the bayonet at the end of a musket; and a third held up in his bloody hand the collar of the governor. It was in this form that the train of the conquerors of the Bastille, followed by an immense multitude which inundated the Place and the quays, entered the hall of the Hotel-de-Ville, to inform the committee of their triumph, and to decide on the fate of the prisoners who remained. Some individuals wished to leave the decision to the committee. But others cried out, "No

"quarter to the prisoners! No quarter to men who have fired on their fellow-citizens." The commandant La Salle, the elector Moreau de St. Méry, the courageous Elie, succeeded however in appeasing the wrath of the multitude, and in obtaining a general amnesty.

But now came the turn of the unfortunate Flesselles: they pretended that a letter, found upon Delaunay, proved his treason, which they had already suspected. "I amuse," said he to him, "the Parisians, with cockades and promises: hold out till this night: you shall have relief." The people crowded round the board. The more moderate demanded that his person should be seized, and that he should be committed to the prisons of the Châtelet; but others opposed this proposal, contending that he ought to be sent to the Palais-Royal, to be judged there. This last was the general wish. "To the Palais-Royal! To the Palais-Royal!" re-echoed from every part of the crowd. "Ah, well! be it so, gentlemen," answered Flesselles, with an air sufficiently tranquil,—“let us go to the Palais-Royal.” At these words, he descended from the raised part of the hall, sprang into the midst of the mob, which opened as he marched forward, and which followed without doing him any violence. But at the corner of the quay, Pelletier, a stranger, advanced toward him, and laid him dead, by a shot from his pistol.

After these scenes of arming, of tumult, of battle, of vengeance, the Parisians, who apprehended an attack during the night, as the intercepted letters indicated, made due disposition for receiving the enemy. The entire population laboured in fortifying the town. They formed barricadoes, they threw up entrenchments, broke up the pavement, forged pikes, cast bullets. The women carried stones to the tops of the houses to crush the soldiers. The national guard distributed themselves at the different posts. Paris resembled an immense workshop, and a vast camp, and the whole of the night was passed under arms, and in momentary expectation of battle.

While the insurrection of Paris was assuming this character of fury, of permanence, of success, it is natural to enquire what they were doing at Versailles? The court was preparing to realize its designs against the capital and the assembly. The night of the 14th to the 15th, was fixed for the execution of its plan. Bréteuil, the prime-minister, had promised to restore the royal authority in three days. The commandant of the army assembled at Paris, the marshal de Broglie, had received unlimited powers of every kind. On the 15th, the declaration of the 23rd of June was to be renewed, and the king, after having compelled the assembly to accept it, was to dissolve it. Forty thousand copies of this declaration were ready for distribution through the realm; and in order to subserve the urgent necessities of the treasury, they had manufactured more than a hundred millions of government notes. The movement of Paris, far from disturbing the court, favoured its views. To the very last moment, it considered this as a transient disturbance which would be easily repressed; it did not believe either in its perseverance or in its success, and to them it did not appear possible that a mob of citizens could be able to resist an army.

The assembly knew all these projects. For two days it sat without interruption in the midst of disquietude and alarms. It was in a great measure ignorant of what was passing at Paris. At length, intelligence arrived that the insurrection had become general, and that Paris was marching upon Versailles, whilst the troops were putting themselves in motion against the capital. They believed that they heard the cannon, and they listened to assure themselves. On the 14th, in the evening, they believed that the king was to depart during the night, and that the assembly was abandoned to the mercy of the foreign regiments. This last apprehension was not without foundation; a carriage was constantly in attendance, and for many successive days, the body-guards did not put off their clothes. Moreover, at the Orangerie, the most alarming scenes were passing. The foreign troops were prepared by the distribution of wine and presents, for their expedition, and every thing induced the belief that the decisive moment had come.

In spite of the approach and the increase of the danger, the assembly showed itself immovable, and pursued its first resolutions. Mirabeau, who

had first demanded the dismissal of the troops, moved a new deputation. It was on the point of departure, when a deputy, the viscount Noailles, arriving from Paris, made known to the assembly the progress of the insurrection, announced the pillage of the Invalids, the arming of the multitude, and the siege of the Bastille. Another deputy, Wimpfen, came to add to the recital, that of the personal dangers he had incurred, and declared that the fury of the people augmented with its dangers. The assembly proposed to establish couriers in order that they might get intelligence from Paris every two hours.

In the mean time, two electors, MM. Ganith and Bancal-des-Isarts, sent by the committee of the Hotel-deVille in deputation to the assembly, confirmed every thing which it had learnt. They began by stating the measures which the electors had taken for the good order and defence of the capital; they announced the misfortunes which had happened at the foot of the Bastille, the uselessness of the deputations to the governor, and said, that the fire of the garrison had scattered death about the environs of the fortress. At this recital, a cry of indignation rose from the midst of the assembly, and a second deputation was immediately sent to carry to the king this grievous intelligence. The first returned with a very unsatisfactory answer at six o'clock in the evening. The king, in learning these disastrous events which presaged others still more so, appeared to be greatly affected. He had struggled against the part he had been compelled to take. "You tear my heart more and more," said he to the deputies, "by the recital you make of the misfortunes of Paris. It is not possible to believe, that the orders which have been given to the troops are the occasion of them. You know the answer I have given to your preceding deputation; I have nothing to add to it." This answer consisted in the promise of sending from Paris the troops of the Champ-de-Mars, and in the orders given to the general officers to put themselves at the head of the burges-guard in order to direct it. Such measures were insufficient to remedy the dangerous situation in which it was placed, and hence the assembly was neither satisfied nor re-assured.

A short time after, the deputies d'Ormesson and Duport came to announce to the assembly the capture of the Bastille, the death of Flesselles, and that of Delaunay. A third deputation to the king was proposed, to demand again the removal of the troops. "No," said Clermont Tonnerre, "leave them this night for consultation; kings, as well as other men, must purchase experience." It was in this state that the assembly passed the night. In the morning a new deputation was nominated to shew the monarch the calamities which would ensue from a longer refusal. It was then that Mirabeau, addressing the deputies as they were departing,—"Tell him boldly, tell him," he exclaimed, "that the hordes of foreigners by whom we are surrounded have received yesterday the visit of princes, of princesses, of favourites, of court ladies, and their caresses, and their exhortations, and their presents; tell him, that these foreign satellites, gorged with money and wine, have predicted, in their impious revelry, the enslavement of France, and that their brutal wishes invoke the destruction of the national assembly; tell him, that in the palace itself the courtiers have danced to the sound of this barbarous music, and that such orgies were the harbingers of Saint Bartholomew! tell him, that the Henry, whose blessings are proclaimed by the universe, he of his ancestors whom he should take for a model, brought food into rebel Paris, which he besieged in person; but that his ferocious counsellors sent back the corn which commerce had brought into his faithful but famished capital."

At this instant the king appeared in the midst of the assembly. The duke of Liancourt, availing himself of that access to the sovereign which his office of grand master of the wardrobe gave him, apprized him of the defection of the French guards, and of the attack and capture of the Bastille. At this news, of which his counsellors had left him in ignorance, "It is a revolt!" exclaimed the astonished monarch. "No, Sire, it is a revolution." This excellent citizen had represented to him the perils to which he was exposed by the projects of the court, the fears, the exasperation of the people, the

bad disposition of the troops ; and the king had determined to present himself to the assembly, to reassure it of his intentions. This news inspired, in the first instance, transports of joy. But Mirabeau represented to his colleagues the folly of their abandoning themselves to such premature expressions of applause. "Let us wait," said he, "till his majesty make known to us the good disposition which is announced on his part. The blood of our brethren flows at Paris. Let a mournful respect be the first reception of the monarch of an unhappy people ; the silence of the people is the lesson of kings." The assembly resumed the sullen attitude, which, for three days, it had never abandoned. The king appeared without guard, and without any other retinue than that of his brothers. He was received with the profoundest silence ; but when he had declared that he was one with the nation, and that relying upon the affection and fidelity of his subjects, he had given orders for the troops to retire from Paris and Versailles,—when he had pronounced these touching words, "Well, then ! it is to you that I confide myself ;" plaudits were heard from every quarter ; the members of the assembly rose spontaneously, and reconducted the monarch to the château.

Versailles and Paris now rang with joy. The sentiment of security succeeded the agitations of fear, and the people passed from animosity to gratitude. Louis XVI. restored to himself, felt how important it was to go in person to the capital, and reconquer its affection, and conciliate for himself the popular power. He caused it to be announced to the assembly that he would recal Necker, to make his appearance on the following day at Paris. The assembly had already nominated a deputation of a hundred members to go before the king into the capital. It was received with enthusiasm. Bailly and La Fayette, who made a part of it, were nominated, the first, mayor of Paris, the other, commander of the burghess-guard. They deserved these popular acknowledgments, the one by his long and difficult presidency of the assembly, the other by his conduct in America and Europe. This last, the friend of Washington, and one of the principal authors of the American independence, on his return to his country had first pronounced the name of the States-general, had united himself to the assembly with the minority of the noblesse, and had shewn himself subsequently one of the most zealous partisans of the revolution.

The two new magistrates proceeded, on the 17th, to receive the king at the head of the municipality, and the Parisian guard. "Sire," said Bailly to him, "I bring to your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris ; they are the same as those presented to Henry IV ; he had reconquered his people, here the people have reconquered their king." From the place Louis XV. to the Hotel-de-Ville, the king traversed the passage formed by the national guard, arranged in three or four lines, armed with muskets, pikes, lances, scythes, and staves. Their visages still wore a sombre aspect, and the cry frequently repeated of *Vive la nation !* was the only one heard. But when Louis XVI. descended from the carriage, when he had received from the hands of Bailly the tri-coloured cockade, and that without guards, surrounded by the multitude, he had entered without distrust the Hotel-de-Ville, applauses and cries of *Vive le roi !* burst from all parts. The reconciliation was entire ; Louis XVI. received the greatest testimonies of affection. After having sanctioned the new magistracies, and after having approved the choice of the people, he set out again for Versailles, his return to which was not regarded without inquietude, in consequence of the preceding disturbances. The assembly awaited him in the avenue of Paris, and accompanied him to the château, where the queen, with her children, came to throw themselves into his arms.

The counter-revolutionary ministers, and all the authors of the designs which had failed, now quitted the court. The count of Artois, the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, the family of Polignac, took their departure from France, and began the first emigration. Necker returned in triumph ; this moment was the finest of his life, and few men have enjoyed such. Minister of the nation, disgraced for it, recalled by it, he was met every where on his route from Bale to Paris with marks of the gratitude and intox-

acting joy of the people. His entry into Paris was a day of festival. But this day, which was the crown of his popularity, was also the termination of it. The multitude, always agitated and always furious against those who had had a hand in the projects of the 14th of July, had destroyed with implacable fury, Foulon, the intended minister, and his nephew Berthier. Indignant at these executions, fearing that others might become victims, wishing in particular to save the baron of Besenval, commander of the army of Paris under the marshal de Broglie, and who was detained prisoner, Necker demanded a general amnesty, and obtained it from the assembly of electors. This measure was imprudent at this moment of jealousy and exultation. Necker did not know the people; he did not know with what facility they suspect their leaders, and crush their idols. They feared that he was wishing to withdraw their enemies from the penalties they had incurred; the districts assembled themselves, the illegality of the amnesty pronounced by an assembly without authority was violently attacked, and the electors themselves revoked it. It was, doubtless, desirable to counsel the people to calmness, and recall them to mercy; but the best means was to demand, instead of a release of the accused, a tribunal which would remove them from the murderous jurisdiction of the mob. There are cases in which the greatest humanity is not that which appears to be so. Necker, without obtaining any thing, let loose the people against himself, and the districts against the electors; from henceforward he began to struggle with the revolution, of which he hoped to make himself the master, because he had been, for an instant, its hero. But he very quickly undeceived himself. A man is a thing of very little moment in a revolution, which removes masses; the movement hurries him along, or abandons him; he must either advance before it, or be crushed by its pressure. In no times is the subordination of men to things more clearly perceived; revolutions employ many leaders, they surrender only to one.

The consequences of the 14th of July were incalculable. The movement of Paris communicated itself to the provinces; the lower classes especially, in imitation of those of the capital, organized themselves into municipalities for their government, and into national guards for their defence. Authority, as well as force, was entirely displaced; the royal power had lost them by its defeat, and the nation had acquired them; the new magistrates were alone powerful, and alone obeyed; the old ones were become the objects of jealousy. In the towns the people were arrayed against them, and against the privileged, whom they supposed, not without reason, to be the enemies of the change which they were wishing to operate. In the country, they set fire to the castles, and the peasants burnt the titles of their lords. It is very difficult in a moment of victory not to abuse power. But it was important to appease the people, in order that in their desire to reform abuses, privileges might not be confounded with property: the orders had disappeared, arbitrary power was destroyed; their ancient accompaniment, inequality, ought also to be suppressed. This was the way in which it was necessary to proceed to the establishment of the new order of things; these preliminaries were the work of a single night.

The assembly had addressed to the people proclamations which might restore tranquillity. The erection of the Châtelet into a tribunal charged with the trial of the conspirators of the 14th of July, by satisfying the multitude, had contributed to the restoration of order. It remained to enact a measure still more important, the abolition of privileges. On the night of the 4th of August, the duke of Noailles gave the signal for it,—he proposed the redemption of the feudal rights, and the suppression of the personal servitudes. This motion began the sacrifices of all the privileged; it set up among them a rivalry of voluntary surrenders and patriotism. The contagion became general; in a few hours they decreed the cessation of all the abuses. The duke de Châtelet proposed the redemption of all the tithes, and their change into a pecuniary tax; the bishop of Chartres, the suppression of the exclusive right of the chase; the count of Virieu, that of pigeon-houses and dove-cots; and in succession, the abolition of seigniorial jurisdic-

tions; of the venality of the office of the magistracy; of pecuniary immunities, and of the inequality of imposts; of the perquisites of the curés; of the annats of the court of Rome; of the plurality of benefices; of pensions obtained without titles, all were proposed and admitted. After the sacrifices of private persons, come those of corporate bodies, of towns, of provinces; the wardenships and freedom of companies were abolished. A deputy of Dauphiné, the marquis of Blacons, pronounced, in his own name, a solemn renunciation of its privileges. The other provinces imitated Dauphiné; and the towns followed the example of the provinces. A medal was struck to preserve the memory of this day, and the assembly decreed to Louis XVI. the title of *Restorer of French liberty*.

This night, which an enemy of the revolution called at the time the Saint-Bartholomew of property, was only the Saint Bartholomew of abuses. It cleared away the rubbish of feudality; it delivered the person from the remnants of servitude; lands from seigniorial dependance; soccage properties from the ravages of game, and the exacton of tithes. In destroying seigniorial jurisdictions, the remnants of private power, it conducted to the régime of public power; in destroying the venality of magistratic offices, it presaged gratuitous justice. It was the passage from a condition in which every thing belonged to individuals, to another, in which every thing ought to belong to the state. This night changed the aspect of the realm; it rendered all Frenchmen equal; it opened the way for all to arrive at employments; to aspire after property; to exercise industry; finally, this night was a revolution as important as the insurrection of the 14th of July, of which it was the consequence. It rendered the people the master of society, as the other had rendered it the master of the government; and permitted it to prepare the new constitution by destroying the old one.

The march of the revolution had been very rapid, and in a very short time had produced most important results. Had it not been opposed, it would have been less prompt and less complete. Each refusal became for it the occasion of new successes: it overthrew intrigue, resisted authority, triumphed over force, and, at the moment at which we have arrived, the whole edifice of absolute monarchy had been shaken by the mismanagement of its supporters. The 17th of June had annihilated the three orders, and changed the States-general into the assembly of the nation; the 23d of June had been the termination of the moral influence of the crown—the 14th of July that of its material power; the assembly had inherited the one, and the people the other; finally, the 4th of August was the completion of this first revolution. The epoch which we have described is conspicuously detached from the others: within its short period, the seat of power was displaced, and all the preliminary changes were effected. The epoch which follows is that in which the new régime is discussed and established, and in which the assembly, after having been destructive, becomes constituent.

LETTER XVII.

View of the state of parties in France.—The Constituent Assembly.—The Clergy and Noblesse.—The party of Orleans.—Constitutional labours; declaration of rights; permanence and unity of the legislative body; royal sanction; external agitation;—insurrection of the 5th and 6th October, 1789.—The king removes his residence to Paris.

IN pursuance of our plan, and in narrating the series of events, my dear son, which at this tremendous crisis, followed one another in rapid succession, in the French metropolis, I am aware, that I have imposed a tax upon your feelings, that will make it necessary for you to summon all your resolution, and brace up the energies of your mind to accompany me in the further detail.

The popular excesses to which I have already called your attention, inflicted great calamities on the capital: but commotions of another descrip-

tion early followed the revolution, partly arising from the general causes already stated, and partly from others of more limited and local operation.

The peasantry of the provinces, buried for many ages in the darkness of servitude, saw, indistinctly and confusedly, in the first dawn of liberty, the boundaries of their duties and their rights. It cannot surprise us that they should little understand that freedom which had been so long remote from their views. The name conveyed to their ear, a right to reject all restraint, to gratify every resentment, and to attack all property. Ruffians mingled with the deluded peasants, in the hope of booty, and inflamed their ignorance and prejudice, by forged acts of the king and the assembly, authorising their licentiousness. From these circumstances arose many calamities in the provinces. The country houses of many gentlemen were burnt, and some obnoxious persons were assassinated. Perhaps the peasants had oppressions to avenge—those silent grinding oppressions which form almost the only intercourse of the rich with the indigent, which though less flagrant than those of government, are perhaps productive of more intolerable and diffusive misery.

But whatever was the demerit of these excesses, it is unfair to impute them to the national assembly, or the leaders of the Revolution. In what manner were they to repress them? If they exerted against them their own authority with vigour, they must have provoked a civil war. If they invigorated the police and tribunals of the deposed government, besides incurring the hazard of the same calamity, they put arms into the hands of their enemies. Placed in this dilemma, there was nothing left for them but to wait a slow remedy from the returning serenity of the public mind, and the progress of the new government towards consistency and vigour.

A degree of influence exerted by the people, far more than would be tolerated by a firm government, or could exist in a state of tranquillity, must be expected in a crisis of a revolution which the people have brought about. They have too recent experience of their own strength to abstain at once from exerting it. Their political antipathies have been agitated by too fierce a storm to regain in a moment that serenity which would expect with patient acquiescence the decrees of their representatives. From an inflamed multitude, who had felt themselves irresistible, and whose fancy annexed to the decision of every political question the fate of their freedom, an undue interposition in the proceedings of the legislature was to have been expected. The passions which prompt it are vehement; the arguments which prove its impropriety are remote and refined. Too much, therefore, of this interposition, was, at such a conjuncture, inevitable. It is, without doubt, a great evil, but it is irremediable. The submission of the people, in a period of tranquillity, degenerates into a lifeless and torpid negligence of public affairs; and the fervour which the moment of revolution inspires, necessarily produces the opposite extreme. That the conduct of the populace of Paris, therefore, should not have been the most circumspect and decorous respecting the deliberations of the assembly, at this tremendous crisis of their country's fate—that it should be frequently irregular and tumultuous, was, in the nature of things, inevitable.

In offering these remarks to your consideration, you must understand me as doing it with a view to account, not to apologize for the disgraceful scenes and shocking atrocities which, in the sequel, you will have to contemplate: and requesting you to keep in mind, the distinction which has been now made, I shall resume the narrative.

The national assembly, composed of the *elite* of the nation, was full of intelligence, honest purposes and views for the public welfare; it was not, however, free from parties and disagreements: let us see what were the divisions of views and interests that prevailed among them.

The court had in the assembly a party, that of the privileged, which for some time maintained silence, and took only a retarding part in the discussions. This party was composed of those who, on the dispute of the orders, declared against the re-union. In spite of their momentary agreements with the commons in the late circumstances, the aristocratic classes

had interests contrary to those of the national party. Thus the noblesse and the high clergy were in constant opposition with it, except on certain days, when personal feelings were silenced in the general enthusiasm. These non-contents of the revolution, who could neither prevent it by their sacrifices, nor arrest it by their adherence, systematically resisted all its reforms. Their principal organs were two men, no way distinguished by their birth or dignities, but who had the superiority of talent. The abbé Maury and Cazales might be said to represent the clergy and the noblesse.

These two orators of the privileged order, according to the intentions of their party, which did not believe in the permanence of the changes, sought less to defend themselves than to protest; and, in all their discussions, their object was not to instruct, but to embarrass the assembly. Each of them, in the part he acted, manifested the peculiarities of his genius and character. Maury made long harangues; Cazales had vivid sallies. The former preserved, on the tribune, the habits of the preacher and academician; he discoursed on legislative matters without comprehending them, never seizing on the true point of a question, nor even the most advantageous for his party; displaying boldness, erudition, address, a brilliant and sustained facility, but never a profound conviction, a settled judgment, a genuine eloquence. The abbé Maury spoke as soldiers fight. No one knew how to contradict more frequently, or more perseveringly than he did; no one could better supply the place of good reasons by citations and sophisms, and of the excursions of genius by the forms of oratory. He had no lack of talent; but he wanted truth, its vivifying principle. Cazales was in all respects the very opposite of Maury. His genius was prompt and unerring; his elocution was as easy, but more animated; there was a frankness in all his movements. His reasons were always the best. No rhetorician, he took on questions which interested his party the ground of justice, and left to Maury the topics of declamation. With the exactness of his views, the ardour of his character, and the good use of his talents, he had only the faults which were incident to his position. Maury, to the errors of his genius, added those which were inseparable from his cause.

Necker, and the ministry, had also a party, but it was less numerous than the other, because it was a moderate party. France was then divided into the privileged, who opposed the revolution, and the men of the people, who wished to have it entire. There was no place between them for a mediating party. Necker had declared for the English constitution; and all those who shared his views, whether from conviction or ambition, rallied round him. Of this number, were Mounier, a man of strong judgment and inflexible character, who considered this system as the type of representative governments;—Lally-Tollendal, as fully convinced as he, and more persuasive;—Clermont-Tonnerre, the friend and associate of Mounier; and Lally, who participated in the qualities and views of them both. Finally, the minority of the noblesse, and a party of the bishops, who hoped to become members of the upper chamber, if the ideas of Necker should be adopted.

The leaders of this latter party, who were subsequently called the *monarchists*, wished to effect the revolution by accommodation: at each epoch, they endeavoured to prevail on the more powerful to act with the weaker. Previous to the 14th of July, they demanded of the court and the privileged classes to satisfy the wants of the commons; after this epoch, they demanded of the commons to come to an accommodation with the court and the privileged. They thought that it was necessary to preserve to each party its action in the state; that parties displaced are parties discontented; and that we must create for them a legal existence, under pain of being exposed to interminable struggles from them. But that which they did not see, was the inappositeness of their ideas in a moment of exclusive passion. The struggle was commenced, the struggle which was to lead to the triumph of a system, and not to an arrangement. It was a victory which had replaced the three orders by a single assembly, and it was very difficult to break the unity of this assembly in order to arrive at the government of two chambers.

The moderate party had not been able to obtain this government from the

court; there was no more reason why they should obtain it from the people. To the one it had appeared too popular, for the other it was too aristocratic.

The rest of the assembly consisted of the national party. The men who, as Robespierre, Pétion, Buzot, &c., at a subsequent period wished to commence a second revolution when the first had been achieved, were not as yet remarked in it. At this epoch the extremes on this side were Duport, Barnave, and Lameth, who formed a triumvirate, whose opinions were prepared by Duport, supported by Barnave, and whose measures were directed by Alex. Lameth. There was something very remarkable, and which proclaimed the spirit of equality of the epoch, in the intimate union of an advocate belonging to the middle class, of a counsellor belonging to the parliamentary class, and of a colonel belonging to the court, who renounced the interests of their order, to associate in views of public good and of popularity. This party placed itself at once in a position a little in advance of that at which the revolution had arrived. The 14th of July had been the triumph of the middle class; the constituent was its assembly; the national guard its armed force; the mayoralty its popular power. Mirabeau, La Fayette, Bailly, applied themselves to this class, and were, the one its orator, the other its general, and the third its magistrate. The party, Duport, Barnave, and Lameth, had the principles, and sustained the interests, of this epoch of the revolution; but it was composed of young men of ardent patriotism, who came upon the theatre of public affairs with superior qualities, fine talents, and high rank; and who, to the ambition of liberty, added that of occupying the first rank. This party placed itself at first a little in advance of the revolution of the 14th of July. It took its *point d'appui* in the assembly among the members of the extreme left; out of the assembly, among the clubs; in the nation, among the party of the people who had co-operated at the 14th of July, and who did not wish that the *bourgeoisie* alone should profit by the victory. In putting itself at the head of those who had no leaders, and who, being a little out of the government, were aspiring to enter it, it did not cease to belong to this first epoch of the revolution. It formed a species of democratic opposition in the middle class itself, differing from its leaders only upon points of little importance, and voting with them on almost every question. There was rather among these popular men an emulation of patriotism, than a difference of party.

Duport, who possessed a strong mind, and who had acquired a premature experience of the conduct of the political passions in the struggles which the parliament had sustained against the ministry, and which he had, in a great measure, directed, knew that a people reposes when it has conquered its rights, and that its passions subside only when it is at rest. In order to hold the rein over those who governed in the assembly, the mayoralty, the militias; in order to prevent the public activity from slackening, and the people, of whom there might one day be need, from being disbanded, he conceived and executed the famous confederation of clubs. This institution, like every thing which impresses a great movement on a nation, did much evil and much good. It encumbered the legal authority when it was sufficient, but it also gave an immense energy to the revolution. When attacked on all sides, it could save itself only at the expense of the most violent efforts. In a word, the founders had not calculated all the consequences of this association. It was, in their estimation, simply a piece of machinery which was to sustain or to wind up without danger the motion of the public machine, when it tended to slacken or to cease. They did not believe that they were labouring for the party of the multitude. After the flight of Varennes they abandoned it, and exerted themselves against it through the assistance of the assembly and the middle class, which the death of Mirabeau had left without a leader. At this epoch it was necessary promptly to fix the constitutional revolution, for to prolong it had only been to conduct to the republican revolution.

The mass of the assembly consisted of men of correct, well-trained, and even superior minds; its leaders were two men strangers to the *tiers-état*, and adopted by it. Without the abbé Siéyès, the operations of the Consti-

tuent assembly had been less concentrated ; without Mirabeau, its conduct had been less energetic.

Siéyès was one of those men who, in ages of enthusiasm, become the founders of a sect, and in an age of intelligence, exercise the ascendant of a powerful understanding. Solitude and philosophic speculation had ripened it for a happy moment ; his ideas were new, vigorous, various, but little systematic. Society had in particular been the object of his examination ; he had followed its progress, and decomposed its machinery. The nature of government appeared to him less a question of right than a question of epoch. Although cool and deliberate, Siéyès had the ardour which inspires the investigation of truth, and the passion which gives its discovery ; thus he was absolute in his notions, despising the ideas of others because he found them incomplete, and only in his eyes the half-truth, which was tantamount to error. Contradiction irritated him ; he was little communicative ; he could have wished to make himself known entirely, and he could not do it with all the world. His disciples transmitted his systems to others, a circumstance which gave him a certain air of mysteriousness, and rendered him the object of a sort of adoration. He had the authority which complete political science bestows, and the constitution could have sprung from his head, all armed like the Minerva of Jupiter, or the legislation of the ancients, if in our times every one had not wished to assist in it, or to judge of it. Nevertheless, with some modification, his plans were generally adopted, and he had in the committees far more disciples than fellow-labourers.

Mirabeau had the same ascendant on the tribune which Siéyès had in the committees ; he was a man who wanted only an occasion to be great. At Rome, in the prosperous days of the republic, he would have been a Gracchus, in its decline a Catiline ; under the Fronde, a Cardinal de Retz ; and in the decrepitude of a monarchy, or in a state of things such as that he could only exercise his immense faculties in turbulence, he would have distinguished by the vehemence of his passions, and his acts of authority, a life passed in committing disorders, and in suffering them. For this ceaseless activity he wanted employment, and the revolution gave it. Accustomed to the struggle against despotism, irritated by the scorn of a noblesse, which did not value him, and which rejected him from its bosom ; sagacious, bold, eloquent, Mirabeau felt that the revolution would be his work and his life. He was adapted for the wants of his age. His thoughts, his voice, his action, were those of an orator ; in perilous circumstances he was capable of controlling the motions of an assembly ; in difficult discussions he had the tact to terminate them ; in a word, he had the power to keep down ambition, to silence hostility, to disconcert rivalry. This powerful man, in the midst of agitations, abandoning himself at one time with perfect ease to the impetuosity, at another to the playfulness of strength, exercised over the assembly a sovereign sway. He soon obtained an immense popularity, which he never lost ; and he who shunned all regards at his entrance into the states, at his death was carried to the Pantheon in the midst of the lamentations of the assembly and of France. Without the revolution, Mirabeau had failed in his destiny ; for it is not sufficient to be a great man, it is necessary that he should come at the proper season.

The duke of Orléans, to whom a party has been assigned, had very little influence in the assembly : he voted with the majority, and not the majority with him. The personal attachment of some of its members, his name, the fears of the court, the popularity which his opinions gained him, hopes rather than conspiracies, have magnified his revolutionary reputation. He had neither the endowments nor the faults of a conspirator ; he may have aided, by his money and his name, some popular movements which would have taken place without him, and which had other objects than his elevation. An error still common is to ascribe this, the greatest of revolutions, to some secret and petty manoeuvres, as if at such an epoch the whole people could serve as the instrument of one man.

The assembly had acquired the whole power, the municipalities supported its authority, the national guard obeyed it. It was divided into committees,

in order to facilitate its labours, and to be sufficient for them. The royal power, though existing by right, was in some sort suspended, since it was not obeyed, and the assembly had the duty of supplying the royal functions by the exercise of its own. Thus independently of the committees charged with the preparation of its labours, it had others also nominated to exercise an useful surveillance without. A committee of subsistence was occupied on the supply of provisions, an object so important in a year of famine; a committee of relations corresponded with the municipalities and the provinces; a committee of investigation received the depositions against the conspirators of the 16th of July. But the special subjects of its attention were the finances and the constitution, subjects which the recent crisis had compelled them to adjourn.

Having provided for the temporary supply of the treasury, the assembly, although become sovereign, consulted by an examination of the reports the wish of its committees. It then proceeded in its regulations with a method, an extent and a freedom of discussion which should have procured for France a constitution conformable to justice and its wants. America, at the moment of its independence, had consecrated, in a declaration, the rights of man and those of the citizen. It is always thus that we commence. A people springing from slavery feels the necessity of proclaiming its rights, before even laying the foundation of its government. Those Frenchmen, who had assisted in that revolution, and who co-operated in their own, proposed a similar declaration as a preamble of the laws. This idea was pleasing to an assembly of legislators and philosophers, which was not controlled by any limit, since there existed no institutions, and which proceeded on the primitive and fundamental ideas of society, for it was the offspring of the eighteenth century. Although this declaration contained only general principles, and confined itself to the exposition in maxims of what the constitution ought to enact into laws, it was very proper to exalt the views, and infuse a sentiment of dignity and importance into the minds of the citizens. Upon the proposition of La Fayette, the assembly had already commenced this discussion, when the events of Paris and the decrees of the 4th of August, had compelled it to interrupt it; the assembly afterwards renewed and terminated it, in consecrating the principles which served as a table of the new law, and which was the taking possession of the right in the name of humanity.

These general grounds being laid, the assembly occupied itself in the organization of the legislative power. This object was one of the most important; it had to fix the nature of its functions, and to establish its relations with the king. In this discussion the assembly had simply to determine the future condition of the legislative power. As to itself, invested with the constituent authority, it was placed above its own decrees, and no intermediate power could suspend or hinder its mission. But what should be the form of the deliberating body in future sessions? Should it remain indivisible, or should it be decomposed into two chambers? If this last form should be adopted, what ought to be the nature of the second chamber? Should it be an aristocratic assembly or a moderating senate? In a word, the deliberating assembly, whatever it should be, should it be permanent or periodic, and should the king divide with it the legislative power? Such were the difficulties which agitated the assembly and Paris during the month of September.

We shall easily understand the manner in which these questions were decided, if we consider the position of the assembly and its ideas respecting the sovereignty. The king was in its eyes only the hereditary agent of the nation, to whom belonged neither the right of canvassing its representatives, nor that of directing them, nor that of suspending them. Thus it refused him the initiation of laws and the dissolution of the assembly. It did not think that the legislative body should be dependent on the king; it was moreover apprehensive that in granting to the government too strong an influence over the assembly, or in case of the latter not keeping itself always united, the prince might avail himself of the intervals when he was alone,

to encroach upon the other powers, and perhaps even to destroy the new order of things. They wished, therefore, to oppose to an Authority always active, an assembly always subsisting, and they decreed the permanence of the legislative body. On the question of its indivisibility or its division, the discussions were very animated. Necker, Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, wished, besides a chamber of representatives, to have a senate whose members should be nominated by the king on the presentation of the people. They thought that this was the only means of moderating the power, and even of preventing the tyranny of a single assembly. Their partisans were those members who entertained their ideas, or those who hoped to make a part of the upper chamber. The majority of the assembly would have wished, not a peerage, but an aristocratic assembly, of which it should elect the members. They could not then be heard, Mounier's party refusing to co-operate in a project which would have revived the orders, and the aristocrats rejecting a senate which would have confirmed the ruin of the noblesse. The greater number of the deputies of the clergy and of the commons advocated the unity of the assembly. It appeared illegal to the popular party to constitute legislators for life; they believed that the high chamber would become the instrument of the court and the aristocracy, and would then be dangerous, or that it would unite itself to the commons, and would then be useless. Thus the nobility from discontent, and the national party from the spirit of absolute justice, concurred in rejecting the high chamber.

This determination of the assembly has been severely censured. The partisans of the peerage have ascribed all the evils of the revolution to its absence, as if it were possible that any body, whatever it might be, could have arrested its march. It was not the constitution which gave it the character it had; this was merely one of the events which sprang from the struggle of parties. What could the upper chamber have done between the court and the nation? Declared in favour of the first, it could neither have conducted nor saved it; in favour of the second, it could not have strengthened it; and in either case its suppression had been inevitable. We move rapidly in such seasons, and whatever impedes our progress is a nuisance. In England, the house of lords, although it showed itself sufficiently pliant, was suspended during the crisis. These different systems have each their epoch; revolutions are made by a single chamber, and are terminated by two.

The royal sanction excited very strong debates within the assembly, and very violent agitation without. It was required to determine the share of the monarch in the making of laws. The deputies were almost all agreed upon one point. They were unanimous in granting him the right of sanction or refusal of laws; but one party wished this right to be absolute, the other party that it should be temporary. At bottom, these were the same thing, for it was not possible for the prince to prolong his refusal indefinitely, and the *veto*, although absolute, would have been only suspensive. But this power, vested in a single man, of thwarting the work of the people, appeared exorbitant out of the assembly, especially where it was least understood.

Paris was not yet recovered from the agitation of the 14th of July; it was at the *debut* of the popular government, and it experienced both its freedom and its disorders. The assembly of electors, who, in the trying times, had taken the place of the provisional municipality, had just been replaced. A hundred and twenty-four members, nominated by the districts, were constituted legislators and representatives of the *commune*. While they were preparing a plan of municipal organization, every body wished to command; for in France the love of liberty is a little the love of power. The committees acted apart from the mayor; the assembly of representatives raised themselves in opposition to the committees, and the districts against the assembly of representatives. Each of the sixty districts took upon itself the legislative power, and gave the executive power to its committees. They considered as subordinate to them the members of the general assembly, and they took upon themselves the right of quashing their resolutions. This idea of sovereignty of the constituent over his delegate made rapid progress. All those who did not participate in authority united themselves in assem-

blies, and abandoned themselves to deliberations. The soldiers debated at the Oratoire, the journeymen-tailors at the Colonnade, the barbers at the Champs-Élysées, the domestics at the Louvre. But it was at the Palais-Royal in particular that the most animated discussions took place; they examined the matters which occupied the debates of the national assembly, and controlled its discussions. The famine also occasioned tumults, and these were not the least dangerous.

Such was the state of Paris, when the discussions upon the *veto* began. The apprehensions excited by granting this right to the king were extreme. They said, that the fate of liberty depended on this decision, and that the *veto* alone would reduce every thing to the ancient régime. The multitude, who were ignorant of the nature and the limits of power, wished that the assembly, in which they trusted, should have all power, that the king whom they mistrusted, should have none; every instrument left at the disposition of the court seemed a counter-revolutionary lever. The Palais-Royal was in agitation; menacing letters were written to members of the assembly, who, like Mounier, had declared for the absolute *veto*; it was threatened to abandon them as unfaithful representatives, and to march upon Versailles. The Palais-Royal sent a deputation to the assembly, and demanded from the commune, that the deputies should be declared revocable, and that they should be made at all times dependent on the electors. The commune was firm, resisted the demands of the Palais-Royal, and took measures to prevent the tumults. The national guard, which was very well disposed, seconded these efforts. La Fayette had acquired its confidence; it carried the uniform, and adopted the discipline, of which the French guards had given the example, and it imbibed from its leader his love of order, and respect for the laws. But the middle class which composed it, had not yet exclusively taken possession of the popular government. The multitude enrolled the 14th of July were not altogether ejected; the agitation from without made the debates on the *veto* very stormy. A question very simple in itself thus acquired very great importance, and the minister, seeing how pernicious might be the effect of an absolute decision; feeling, moreover, that, in point of fact, the *veto absolute* and the *veto suspensive* were the same thing, decided the king to be content with the latter, and desist from the other. The assembly decreed, that the refusal of the king's sanction could not be prolonged beyond two legislatures, and this decision satisfied the multitude.

The court availed itself of the agitation of Paris to realize other projects; for some time they had been experimenting on the disposition of the king. He had at first refused to sanction the decrees of the 4th of August, although they were constitutional, and that he could avoid promulgating them. After having accepted them upon the observations of the assembly, he renewed the same difficulties relatively to the declaration of rights. The object of the court was to make Louis XVI. appear as oppressed by the assembly, and compelled to submit to measures he was unwilling to accept; it bore its situation impatiently, and wished to re-seize its ancient authority. Flight was the only means, and it was necessary to make it legitimate; nothing could be done in the presence of the assembly, and in the vicinity of Paris; the royal authority had fallen on the 23d of June, military display on the 14th of July; there remained only civil war. As it was difficult to make the king decide, they waited till the last moment to involve him in flight, and his uncertainty defeated their plan. They were to retire to Metz near Bouillé, to the middle of his army, to call around the monarch the noblesse, the troops that were still faithful, the parliaments; to declare the assembly and Paris to be rebels, to invite them to obedience, or to enforce it; and if they could not restore the ancient absolute régime, to confine themselves at least to the declaration of the 20th of June. On the other hand, if the court had power to induce the departure of the king from Versailles, the partisans of the revolution had the interest to bring him to Paris; it was important to others that he should undertake something; the faction of Orléans, if there existed one, would naturally be desirous to push the king to flight by intimidation, in the expectation that the assembly would nominate its leader

lieutenant-general of the realm; finally, the people, wanting bread, would hope that the residence of the king at Paris would remove or diminish the famine. All these causes existing, there wanted only an occasion for insurrection, and the court furnished it. Under the pretext of guarding itself from the movements of Paris, it summoned the troops to Versailles; doubled the *gardes-du-corps* of service, and brought up the dragoons and regiment of Flanders. This display of military force gave rise to the most vivid apprehensions; a report of some counter-revolutionary blow was spread, and the flight of the king, and the dissolution of the assembly, were announced. At the Luxembourg, at the Palais-Royal, at the *Champs-Élysées*, unknown uniforms were observed, white or yellow cockades. The enemies of the revolution manifested a joy which they had not for some time displayed; the court, by its conduct, confirmed suspicion, and defeated the object of all its preparations.

The officers of the regiment of Flanders, endured very impatiently by the town of Versailles, were entertained at the château, and admitted to the parties of the queen. The court was anxious to assure itself of their devotions. A fête was given them by the guards of the king; the officers of dragoons, and chasseurs, who were at Versailles, those of the Swiss guards, of the Hundred Swiss, of the provost-marshal's guard, and the staff of the national guard, were invited to it. They chose for the banquet-room the grand saloon for the exhibition of plays and other entertainments, exclusively destined to the most solemn festivals of the court, and which, since the marriage of the second brother of the king, had been opened only for the emperor Joseph II. The king's band of musicians was ordered to assist at this festival, the first which the guards had ever given. During the banquet, they drank with enthusiasm the health of the royal family; that of the nation was omitted or rejected. At the second service, the grenadiers of France, the Swiss, and the dragoons, were introduced, in order to witness this spectacle, and participate in the sentiments which animated the guests. Their transports increased every moment; suddenly the king was announced, he entered the hall of the banquet in a hunting-dress, followed by the queen, who held the dauphin in her arms. Acclamations of attachment and devotion rang through the saloon; with naked swords in hand, they drank to the health of the royal family, and at the moment when Louis XVI. was retiring, the band struck up the air, *O Richard, o mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne!* The scene assumed then a character sufficiently significant. The jovial clamour and the profusion of wine banished all reserve. They sounded the charge; staggering, they scaled the boxes, as if they were advancing to an assault, white cockades were distributed, the tri-coloured cockade was trodden under foot, and this troop then spread itself among the galleries of the château, where the ladies of the court overwhelmed them with congratulations, and decorated them with ribbons and cockades.

Such was the famous banquet of the 1st of October, which the court had the imprudence to renew on the 3d. We cannot but deplore its fatal want of foresight; it knew neither how to submit to its destiny, nor how to change it. The assembling of a military force, far from preventing the aggression of Paris, provoked it. The banquet did not render the devotedness of the soldiers more certain, while it increased the disaffection of the multitude. To guard itself, there was no necessity for so much ardour, nor for flight so much preparation; but the court never took the proper measure for the success of its designs, or it took only half measures, and delayed its final decision till it was too late.

At Paris the news of the banquet, and the appearance of the black cockades, produced the greatest fermentation. From the 4th, secret rumours, counter-revolutionary invitations, the apprehension of conspiracies, indignation against the court, the increasing fear of famine, every thing announced a revolution; the multitude already turned its regards towards Versailles. On the 5th, the insurrection broke out in a manner at once violent and resistless; the absolute want of bread was the signal for it. A young woman entering a guard-house seized a drum, and ran along the streets beating it,

and crying, *Byeod! bread!* She was soon surrounded by a crowd of women. This mob advanced toward the Hotel-de-Ville, thickening as it went along: it forced the Horse-guard, which was at the gates of the commune, penetrated to the interior, and demanded bread and arms; it broke open the gates, seized the arms, sounded the tocsin, and prepared to march on Versailles. Presently, the people, *en masse*, raised the same shout, and the cry "*To Versailles!*" became general. The women went first, under the conduct of Maillard, one of the volunteers of the Bastille. The people, the national guard, the French guards, demanded to follow. The commandant, La Fayette, opposed this departure a long time, but it was in vain; and neither his efforts nor his popularity could triumph over the obstinacy of the multitude. For seven hours he harangued and retained them. Finally, impatient of so much delay, disregarding his remonstrances, they were beginning to march without him; when feeling that it was now his duty to lead, as it had been before to arrest their career, he obtained from the commune the authorization of his departure, and he gave the signal for it at seven o'clock in the evening.

The agitation at Versailles, though less impetuous, was not less substantial; the national guard and the assembly were restless and irritated. The double banquet of the body guard; the approbation which the queen had manifested toward it in saying, "*I was enchanted by the pleasures of Thursday;*" the refusal of the king to consent to the declaration of the rights of man, his concerted temporizations, and the want of food, excited the alarm of the representatives of the people, and filled them with suspicions. Pétion having denounced the banquet of the guards, was summoned by a royalist deputy to prove his denunciation, and make known the guilty. "Let us declare expressly that every thing which is not the king, is a subject and responsible," exclaimed Mirabeau, in a voice of thunder; "and I will furnish the proofs." These words, which pointed at the queen, silenced the right side. This angry discussion was followed by others not less animated, upon the refusal of the sanction, and upon the famine of Paris. A deputation was about being sent to the king, to demand from him the simple and unmodified consent to the rights of man, and to conjure him to facilitate the provisioning of the capital by every means in his power, when they announced the arrival of the women headed by Maillard.

Their unexpected appearance, for they had arrested all the couriers who could have announced it, excited the terror of the court. The soldiers of Versailles stood to their arms, and surrounded the château; but the intentions of the women were not hostile. Maillard, their leader, had persuaded them to present themselves as supplicants, and it was in this attitude that they exposed in succession their griefs to the assembly and to the king. Thus the first hours of this tumultuous evening were very calm; but it was impossible that the causes of trouble and hostility should not break out between this disorderly multitude and the body guards, the object of so much irritation. These were placed in the court of the château, in front of the national guard and the regiment of Flanders. The interval which separated them was filled with women and volunteers of the Bastille. In the midst of the confusion which inevitably resulted from such an approximation, a quarrel began: this was the signal of disorder and of battle. An officer of the guards struck a Parisian soldier with his sabre, and was immediately hit in return by a shot in the arm. The national guard took part against the body guard; the fray became very violent, and would have been sanguinary, but for the night, which was unfavourable for such a struggle, and the order which the body guards received, first, to cease from firing, and then to retreat. But as they were accused of having been the aggressors, the fury of the multitude was for some time excessive; it rushed into their hotel; two of them were wounded, and another was saved with great difficulty.

During this disorder the court was in consternation; the flight of the king was deliberated upon; the carriages were ready; a picquet of the national guard perceived them at the grate of the Orangery, and made them enter after having closed the grate. The king, moreover, whether he was igno-

rant of the designs of the court, or whether he did not deem them practicable, refused to escape. Fears mingled themselves with his pacific intentions, since he would neither repel aggression, nor have recourse to flight. Vanquished, he apprehended the same fate as had befallen Charles I. in England; and absent, he apprehended that the duke of Orléans might obtain the lieutenancy of the kingdom. But, in the mean time, the rain, fatigue, and the inaction of the body guard, slackened the fury of the multitude, and La Fayette arrived at the head of the Parisian army.

His presence restored security to the court, and the answers of the king to the deputation of Paris satisfied the multitude and the army. In a short time, the activity of La Fayette, the good spirit and discipline of the Parisian guard, re-established order every where. The calm re-appeared: this assemblage of women and volunteers, overcome by weariness, slid quietly away; and the national guards were, some intrusted with the defence of the château, the rest were received among their brethren in arms of Versailles. The royal family, re-assured after the alarms and fatigues of this anxious night, abandoned themselves to repose at two o'clock in the morning. At five o'clock, La Fayette, after having visited the outposts, which had been intrusted to him, finding the service well executed, the town calm, the mob either gone or asleep, took also himself some moments of rest.

Towards the hour of six, some individuals of the mob, more elevated, and earlier awake, rambled round the château. They found an open grate; they informed their companions of it, and entered by this aperture. Unfortunately, the inner posts had been left to the body guard, and refused to the Parisian army; and this fatal refusal caused all the misfortunes of this night. The inner guard had not even been doubled; it had scarcely visited the grates; and the service was, as in ordinary times, negligently performed. These men, agitated by all the passions which had conducted them to Versailles, perceived one of the body guard at a window, and assailed him with abuse. He drew upon them and wounded one of them. They then precipitated themselves upon the rest of the guard, who defended the château foot by foot, and devoted themselves like heroes; one of them informed the queen, whom the assailants especially menaced; she fled half naked to the king; the tumult and the dangers were extreme in the château.

La Fayette, apprised of the invasion of the royal residence, mounted his horse, and directed his course as rapidly as possible to the scene of danger. He found upon the spot the body guard, surrounded by a furious mob, determined to massacre them. He threw himself into the midst, called to his assistance some French guards, who were not far distant, and having dispersed the assailants and saved the body guard, precipitated himself into the château. He found it already succoured by the grenadiers of the French guards, who, at the first rumour of the tumult, had run thither, and protected the royal guard against the fury of the Parisians. But the scene was not yet terminated; the mob, re-assembled in the marble court, under the balcony of the king, demanded him with loud cries;—the king appeared. They demanded his departure for Paris,—he promised to go there with his family; and they covered him, on this new determination, with applause. The queen was resolved to follow him; but the opposition was so strong against her, that the journey was not without danger. It was necessary to reconcile the multitude to her; La Fayette proposed to accompany her to the balcony. After some hesitation, she consented. They appeared together; and in order to make himself understood by this tumultuous assembly,—in order to overcome its animosities, to revive its enthusiasm, La Fayette kissed, with the profoundest respect, the hand of the queen: the multitude responded by its acclamations. It remained still to make the peace of the body guard. La Fayette advanced with one of them, placed upon his head his own tri-coloured cockade, and embraced him in the view of the mob, who shouted "*Long live the body guard!*" Thus ended this scene; the royal family set out for Paris, escorted by the army and by its guards mixed with it.

LETTER XVIII.

The French Revolution continued.—Consequences of the events of October 1789.—Financial arrangements.—Benefices of the Clergy proclaimed national property.—Issues of Assignats.—Anniversary of the 14th of July.—Abolition of tythes.—Federation of the Champ-de-Mars.—New organization of the Army.—Schism of the Clergy.—Clubs.—Death of Mirabeau, &c.—A. D. 1789—1790

THE period which forms the subject of this letter, was less remarkable for its events, than for the more decided separation of parties which it developed. In proportion as changes were effected in the state or the laws, those, whose interests or opinions were struck at, declared themselves against them. The revolution had been opposed from the commencement of the States-general by the court; from the re-union of the orders and the abolition of privileges by the noblesse; from the establishment of a single assembly, and the rejection of the two chambers by the minister and the partisans of the English government. It had, moreover, for adversaries, after the departmental organization, the old provinces; after the decree upon the property and the civil constitution of the clergy, the whole ecclesiastical body; after the new military laws, all the officers of the army. It seems that the assembly should not have attempted so many changes at the same time, in order not to make for itself so many enemies; but its general plans, its wants, and the underplots even of its adversaries, required all these alterations.

The assembly, after the 5th and 6th of October, had its emigration, as the court had its own after the 14th of July. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal left it, and despaired of liberty, at the moment that their ideas ceased to be followed. Too absolute in their plans, they would have wished the people, after having delivered the assembly on the 14th of July, to cease altogether from acting, which was entirely to misunderstand the sequency of revolutions. When they had once employed the people, it became very difficult to disband them; and the most prudent plan would have been not to oppose but to regulate their intervention. Mounier retired to Dauphiné, his province, which he endeavoured to stir up against the assembly. He had the inconsistency to complain of one insurrection, and then to provoke another, when it could only profit another party, for his own was too feeble to sustain itself against the ancient régime and the revolution. In spite of his influence in Dauphiné, whose movements he had formerly directed, Mounier could not establish there a centre of durable resistance, although the assembly was diverted by it from destroying the ancient departmental organization, which might have served for the framework of a civil war.

After the 5th and 6th of October, the national representation had followed the king into the capital, which their common presence had very much contributed to calm. The people were satisfied to possess their king, the motives which excited its effervescence had ceased; their distrust also had greatly abated, and at Paris the counter-revolutionary projects became difficult. The duke of Orléans, who, right or wrong, was considered as the spring of the revolution, was sent away; he had consented to accept a mission to England. La Fayette was determined to preserve order; the national guard, which was animated by the best spirit, acquired every day new habits of discipline and obedience; the municipality was emerging from the confusion of its establishment, and beginning to have authority. There remained only one cause of trouble, the famine; in spite of the zeal and foresight of the committee charged with the purveying of provisions, mobs daily menaced the public tranquillity. The multitude, so liable to error at a period of suffering, murdered a baker named François, who had been unjustly designated as a forestaller. Martial law was then proclaimed, which

authorized the municipality to employ force in dispersing these assemblages of people, after having first summoned them to retire. The power was in the hands of a class interested in preserving order; the commons and the national guards were subject to the assembly, obedience to the law being the passion of the epoch. The deputies, on their part, aspired only to achieve the constitution and effect the re-organization of the state. They had the more reason to be expeditious, that the enemies of the assembly availed themselves of what remained of the ancient régime to throw embarrassments in its way; thus it answered to each of their attempts by a decree, which, in changing the ancient order of things, deprived them of one of their means of attack.

It began by distributing the realm in a manner more equal and more regular. The provinces, which had seen with regret the loss of their privileges, formed small states, of which the extent was too great, and the administration too independent: it was important to reduce their dimensions, to change their names, and to subject them to the same régime. The assembly adopted in this respect the project conceived by Siéyès, and presented by Thouret, in the name of the committee, which was incessantly occupied in this matter for two months.

France was divided into eighty-three departments, nearly equal in extent and in population; the department was divided into districts, the districts into cantons. They regulated their administration in a manner uniform and hierarchical. The department had an administrative council composed of thirty-six members, and an executive directory, consisting of five: as the names indicate, the functions of the one were to decide, of the other to act. The district was organized in the same manner: although upon a smaller scale, it had a council and a directory, which were less numerous, and which relieved the superior council and directory. The canton, consisting of five or six parishes, was instituted for electoral purposes, and not administrative; the acting citizens, and in order to become such, it was necessary to pay a contribution equivalent to three days' labour, assembled in the canton to nominate their deputies and magistrates. Every thing in the new plan was submitted to election; but this had many gradations. It appeared imprudent to intrust to the multitude the choice of delegates, and illegal not to let them concur in it; they escaped this difficulty by the double election. The acting citizens of the canton designated the electors, who in their turn nominated the members of the national assembly; the administrators of the department, those of the district, and the judges of the tribunals. A criminal tribunal was established for every department, a civil tribunal for each district, and a tribunal of peace for each canton.

Such was the institution of the department; it remained to regulate that of the commune. The administration of this last was confided to a general council and a municipality, composed of members whose number was proportionate to the population of the town. The municipal officers were nominated immediately by the people, and were alone able to call out the assistance of an armed force. The commune was the first degree of the civil association, the kingdom as a whole was the last; the department was intermediate between the commune and the state, between the universal interests and interests purely local.

The execution of this plan, which organized the sovereignty of the people, which made all the citizens concur in the election of their magistrates, which confided to them their peculiar administration, and distributed them into parts, which in permitting to the estate to move itself in one body, maintained the correspondence of the parts and prevented their isolation, excited the discontent of some of the provinces. The states of Languedoc and Brittany protested against the new division of the realm; and on their part the parliaments of Metz, of Rouen, of Bordeaux, of Toulouse, opposed the operations of the assembly, which suppressed the chambers of vacations, abolished the orders, and declared incompetent the commissions of the states. The partisans of the ancient régime seized every means of arresting its progress; the noblesse excited the provinces, the parliaments made resolutions,

the clergy issued mandates, and writers availed themselves of the liberty of the press to attack the revolution. Its two principal enemies were the nobles and the bishops. The parliament, having no root in the nation, formed only a magistracy, whose attacks they put an end to by destroying it; instead of which the noblesse and the clergy had means of action which survived their influence as a body. The misfortunes of these two classes were caused by themselves; after having harassed the revolution in the assembly, they afterwards attacked it by open force, the clergy by internal insurrections, the noblesse by arming Europe against it. They hoped much from anarchy, which caused, it is true, great evils to France, but which was far from bettering their situation. Let us see how the hostility of the clergy was induced, and for this purpose it will be necessary to resume the inquiry a little further back.

The revolution had been commenced by financial difficulties, and had not yet been able to remove the embarrassments which had produced it. Moreover, important objects had occupied the time of the assembly. Called on no longer to supply the wants of the administration, but to constitute the state, it had, from time to time, suspended its legislative discussions, to satisfy the most urgent wants of the treasury. Necker had proposed provisional means, which had been adopted with confidence, and almost without discussion. In spite of this readiness, he did not see, without dissatisfaction, the finances subservient to the constitution, and the minister to the assembly. A first loan of thirty millions, decreed on the 9th of August, had not succeeded: a subsequent loan of eighty millions, decreed on the 27th of the same month, had been insufficient. The imposts were reduced or abolished, and they produced scarcely any thing, from the difficulty of collecting them. It became useless to recur to the public confidence, which refused its aid; and in September, Necker proposed an extraordinary contribution of a fourth of the national income payable at once; each citizen was to fix it himself, employing only this simple formula of oath, and which points very well these first times of loyalty and patriotism:—"I declare with truth," &c.

It was then that Mirabeau obtained for Necker the decree of a true financial dictatorship. He spoke of the urgent wants of the state, of the labours of the assembly, which did not permit it to discuss the plan of the minister, and which forbade it from examining any other; of the skill of Necker, who promised the success of his own; and he pressed the assembly to discharge itself upon him of the responsibility of success, by adopting it with confidence. As some did not approve the plans of the minister, as others suspected the intentions of Mirabeau in this matter, he ended this harangue, one of the most eloquent which he had pronounced, by shewing the menacing bankruptcy, and by exclaiming, "Vote this extraordinary subsidy, and it may be sufficient! Vote it, because if you have doubts upon the means, you cannot have any upon the necessity, and upon the impossibility of replacing it; vote it, because the public circumstances will not suffer any delay, and that we should be accountable for every delay. Take care of demanding time; misfortune never grants it. In relation to a ridiculous motion, which never had any importance except in weak imaginations, or in the perverse designs of men of bad faith, you have lately heard these furious words—*Cataline is at the gates of Rome, and we deliberate!* and truly there was around us neither Cataline, nor perfils, nor factions, nor Rome; but to-day the bankruptcy, the hideous bankruptcy, is here; it threatens to swallow up yourselves, your property, your honour; and you deliberate!" Mirabeau had subdued the assembly, and they voted the patriotic contribution amid universal plaudits.

But this resource produced only a momentary relief. The finances of the revolution depended on a hardier and more gigantic measure; it was necessary not only to subsist the revolution, but also to fill up the immense deficit which retarded its march, and menaced its future designs. There remained only one means, that of declaring national the property of the church, and of selling it for the use of the state. The public interests also required it, and they could do it with justice, the clergy not being the proprietors,

but simply the administrators of its benefices, which were given to the religion, not to the priests. The nation in charging itself with the expenses of the altar, and the support of its ministers, could therefore appropriate these benefices, and obtain at once a great financial resource, and a great political result.

It was important to have no longer in the state an independent body, especially if it were ancient; for, at the epoch of the revolution, whatever was ancient was an enemy. The clergy by its formidable hierarchy, and its opulence, would have maintained itself a separate republic in the realm. This form was suitable for the ancient régime: when there was no state but only bodies, each order had provided for its organization and its existence. The clergy had its decretals, the noblesse its law of fiefs, the people its municipalities; every thing was independent, because every thing was private; but now, when the functions became public, it was consistent to make of the priesthood a magistracy, as had already been done with the royal power; and in order to render them dependent on the state, it was necessary to pay them, and to take from the monarch his domains, from the clergy its benefices, replacing them by adequate salaries. We shall presently see how they conducted this grand operation, which destroyed the ancient ecclesiastical régime.

One of the most urgent necessities was the abolition of tithes. As it was an impost paid to the clergy by the inhabitants of the country; the sacrifice was to turn to the profit of those who had been crushed by it. Thus, after having, on the night of the 4th of August, declared them redeemable, they suppressed them without equivalent, on the 11th of the same month; the clergy at first resisted, but it had afterwards the good sense to consent to this measure. The archbishop of Paris abandoned tithes in the name of all his brethren, and by this act of prudence he showed himself faithful to the practices of the privileged, on the night of the 4th of August, but this was the term of his sacrifices.

A short time after, the discussion began on the property of the ecclesiastical benefices. Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to renounce it in favour of the nation, which would employ it in the support of the altars, and the payment of its debt. He proved the justice and the propriety of this measure; he showed the great advantages which would result from it to the state. The benefices of the clergy amounted to many thousand millions of francs: in charging itself with its debts, with the ecclesiastical service, with that of the hospitals, with the endowment of its ministers, there still remained sufficient to satisfy all the public rents, as well perpetual as for life, and to re-imburse the expenditure of the offices of judicature. The clergy struggled against this proposition. The discussion was very animated; it was proved, in spite of its resistance, that the clergy were not the proprietors, but simply the depositaries of the benefices consecrated to the altars by the piety of the kings and the faithful, and that the nation, in furnishing the means of supporting this service, was entitled to resume possession of the benefices. The decree which put them in its possession was carried the 2d of December.

From that moment the hatred of the clergy to the revolution broke forth. It had been less intractable than the noblesse at the commencement of the States-general, in the hope of preserving its wealth: afterwards it showed itself not less opposed to the new régime. Nevertheless, as the decree put the ecclesiastical property at the disposition of the nation, without its being as yet divested, this hatred did not break out all at once. For some time the administration was in its confidence, and it hoped that the property would be put in pledge for the debt, but that it would not be sold.

It was, in fact, difficult to effect this sale, which nevertheless could not be put off; as the treasury subsisted only by anticipation, by getting its bills discounted, it began to lose all credit from the excessive amount of its issues. This is the way in which they brought matters to a termination, and proceeded to the new financial arrangement. The wants of this and the following year, required a sale of property to the amount of four hundred mil-

lions of francs. To facilitate it, the municipality of Paris entered into a considerable recognisance, and the municipalities of the realm followed the example of that of Paris. They undertook to pay into the treasury the private-money of the estates which they received from the state to sell out to private individuals; but they had no money, and they could not put down the price, inasmuch as they had as yet no buyers. What were they to do then? they furnished municipal bills, in order to pay the public creditors, until they should have acquired the funds necessary to redeem these bills. When they had got so far, they found that instead of these municipal bills, it would be better to create exchequer bills, which had a forced currency, and which might discharge the functions of money: the operation was simplified by generalising it. Thus *assignats* came into existence.

This discovery very greatly facilitated the operations of the revolution, and enabled the state to effect the sale of the ecclesiastical property: the assignats, which were a means of payment for the state, became a pledge for the creditors, and moreover a real money. In this manner, the creditor who received them, was not bound to pay himself in lands for that which he had furnished in money; but sooner or latter the assignats must arrive in the hands of men disposed to realize them, and then they should be destroyed at the same time that the pledge ceases. To the fulfilment of their object, a forced circulation was necessary; that they should be solid, the quantity sold was limited to the value of the benefices put in sale; that they might not be liable to a sudden change, they carried interest; the assembly wished to give them, from the moment of the issue, all the consistency of money. It hoped that the money which had vanished in a period of distrust, would presently re-appear, and that the assignats would circulate concurrently with it. The pledge rendered them as safe, and the interest more advantageous; but this interest which had great inconveniences, disappeared at the next issue. Such was the commencement of this paper money, sent out in the first instance with so much necessity and prudence, which enabled the revolution to accomplish such great objects, and which was discredited by causes, which sprung less from its nature than the use which was subsequently made of it.

When the clergy saw the administration of its benefices transferred to the municipalities; the sale of four hundred millions which they were about to make of them; the creation of a paper money which facilitated its divestment, and rendered it definitive; they omitted no means to obtain the intervention of the Deity in behalf of its riches. As a last resource, the clergy offered to realize in its name, a loan of four hundred millions, which was rejected, because its right of property, in that case, would have been recognised anew, after it had been decided that it had none. They then sought by every means to control the operations of the municipalities—at mid-day they excited the Catholics against the Protestants—in the pulpit they alarmed their consciences,—in the confessional they treated the sale as sacrilege,—and on the tribune they endeavoured to create suspicions on the sentiments of the assembly. They originated, as much as possible, religious questions, in order, by this means, to compromise and to confound the cause of its own interest with that of religion. Already when the abolition of monastic vows, the abuses and inutility of which were then recognised by all the world, even by the clergy, the bishop of Nancy had proposed in an incidental and crafty manner, that the Catholic religion should be the only public worship; the assembly cried out against the motives which had suggested this proposition, and rejected it. But the same proposition was presented anew in another sitting; and after the most stormy debates, the assembly declared that from reverence to the Supreme Being, and the Catholic religion, the only one which was maintained at the expense of the state, it ought not to pronounce upon the question which was submitted to it.

Such were the dispositions of the clergy when the assembly began the interior organization. It waited impatiently for this occasion of exciting a schism. This project, which has done so much mischief, proposed to re-constitute the church upon its ancient basis, and to restore the purity of its

creed: it was not the work of philosophers, but of austere Christians, who wished to build up a church upon the basis of the constitution, and to make them both concur in promoting the welfare of the state. The reduction of the bishopricks to the number of the départements, the conformity of the ecclesiastical with the civil boundaries, the nomination of the bishops by the electors, who should choose the administrators and the deputies, the suppression of chapters, and the replacing of canons by curates,—such was this plan. No part of it made any encroachment on the dogmas or the worship of the church. For a long time the bishops and the other ecclesiastics were nominated by the people; and as to the diocesan limits, it was an operation purely material, and which had nothing to do with religion; the support of the members of the clergy was moreover generously provided; and if the high dignitaries saw their revenues diminished, the *curés* who formed the most numerous and most useful class, obtained an augmentation of theirs.

But a pretext was wanting, and that of the civil constitution of the clergy was greedily seized. At the opening of the discussion, the archbishop of Aix protested against the principles of the ecclesiastical committee. According to him it was inconsistent with discipline that the bishops should be instituted by the civil authority or divested of it; and at the moment when the decree was put to the vote, the bishop of Clermont recapitulated the principles expounded by the archbishop of Aix, and he left the hall at the head of all the dissident members. The decree passed; but the clergy declared war against the revolution.

From this moment, the ecclesiastical body joined in the strictest league with the dissident noblesse. Reduced to a common condition, the two privileged classes employed all their efforts to prevent the execution of the reforms. Scarcely were the departments formed, when they sent to them delegates, to re-unite the electors, and attempt new nominations. Their hope was not to obtain a favourable choice, but to create divisions between the assembly and the departments. This project was denounced from the tribune; and as soon as it was known, it failed. Its authors then tried another scheme: the term of the commissions given to the deputies of the States-general was at hand, their power was to last only one year, according to the vote of the *bailliages*; the aristocrats availed themselves of this expiration to obtain a new election of the assembly. Had they succeeded, they would have gained a great advantage; and it was for this reason that they themselves invoked the sovereignty of the people. "Undoubtedly," answered Chapelier, to their arguments, "all sovereignty resides in the people, but this principle has no application under the present circumstances. This would be to destroy the constitution and liberty rather than renew the assembly, even before the constitution is completed; such is, in fact, the hope of those who wish to see the constitution and liberty perish, and to see the distinction of the orders spring up again, the prodigality of the public revenue, and the abuses which march in the train of despotism." All eyes at this moment were directed to the right side, and rested on the Abbé Maury; "Send these gentlemen then to the *Château*," he abruptly exclaimed, "or if you do not know them, say nothing about them." "It is impossible," continued Chapelier, "that the constitution should be the work of more than one assembly. Besides, the electors no longer exist; the *bailliages* are confounded in the départements; the orders are no longer separate. The clause of the limitation of the power loses its value; it is therefore contrary to the principles of the constitution, that the deputies, whose authority is affected only by it, should not continue in this assembly; their oath commands them to remain here, and the public interest requires it."

"We are environed by sophisms," replied the Abbé Maury; "for how long have we been a national convention? They speak of the oath we have taken on the 20th of June, without dreaming that it cannot subvert that which we have taken to our constituents. And since, gentlemen, the constitution is achieved, it remains for us only to declare, that the king possesses the plenitude of the executive power; we are here only to assure to

"the French people the right of influencing its legislation, to establish the principle, that taxes shall be consented to by the people,—in a word, to assure our liberty. Yes, the constitution is made, and I oppose myself to every decree which limits the rights of the people over their representatives. The founders of liberty ought to respect the liberty of the nation, it is above us, and by putting limits to the national authority, we destroy our own."

Applauses resounded from the right side at these words of the Abbé Maury. Mirabeau immediately ascended the tribune. "They demand," says he, "since when the deputies of the people have become the national convention? I answer, it was on that day when, finding their seat of assembly surrounded by soldiers, they proceeded to sit in the first place where they could assemble themselves, in order to swear that they would perish rather than betray and abandon the rights of the nation. Our powers, whatever they were, on that day changed their nature. Whatever may be the powers we have exercised, our efforts, our labours, have legitimated them. The adherence of the nation has sanctified them. You recall the words of that great man of antiquity, who had neglected the legal forms to save his country. Summoned by a factious tribune, to say, if he had observed the laws: he answered, 'I swear that I have saved the country!' Gentlemen, (turning himself to the deputies of the commons,) I swear that you have saved France!" The entire assembly rose in a spontaneous movement, and declared, that its session should end only when its work was accomplished.

Counter-revolutionary attempts also multiplied out of the assembly. It was endeavoured to seduce or disorganize the army, but the assembly adopted the wisest measures to meet this emergency. It attached the troops to the revolution by rendering the gradation and promotion independent of the court and of titles of nobility. The Count d'Artois, who had taken refuge at Turin, formed a correspondence with Lyons and the south, but emigration not having at this epoch the compactness abroad which it subsequently attained, and having no *point d'appui* in the interior, all his projects failed. The attempts of the clergy at insurrection in Languedoc were without any effect; they induced some troubles of short duration, but they did not lead to a war of religion. It requires some time to form a party, and still more is necessary to determine it on serious combat. A design less impracticable was that of carrying off the king, and taking him to Péronne. The Marquis of Favras had taken upon himself the execution of this enterprise, when it was discovered. The court of the Chatelet condemned to death this intrepid adventurer, who failed in his object, because he had made too much preparation. The escape of the king, after the events of October, could only be effected clandestinely, as he afterwards went to Varennes.

The court was in an equivocal and embarrassed position; it encouraged every enterprise, it undertook none; it felt more than ever its weakness; and eagerly desirous of extricating itself, it feared to make any attempt, since success seemed so difficult. Thus it excited resistance without openly co-operating in it. With some it dreamed of the ancient régime—with others it sought only to moderate the revolution. Mirabeau had lately treated with it. Having been one of the principal authors of the reform, he wished to consolidate it by chaining down faction; his object was to convert the court to the revolution, and not to deliver up the revolution to the court. The support which he offered was constitutional; he could not in fact propose any other, for his power sprang from his popularity, and his popularity from his principles. But he erred in endeavouring to purchase it; if his immense necessities had not compelled him to accept money, and sell his councils, he had been no more blamable than the unalterable La Fayette, Lameth, and the Girondists, who successively conferred with it. But neither the one nor the other ever acquired the absolute confidence of the court, which had recourse to them only in the last resort; it tried, by means of them, to suspend the revolution; and, by means of the aristocracy, to destroy it. Of all the popular leaders, Mirabeau was perhaps the one who exercised

the greatest ascendancy over the court, because he was the most insinuating and the most energetic.

In the midst of all these conspiracies and intrigues, the assembly laboured without intermission at the constitution. The popular torrent, after having spent its fury upon the ancient régime, fell gradually into its old channel. New banks hedged it in on every side; the government of the revolution established itself promptly; the assembly had given to the new régime its monarch, its national representation, its territorial division, its armed force, its municipal and administrative powers, its popular tribunals, its currency, its clergy; it had discovered a pledge for its debt, and a means of transferring property without injustice.

All the new magistracies were held for limited periods. Under the absolute monarchy, power flowed from the throne; its functionaries were nominated by the king. Under the constitutional monarchy, all power flowed from the people; its functionaries were nominated by the people. The throne alone was transferable; the other powers were neither the property of a man nor of a family, and were neither for life nor hereditary. The legislation of this period depended on a single principle—the sovereignty of the nation. Even the judicial functions had this character of mobility; trial by jury, a democratic institution, common in former times all over the continent, and which in England alone had survived the encroachments of the feudal system or the throne, was introduced in criminal causes. In civil cases, special judges were nominated; they established permanent tribunals, with two degrees of jurisdiction, so as to give a remedy against error, and a court of cassation to watch over the conversation of the cautionary forms of the law. But the judges were elective and temporary. This great power, when it springs from the throne, to be independent ought to be irremovable; but it may be temporary when it is derived from the people, because being dependent on all, it is dependent on no one.

In another very important matter, the right of peace and war, the assembly decided a new and delicate question, and did it in a manner prompt, certain, and just, after one of the most luminous and eloquent discussions which had adorned its sittings. As war and peace belong rather to action than to will, contrary to the ordinary rule, the assembly gave the initiative power to the king. He, who was most in the way of knowing the propriety of war or peace, ought to propose it, but it was for the legislative body to make a final determination.

The 14th of July was approaching, a day which was the anniversary of the nation's deliverance; they prepared to celebrate it by a solemnity which should elevate the souls of the citizens, and bind them in closer bonds. A confederation of the whole realm was to take place in the Champ-de-Mars, and there, in the open air, the deputies sent by the eighty-three departments, the national representation, the Parisian guard, the monarch, were to take the oath to the constitution. As a prelude to this patriotic festival, the popular members of the noblesse proposed the abolition of titles, and the assembly hastened to renew a sitting similar to the 4th of August. Titles, armorial bearings, liveries, orders of chivalry, were abolished, and vanity lost its privileges, as power had already done.

This sitting led to an universal equality, and put words in accordance with things, by destroying these trappings of other times. Titles had formerly designated functions; armorial bearings had distinguished powerful families; liveries had been invented for the armies of vassals; the orders of chivalry had defended the state against the foreigner, or Europe against Mahometanism; but at the present day nothing of this remains. Titles had lost their reality and their suitability: the noblesse, after having ceased to be a magistracy, had ceased even to be an illustration, and power as well as glory was to spring from plebeian ranks. But whether the aristocracy was more attached to its titles than its privileges, or whether it had been waiting only for a pretext to declare itself openly, this last measure, more than any other, led to its emigration and its attacks. It was to the noblesse what the civil

constitution had been for the clergy, an occasion rather than a cause of hostility.

The 14th of July arrived; the revolution had few days more triumphant; the weather alone did not correspond with this magnificent fête. The deputies from all the departments were presented to the king, who welcomed them with great affability. He received also the most touching testimonies of affection, but it was as a constitutional king. "Sire," said the leader of the Breton deputation, putting one knee on the ground, and presenting his sword to him, "I replace in your hands the faithful sword of the brave Bretons; it shall be stained only by the blood of your enemies." Louis XVI. raised him, embraced him, replaced the sword in his hands. "It will never be better," answered he, "than in the hands of my affectionate Bretons; I have never doubted of their affection and their fidelity. Assure them that I am the father, the brother, the friend of all Frenchmen." "Sire," added the deputy, "all Frenchmen cherish you, and will cherish you, because you are a citizen king."

It was in the Champ-de-Mars that the federation took place. The immense preparations for this festival were with difficulty completed. All Paris had assisted for several weeks, in order that every thing should be ready on the 14th. At seven o'clock in the morning, the assemblage of electors, of representatives of the commune, the presidents of the districts, the national assembly, the Parisian guard, the deputies of the army, the federates of the departments, went in procession from the place of the Bastille. The presence of all the national bodies, the floating banners, the patriotic inscriptions, the varied costumes, the sounds of music, the joy of the people, produced a grand effect. The procession traversed the town, and passed the Seine, to the sound of a discharge of artillery, across a bridge of boats, which had been thrown over in the evening. It entered the Champ-de-Mars, through a triumphal arch, decorated with patriotic inscriptions. Each body, hailed with applause, placed itself in the situation destined for it.

The vast site of the Champ-de-Mars was surrounded by steps of green turf rising one above another, occupied by four hundred thousand spectators; in the middle rose an altar, constructed according to the manner of the ancients; around the altar, in a vast amphitheatre, were seen the king, his family, the assembly, and the municipality; the federates of the departments were placed in order under their banners; the deputies of the army were in their ranks, and under their colours; the bishop of Autun ascended the altar in pontifical robes; four hundred priests, clothed in white surplices, and decorated with floating tricoloured cinctures, proceeded to the four corners of the altar. Mass was celebrated amidst the sound of military instruments; the bishop of Autun then blessed the oriflamme, and the eighty-three banners.

A profound silence now ensued in this vast enclosure; and La Fayette, nominated this day commandant-general of all the national guards of the realm, advanced first to take the civic oath. He was carried, in the arms of grenadiers, on to the altar of the country, in the midst of the acclamations of the people; he then, in an elevated voice, in his own name, in the name of the troops, and of the federates, spoke as follows: "WE SWEAR to be forever faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; to maintain with all our power the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by the king; and to remain united to all Frenchmen by indissoluble ties of fraternity." Discharges of artillery, shouts of "*Long live the nation! Long live the king!*" the clashing of arms, the sounds of music, instantly mingled in one unanimous and prolonged cadence. The president of the assembly took the same oath, and all the deputies repeated it at the same time. Louis XVI. then rising, "I," said he, "the king of France, swear to employ all the powers delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state, to maintain the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by me." The queen being then led forward, and raising the dauphin in her arms, and showing him to the people, said, "Here is my son; he unites with me in the same sentiments." At the same instant the banners were lowered, the acclamations of the people were heard in one loud and prolonged

shout. Subjects believed in the sincerity of the monarch, and the monarch in the attachment of his subjects; and this happy day was terminated by a solemn chant of thanksgiving.

The festival of the federation was prolonged some time longer: plays, illuminations, balls, were given by the city of Paris to the deputies of the departments. A dance was celebrated on the very spot where formerly had stood the Bastille. Gratings, bars, ruins, were scattered here and there, and over the gate was written this inscription, which contrasted finely with the ancient destination of this abode—*Dancing here*. "They danced, in fact," says a contemporary, "with joy, with security, on the very spot where had flowed so many tears—where courage, genius, and innocence had so often breathed forth their groans—where the cries of despair had been so often stifled." After the fêtes were terminated, medals were struck to perpetuate the remembrance of them, and the federates returned to their departments.

The federation had only suspended the hostilities of the parties; they recommenced them by small intrigues, as well within the assembly as without. The duke of Orléans had returned from his mission, or, to speak more properly, from his exile. The information which charged Mirabeau with being the author of the riots of the 5th and 6th of October, had been conducted by the court of the Châtelet. This process, which had been suspended, was now resumed. The court by this attack gave another proof of its improvidence; for it should either have been able to prove the accusation, or it should not have made it. The assembly, which had determined to acquit them, even if they had proved guilty, declared that there were no grounds for the charge; and Mirabeau, after a most brilliant invective against this procedure, forced the right side into silence, and stood triumphant from an accusation which had been raised only to frighten him.

They did not content themselves by merely attacking single deputies, but they tried to subvert the assembly itself. The court intrigued against it; the right side pushed it to exaggeration. "*We love its decrees*," said the abbé Maury; "*we must have three or four more of them*." Hired libellers stood at its very gates, selling pamphlets to excite against it the suspicions of the people; the ministers censured and opposed its march. Necker, always haunted by the remembrance of his former ascendancy, addressed memorials to the assembly, combating its decrees, and offering it his counsels. This minister could not reconcile himself to a secondary part; he did not want to follow the plans of the assembly, but to impose his own upon it. The times were changed; and finally, convinced or wearied by the ill success of his efforts, Necker retired, and traversed in obscurity the provinces through which, a short time before, he had been carried in triumph—a good example of the uncertainty of popular favour. In revolutions, individuals are easily forgotten, because the people see much of them, and live fast. If they would not have the people ungrateful, they should never cease for an instant to serve them in their own way.

On the other hand, the noblesse, which had found a new subject of discontent in the abolition of titles, continued its counter-revolutionary attempts. As it failed in exciting the people to rebellion, since they, not being privileged, found the new changes very advantageous, it tried another scheme, which appeared more certain—it left the realm, in order that it might afterwards re-enter it, after having engaged Europe in its quarrel. But while the emigration was organizing;—while it was seeking foreign enemies to fight the revolution, it continued to cherish discontent within the bosom of the country. The troops had been for some time canvassed by opposite parties, as has been already said. The new military code was favourable to the soldiers: the promotions were formerly given to the noblesse, it now gave them to seniority. The greater part of the officers were attached to the ancient régime, and they did not conceal their sentiments. Compelled to take the oath of fidelity to the nation, to the law, and to the king, which was become the common oath, some quitted the army, and thickened the ranks of emigration; others sought to gain over the soldiers to their party. General

Bouillé was of this number : after having a long time refused the civic oath, he had at length taken it with this intention. He had under his command a considerable number of troops ; he was near the frontier of the north, active, resolute, attached to the king, an enemy of the revolution, such as it had now become, though a partisan of reform, which consequently made him suspected at Coblenz. He kept his army apart from the citizens, to preserve it faithful and free from the spirit of insubordination which they communicated to the troops ; he knew, also, how to preserve, by a discreet conduct, and by the ascendancy of a great character, the confidence and attachment of the soldiers. It was not the same in other quarters ; the officers were the objects of general abuse,—they were accused of diminishing the pay, of rendering no account of the military chest ; opinion was also busy among them. These combined causes excited rebellion on the part of the soldiers : that of Nancy produced much alarm, and was almost the signal of a civil war. Three regiments—that of Chateau-vieux, that of Maistre de-camp, and that of the king, rose against their commanders. Bouillé received orders to march upon them, which he did, at the head of the garrison and the national guards of Metz. After considerable resistance, he succeeded in reducing them. The assembly congratulated him ; but Paris, which saw in the soldiers patriots, and in Bouillé a conspirator, was roused into commotion by the news. Mobs were formed, who demanded the impeachment of the ministers who had given Bouillé orders to march against Nancy. La Fayette, however, succeeded in dissipating their discontents, assisted by the assembly, which, seeing itself between a counter-revolution and an anarchy, opposed itself to both of them with as much sagacity as courage.

The aristocrats triumphed in the difficulties which embarrassed the national assembly. According to them, the assembly must either make itself dependant on the multitude, or be deprived of its support ; and in either case the passage to the ancient régime appeared sufficiently short and easy. The clergy aided them with all its efforts ; the sale of their property, which they had hindered as much as possible, was going on at prices even higher than those which had been estimated. The people, delivered from tithes, and re-assured upon the subject of the national debt, were far from lending themselves to the resentments of the bishops ; from the civil constitution of the clergy, they had employed it in exciting a schism ; this decree of the assembly had, as we have seen, touched neither their discipline nor their creed. The king sanctioned it ; but the bishops, who wished to conceal their interests under the mantle of religion, declared that it was an encroachment upon the spiritual power. The pope consulted upon this measure, which was purely political, had refused his assent, notwithstanding the earnest request of the king, and sustained by his encouragement the opposition of the bishops. These decided that they could not concur in the establishment of the civil constitution ; that those, who were to be suppressed, should protest against this uncanonical act, that every creation of a bishop, made without the consent of the pope, should be considered null, and that the metropolitans should refuse institution to bishops nominated according to civic forms.

In wishing to break this confederacy, the assembly strengthened it. If it had abandoned the dissident priests to themselves, they would, notwithstanding their efforts, have found no elements of a religious war. But the assembly decreed that the priests should swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain the civil constitution of the clergy. The refusal of this oath was to lead to the appointing new incumbents to their sees or cures. The assembly hoped that the high clergy from interest, and the inferior clergy, from ambition, would adopt this measure. The bishops, on the other hand, believed that all the ecclesiastics would follow their example, and that by refusing to swear, they would leave the state without the forms of worship, and the people without priests. The result disappointed the anticipations of both parties. The majority of the bishops and curés of the assembly refused the oath ; but some bishops, and many curates, took it. The nonconforming incumbents were ejected, and the electors nominated their successors, who received canonical institution from

the bishops of Autun and Lida; but the deposed ecclesiastics refused to abandon their functions; they declared their successors intruders; the sacraments administered by them null; the christians who were bold enough to acknowledge them, excommunicated! They did not quit their diocese; they issued charges, they excited disobedience to the laws; and thus what had been an affair of interest, became first an affair of religion, and afterwards an affair of party. There was a double clergy, the one constitutional, the other refractory; they had each their partisans, and treated each other as rebels or heretics. Religion became, according to their passions and their interests, an instrument or an obstacle; and when the priests became fanatics, the revolutionists became infidels. The people, who had not yet arrived at this malady of the higher classes, lost, in the towns especially, the faith of their forefathers, from the imprudence of those who placed it between the revolution and public worship. "The bishops," said the Marquis de Ferrieres, "in whom we will suspect no blame, refused to make any arrangement; and by their culpable intrigues closed every avenue to reconciliation, sacrificing the Catholic religion to a foolish infatuation, and an unworthy attachment to their wealth."

The countenance of the people was sought by all parties; they were conciliated as the sovereign of the time. Having tried to act upon them through the medium of religion, clubs, another medium at that time all-powerful, were put in operation. Clubs were, at this epoch, private unions, in which were discussed the measures of government, the affairs of the estate, and the decrees of the assembly: their deliberations had no authority, but they were not without influence. The first club had its origin with the Breton deputies, who met together to concert their proceedings. When the national representation was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the Breton deputies, and those who thought with them, held their sittings in the ancient convent of the Jacobins, which gave its name to their union. It was at first only a preparatory assembly; but as every thing which exists extends itself, the Jacobin club did not content itself with influencing the assembly, it became desirous of acting also upon the municipality and the multitude, and admitted, as associates, the members of the commune, and persons who were merely citizens. Its organization became more regular, its action more powerful; new societies were affiliated in the provinces, and it raised by the side of legal power another power, which began by counselling, and ended by directing it.

The club of Jacobins, in putting off its first philosophic character, had been abandoned by a part of its founders. These established a club upon the original plan, under the name of the club of Eighty-Nine. Siéyes, Chapelier, La Fayette, La Rochefoucault, directed it, as Lameth and Barnave directed that of the Jacobins. Mirabeau shared in the deliberations of both, and was equally sought after by each of them. These clubs, of which one exercised its influence in the assembly, the other among the people, were attached to the new order of things, though in different degrees. The aristocrats wished to attack the revolution with its own arms; it raised royalist clubs, to oppose them to the popular clubs. The first of them, established under the name of the *Impartialists*, soon fell to the ground; because it addressed itself to the opinions of no party. Having re-appeared under the name of the *Monarchic* club, it had among its members all those whose views it represented. Wishing to gain the favour of the people, it made distributions of bread among them; but far from accepting them, the people considered this establishment as a counter-revolutionary manœuvre; it disturbed their sittings, and compelled them to change their place of meeting several times. Finally, this club became the occasion of so much commotion, that the municipal authority was obliged to put an end to it.

The distrust of the multitude was now become extreme; the departure of the aunts of the king, of which it exaggerated the importance, increased its inquietude, and made it suppose that his own was in preparation. Their suspicions were not without foundation, and gave rise to a sort of commotion of which the counter-revolutionists wished to avail themselves to carry off

the king. This project failed through the determination and address of La Fayette. While the multitude were marching off to Vincennes to demolish the tower, which, according to their notion, communicated with the Tuileries, and was to serve for the escape of the king; more than six hundred persons, armed with spears and poniards, attacked the Tuileries, for the purpose of carrying him off. La Fayette, who had gone to Vincennes at the head of the national guard to disperse the mob, arrived in time to disarm the counter-revolutionists, after having quieted the popular assemblage; and regained, by his second expedition, the confidence which he had lost by the first.

This attempt increased more than ever an apprehension, that Louis XVI. intended, if possible, to effect his escape. Thus, when he wished some time after to go to St. Cloud, he was prevented by the mob, and by his own guard, in spite of the efforts of La Fayette, who tried to make them respect the laws, and the liberty of the monarch. The assembly, on its part, after having decreed the inviolability of the prince, after having regulated his constitutional guard, having assigned the regency to the nearest male heir of the crown, declared that his flight out of the realm would be a forfeiture. The increase of emigration, its declared objects, the menacing attitudes of the European cabinets, very naturally induced the apprehension that the king would adopt such a determination.

It was then, for the first time, that the assembly wished to arrest the progress of emigration by a decree; but such a decree was very difficult to be framed. If they should punish those who left the realm, they would violate the maxims of liberty consecrated in the declaration of rights; if they should not put some restraints on emigration, they would expose France to peril, since the nobles were quitting it for a moment only to invade it. In the assembly, besides those who were favourable to emigration, there were some who saw only the right, others who saw only the danger, and according to his manner of viewing the question, every one declared for or against the restraining law. Those who demanded the law, wished it to be mild; but, at the moment, there was only one practicable, and the assembly recoiled before it. This law, upon the arbitrary designation of a committee of three members, was to pronounce the civil death of the fugitive, and the confiscation of his property. "The groans which are heard at the reading of this project," exclaimed Mirabeau, "prove that this law is worthy of being placed in the code of Draco, and cannot be enrolled among the decrees of the national assembly of France. I declare that I should feel myself absolved from every oath of fidelity towards those who could be base enough to nominate a dictatorial commission. The popularity at which I aspire, and which I have the honour to enjoy, is not a tottering reed; it is in the earth that I wish to strike its roots, upon the bases of justice and liberty." The external situation was not then sufficiently alarming to demand such a measure of security and revolutionary defence.

Mirabeau did not long enjoy a popularity of which he believed himself so secure. This sitting was his last; he ended in a few days a life worn out through excitement and toil. His death was a public calamity; all Paris assisted at his funeral. France was in mourning; and his remains were deposited in the burial-ground which was thenceforth consecrated to the GREAT MEN IN THE NAME OF A GRATEFUL COUNTRY. He had no successor in power and popularity, and for a long time the eyes of the assembly in all difficult discussions, were directed to the seat from which had been used to issue that sovereign word which was to terminate their debates. Mirabeau, after having aided this revolution by his intrepidity in time of peril, by his powerful intellect since its victory, died perhaps not unseasonably for his fame. He was meditating vast designs; he wished to reinforce the throne, and to consolidate the revolution, two things very difficult at such a time. It is to be feared that the royal power, if he had rendered it independent, would have subdued the revolution, or if he had failed, that the revolution would have abolished the royal power. Perhaps it is impossible to adapt an ancient power to a new order of things; perhaps it is necessary that a revolution

should be prolonged in order to become legitimate, and that the throne in recovering itself should acquire the novelty of other institutions.

From the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, to the month of April, 1791, the national assembly completed the re-organization of France; the court abandoned itself to small intrigues and projects of escape; the privileged classes sought new means of power, those which they formerly possessed having been successively taken away. They seized every occasion of disorder which circumstances furnished, to restore the ancient régime by the aid of anarchy. At the opening of the parliaments the noblesse protested against the "Com-mittee of Vacations;" when the provinces were abolished it protested against the orders; when the departments were formed, it tried new elections; when the old writs expired, it required the dissolution of the assembly; when the new military code was decreed, it provoked the defection of the soldiers; finally, all these means of opposition failing to effect its designs, it emigrated, in order to excite Europe against the revolution. On the other hand, the clergy, discontented by the loss of their property, still more than by the ecclesiastical constitution, wished to destroy the new order by insurrections, and to produce insurrections by a schism. Thus it was that, during this epoch, the parties separated more and more, and that the two classes, the enemies of the revolution, prepared the elements of civil and of foreign war.

LETTER XIX.

The French Revolution continued.—Coalition of the European courts against it.—Flight of Louis XVI.—his arrest and suspension.—Declaration of Pilsnitz.—Termination of the Constituent Assembly. A. D. 1791.

THE French revolution changed the politics of Europe; it terminated the struggle of kings with each other, and began that of kings with the people. This last would not have occurred so soon, had the sovereigns themselves not provoked it. They wished to put down the revolution and they extended it; for in the contest it was sure to be triumphant. Europe then arrived at the end of the political system which had governed it. The existence of the different states, after having been in every thing internal under the feudal government, were now become in every thing external under the monarchical government. The first epoch had terminated about the same time for all the great nations of Europe. Then, the kings who had been so long at war with their vassals because they were in contact with them, met on the borders of their own states and warred against each other. As no domination could become universal, neither that of Charles V. nor that of Louis XIV. the weaker states always leaguings against the more powerful; after various vicissitudes of superiority and alliance, a species of European equilibrium was established. It will not be useless to know what was its condition before the revolution, that we may better appreciate the events that followed.

Austria, England, and France, were the three great powers of Europe. Interest leagued together the two first against the third. Austria dreaded France in the Belgic provinces, England feared her on the seas. The rivalry of power or commerce brought them frequently into contest; they endeavoured to humble or despoil each other. Spain, since its throne had been occupied by a prince of the house of Bourbon, had been allied with France against England. This was indeed a decayed power; exiled into the corner of the continent, depressed under the system of Philip II., deprived by the family-compact of the only enemy which could preserve it in a state of wholesome vigilance, it had preserved on the sea only a remnant of its former superiority. But France had other allies on all the quarters of Austria; in the north Sweden, in the east Poland and the Porte, in the south the Germanic circles, in the west Prussia, and in Italy, the kingdom of Naples.

These powers dreading the encroachments of Austria, were the natural allies of France. Piedmont, placed between the two, was sometimes for the one, sometimes for the other: the cabinet of Turin resembled an adventurer, who lets out his services according to circumstances. Holland was allied to England or France, as the party of the stadtholder or that of the people prevailed in the republic. The Swiss were neutral.

Two powers had sprung up in the north, of which the one, Prussia, entering into this equilibrium, deranged it by the preponderance it had acquired, and of which, the other, Russia, was on account of its recent establishment entirely out of the European relations. Prussia had been changed from a simple electorate to a kingdom by Frederic William, who had given it an army, and by his son Frederic the Great, whose talents had so greatly aggrandized its power. Russia, placed in the third line, began to overflow upon Europe, and to derange its equilibrium. It had invaded Poland, it menaced the Porte, and as its only means of action were conquest, it meditated also the occupation of Turkey.

Such was the state of Europe when the French revolution began. The potentates who hitherto had no enemy but themselves, suddenly encountered in this event a common antagonist. The ancient relations of war or alliance, already deranged during the seven years' war, then ceased entirely: Sweden re-united itself to Russia, and Prussia to Austria. There were only kings on one side, and a people on the other, until the latter were joined by those whom its example or the faults of the princes gave it for auxiliaries. A general coalition was soon formed against the French revolution: Austria entered into it in the hope of aggrandizement; England from a dread of infection from republican principles; Prussia, to strengthen absolute power which was menaced, and to find employment for her army; the circles of Germany to regain for some of their members the feudal rights of which the abolition of the feudal régime had deprived them in Alsace; the king of Sweden, who was created the champion of arbitrary power that he might re-establish it in France as he had already done in his own country; Russia that she might effect without trouble the partition of Poland, while Europe was occupied elsewhere; finally, all the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, from regard to their own power or from family attachments. The emigrants encouraged them in these projects, and incited them to the invasion. According to them, France was without an army, or at least without leaders, without money, abandoned to disorder, weary of the assembly, attached to the ancient régime, and without either means or desire to defend itself. They came in numbers to take part in this easy campaign, and they formed themselves into an organized corps, under the prince of Condé, at Worms, and under the count d'Artois, at Coblenz.

The count d'Artois especially accelerated the determinations of the cabinets; the emperor Leopold was in Italy; he passed over to him, accompanied by Calonne, who was his minister, and the count Alphonse de Durfort, who had been his agent at the court of the Tuileries, and who had reported to him the authority of the king that he should treat with Leopold. The conference was held at Mantua, and the count de Durfort went to Louis XVI. to carry, in the name of the emperor, a secret declaration, by which the approaching aid of the coalition was announced to him. Austria was to march thirty-five thousand men upon the frontier of Flanders, the Circles fifteen thousand upon Alsace, the Swiss fifteen thousand upon the frontier of the Lyonesse, the king of Sardinia fifteen thousand upon that of Dauphiny. Spain was to increase its army of Catalonia to twenty thousand; Prussia was well disposed toward the coalition; the king of England was to make a part of it as elector of Hanover. All these troops were to be put in motion at the same time, about the end of July. The house of Bourbon were then to make a protest, the powers to publish a manifesto, but up to that moment it was important to keep this design secret, to avoid all partial insurrection, and not to make any attempt at escape. Such were the contents of this famous declaration of Mantua, of the 20th of May, 1791.

Louis XVI. whether he was unwilling to place himself at the mercy of

foreigners, or whether he dreaded the ascendant which the count d'Artois, if he should return at the head of a victorious emigration, would take in the government which he would have established, chose rather to restore the monarchy by his own efforts. He had in general Bouillé a partisan devoted and active, who equally condemned the emigration and the assembly, and who promised him a refuge and a support in his army. For some time a secret correspondence had been carried on between him and the king; Bouillé prepared every thing for his reception. Under the pretext of a movement of the enemy's troops on the frontier, he established a camp at Montmédy; he placed detachments upon the route the king was to follow, to serve as an escort; and, as he must have a motive for these dispositions, he pretended that they were for protecting the military chest destined for the payment of the army.

The royal family on its part kept all the preparations for departure in profound secrecy; few persons were acquainted with them, no circumstance betrayed them. Louis XVI. and his queen, on the contrary, did every thing to remove suspicion, and on the 20th of June, in the night, at the moment fixed for departure, they quitted the château, one by one in disguise. They escaped the vigilance of the guards, and met each other upon the boulevard, where a carriage was waiting for them, and instantly started on the road for Châlons and Montmédy.

In the morning, at the news of this escape, Paris was seized with stupor; presently indignation followed, groups of people began to form, and the tumult went on increasing. Those who had not prevented the flight were accused of having favoured it; distrust spared neither La Fayette nor Bailly. They saw in this event the invasion of France, the triumph of the emigration, the return of the ancient régime, or rather a long civil war. But the discretion of the assembly soon restored calmness and security to the public mind. It took all the measures necessary to meet an emergency so pressing. A meeting being instantly held, it summoned to its bar the ministers and the authorities; calmed the people by a proclamation; took precautions to maintain the public tranquillity; assumed the executive power; charged the minister of foreign affairs, Montmorin, to make known to the powers of Europe its pacific intentions; sent commissaries to the troops, to assure itself of their fidelity, and to receive their oath no longer in the name of the king, but in its own. Finally, it issued orders to the departments for the arrest of all who should be leaving the realm. "Thus in less than four hours," said the marquis de Ferrières, "the assembly saw itself invested with all the powers: the government went on, the public tranquillity experienced not the smallest shock, and Paris and France learned by this experience, so dangerous to royalty, that in almost all cases the monarch is a stranger to the government which is administered in his name."

Meanwhile Louis XVI. and his queen were arriving at the termination of their journey. The success of the first part of the journey, and the distance from Paris, rendered the king less reserved and more confident; he had the imprudence to show himself, and was recognised and arrested at Varennes. In an instant all the national guards were on foot, the officers of the detachments posted by Bouillé wished in vain to deliver the king, the dragoons and the hussars feared or refused to second them. Bouillé, apprized of this fatal accident, hastened thither himself, at the head of a regiment of cavalry. But it was too late; when he arrived at Varennes the king had left it several hours; his squadrons were fatigued and refused to proceed any farther, the national guards were every where in arms, and after the bad success of his enterprise, he had no alternative but to quit the army and France.

The assembly on learning the arrest of the king, sent as commissaries to be in attendance on his person three of its members, Pétion, Latour-Maubourg, and Barnave; they joined the royal family at Epernay, and returned with them. It was during this journey that Barnave, touched by the good sense of Louis XVI., the attentive and conciliating manners of Marie Antoinette, and the humiliated condition of all the royal family, testified for his sovereign the most lively interest, and gave him from that day his counsel and

his support. This assemblage, on arriving at Paris, traversed an immense multitude, which raised no cry of approbation or discontent, but observed a long, reproachful silence.

The king was provisionally suspended; a guard was appointed for him as well as the queen; commissaries were nominated to interrogate him. All parties were in commotion; some wished to maintain him on his throne, in spite of his attempted flight; others pretended that he had abdicated, by condemning in a manifesto addressed to the French on his departure, both the revolution and the acts that emanated from him during this epoch, which he had called a period of captivity.

The republican party now began to appear. Hitherto it had been dependant or concealed, because it had no substantive existence, or no pretext for manifesting itself. The struggle which had begun at first between the assembly and the court, then between the constitutionalists and the aristocrats, and lastly among the constitutionalists themselves, now commenced between the constitutionalists and the republicans. Such is in times of revolution the inevitable march of events. The partisans of the order of things newly established then united themselves, renouncing the differences which were not without inconvenience even when the assembly was all-powerful, and which became perilous, at the moment when the emigration threatened it on one side, and the multitude on the other. Mirabeau was no more; but the centre upon which this great man relied, and which constituted the least ambitious portion of the assembly, and the most attached to principles, might in uniting under the Lameths, establish Louis XVI. and the constitutional assembly, and resist the excesses of the people.

This alliance was effected: the Lameths had a secret understanding with d'André and the principal members of the centre, conferred with the court, and opened the club of Feuillants, to oppose to that of the Jacobins. The Jacobins could not be without leaders; they had combated under Mirabeau against Mounier, under the Lameths against Mirabeau, under Pétion and Robespierre they fought against the Lameths. The party that wished a second revolution had constantly supported the extreme partisans of the revolution already accomplished, because it was thus hastening the struggle they wished for, and the victory they hoped. At this epoch, from being subordinate it became independent; it struggled no longer for others and the opinions of others, but for itself and under its own banner. The court, by its multiplied faults, by its imprudent machinations, and in the last place, by the flight of the monarch, had given it an opportunity to avow its objects, and the Lameths in abandoning it had left it to its true leaders.

The Lameths experienced in their turn the reproaches of the multitude, which saw only their alliance with the court, without examining its conditions. But supported by all the constitutionalists, they were the strongest party in the assembly, and it was important to them to re-establish the king as soon as possible, in order to put an end to a dangerous controversy; for the republican party were authorized to demand the forfeiture of the crown so long as the suspension should continue. The commissaries charged with interrogating Louis XVI. dictated to him themselves a declaration, which they presented in his name to the assembly, and which soothed the irritation excited by his flight. The reporter declared in the name of the seven committees, charged with the examination of this great question, that there were no grounds for placing Louis XVI. in judgment, nor to pronounce the forfeiture against him. The discussion which followed this report was long and animated; the efforts of the republican party, in spite of their obstinacy, failed. The greater part of their orators spoke; they wanted a deposition, or a regency, which was an approximation to it. Barnave, after having combated all their suggestions, ended his harangue with these remarkable words: "Regenerators of the empire, pursue your course without deviation. You have shown that you had the courage to destroy the abuses of power, you have shown that you could replace them by wise and happy institutions; prove that you have the sagacity to protect and maintain them. The nation is about to exhibit a grand proof of force and courage; it has

“solemnly produced, and by a spontaneous movement, every thing which it can oppose to the attacks with which we are menaced. Continue the same precautions, that our limits, our frontiers, may be powerfully defended. But at the moment we are manifesting our power, let us also prove our moderation; let us offer peace to the world, disquieted by the events which are passing among us; let us present an occasion of triumph to those who in foreign lands have taken an interest in our revolution! They cry out to us from all places: ‘You have been powerful; be wise, be moderate; that will be the crown of your glory; it is thus that you will show that in all varieties of circumstances, you know how to employ talents, various means, and all the virtues.’”

The assembly concurred in the sentiments of Barnave. But in order to calm the people, and to provide for the future security of France, it decreed that the king should *ipso facto* abdicate the crown, if he retracted his oath to the constitution after having taken it, if he should put himself at the head of an army to make war on the nation, or should suffer any one to do it in his name; that then, becoming a simple citizen again, he should cease to be inviolable, and be subject to accusation for acts subsequent to his abdication.

On the day that this decree was adopted by the people, the leaders of the republican party excited the multitude to resistance. But the place of the sittings was surrounded by the national guard, and the assembly could neither be invaded nor intimidated. The agitators, unable to prevent the decree, roused the people against it. They drew up a petition, in which they denied the competency of the assembly, appealed from it to the sovereignty of the people, considered Louis XVI. as a private citizen, since he had fled, and demanded a substitute for him. This petition, drawn up by Brissot, author of the *Patriote Francais*, and president of the committee of investigation of the city of Paris, was carried to the Champ-de-Mars, and placed upon the altar of the country: an immense multitude came to sign it. The assembly apprized of this, summoned the municipality to its bar, and enjoined it to watch over the public tranquillity. La Fayette marched against this mob, and succeeded in dispersing it the first time without the effusion of blood. The municipal officers posted themselves at the Invalids; but on the same day the multitude returned in greater numbers, and with more resolute determination; Danton and Camille Desmoulins harangued it, even from the altar of the country. Two invalids, whom they took for spies, were massacred, and their heads placed on pikes. The insurrection became alarming; La Fayette returned again to the Champ-de-Mars at the head of twelve hundred national guards. Bailly accompanied him, and caused the red flag to be unfurled; he then addressed to the multitude the summons required by law, but they refused to retire, denying his authority, and exclaiming, *Down with the red flag!* and assailing the national guard with stones. La Fayette ordered his men to fire, but into the air; the multitude was not intimidated, but recommenced its attack; then La Fayette, compelled by the obstinacy of the insurgents, ordered a second discharge, but it was real and destructive. The multitude, struck with terror, fled, leaving numbers dead upon the Field of Federation. The disturbance ceased, order was re-established, but blood had flowed, and the people never pardoned either La Fayette or Bailly the hard necessity to which it had driven them. This was a real struggle, in which the republican party, which was neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently supported, was defeated by the constitutional party. This attempt of the Champ-de-Mars was the prelude of the popular movements which came to a head on the 10th of August.

While this was passing in the assembly and in Paris, the emigrants, whom the flight of Louis XVI. had filled with hope, were seized with consternation on his arrest. Monsieur, who had escaped at the same time as his brother, and who had been more fortunate than he, arrived alone at Brussels with the powers and title of regent. The emigrants thought then no longer but of the assistance of Europe; the officers quitted their colours; two hundred and eighty-six members of the assembly protested against its decrees, in

order to legitimate the invasion ; Bouillé wrote a menacing letter, in the absurd hope of intimidating the assembly, and at the same time to charge himself with the sole responsibility of his escape ; finally the emperor, the king of Prussia, and the count d'Artois, met at Pilnitz, where they concluded the famous treaty of the 27th of July, which prepared for the invasion of France, and which, instead of ameliorating the condition of Louis XVI. would have compromised it, if the unbending wisdom of the assembly had not pursued its designs in spite of the menaces of the multitude and of Europe.

In the declaration of Pilnitz, the sovereigns considered the cause of Louis XVI. as their own ; they required that he should be free to go wherever he pleased, that is, to join their standard ; that he should be re-placed on his throne, that the assembly should be dissolved, that the princes of the empire having possessions in Alsace, should be re-established in their feudal rights. In case of refusal they menaced France with a war, in which all the powers would concur who had guaranteed the French monarchy. This declaration far from discouraging only irritated the assembly and the people ; they demanded by what right the princes of Europe interfered in their government ; by what right they gave orders to a great people, and imposed conditions upon it ; and since the sovereigns appealed from them to force, they prepared themselves for resistance. The frontiers were put in a state of defence, a hundred thousand of the national guards were levied, and they waited with assurance the attacks of the enemy, well convinced that the French people would be invincible, animated by the spirit of the revolution, and within their own frontiers.

Meanwhile the assembly was approaching the termination of its labours ; the civil relations, the public contributions, the nature of crimes, their mode of prosecution, the means for their amendment, and their penalties, had been as wisely regulated as the general and constitutional regulations. Equality had been introduced into inheritance, the taxes, and punishments ; it remained only to unite all the constitutional decrees into one body, in order to present them for the acceptance of the king. The assembly began to be weary of its labours, and its divisions ; the people itself, which in France soon gets tired of any thing that continues long, desired a new national representation ; the convocation of the electoral colleges was appointed for the 25th of September. Unfortunately, the members of the existing assembly could not make a part of that which was to follow ; they had decreed this before the flight to Varennes. On this important question, the disinterestedness of some, the rivalry of others, the projects of anarchy on the part of the aristocrats, and of domination on the part of the republicans, had hurried away the assembly. In vain Dupont had said : " Since we are glutted with principles, how is it that we are not advised that stability is also a principle of government ? Shall we expose the French nation, whose temper is fickle and headstrong, to a new revolution every two years in laws and opinions." This was what the privileged class and the Jacobins wished, though with different objects. In all similar questions the assembly either erred or was overcome. When it debated concerning the ministry, it decided, contrary to the opinion of Mirabeau, that no deputy could be a minister ; when it debated on the re-election, the assembly decided against its own members that they could not be re-elected ; it was in the same spirit that it interdicted them from accepting for four years any appointment conferred by the prince. This mania of disinterestedness went so far as to induce La Fayette to lay down the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty. Thus this remarkable epoch ended entirely with the constituent, and nothing remained of it under the legislative.

The collection of the constitutional decrees into a single body suggested the idea of revising them ; but this attempt at revision excited extreme discontent and ended in disappointment ; it would not do by an after-stroke to render the constitution more aristocratic, from a fear lest the people wished to make it more popular. In order to check the sovereignty of the nation, and at the same time not to disavow it, the assembly declared that France

had the right of reviewing its constitution, but that it would be prudent not to use that right for thirty years.

The constitutional act was presented to the king by sixty deputies; the suspension was removed: Louis XVI. resumed the exercise of his power, and the guard which the law had given him, was under his command. Restored to his freedom, the constitution was submitted to him. After several days examination: "I accept the constitution," he wrote to the assembly; "I pledge myself to maintain it from every danger within, to defend it against every attack from without, and to procure it to be executed by every means which it puts in my power. I declare that, instructed by the adherence which the great majority of the people gives to the constitution, I renounce at the conclusion the objections I had made during its progress; and that being responsible only to the nation, no other, when I thus renounce them, has the right to make any complaint."

This letter excited the most vivid applause. La Fayette demanded and obtained a decree for an amnesty in favour of all who had been prosecuted for the departure of the king, or for offences relative to the revolution. On the following morning the king came in person to accept the constitution in the assembly; the mob followed him with its acclamations; he was received with enthusiasm by the deputies and the tribunes, and this day he obtained anew the confidence and the affection of the people. Finally, the 29th of September was appointed for the dissolution of the assembly; the king was present at its sitting; his speech was frequently interrupted with plaudits; and when he said, "For you, gentlemen, who in a long and laborious career have manifested an indefatigable zeal, there still remains a duty to fulfil, when you shall have dispersed over the surface of this empire; it is to explain to your fellow-citizens the true meaning of the laws you have made for them, to recall to them those who disavow them, to purify, to unite all opinions by the example you will give them of the love of order and of submission to the laws." "Yes, yes!" re-echoed with one voice all the deputies. "I depend on it that you will be the interpreters of my sentiments to your fellow-citizens."—"Yes, yes!"—"Tell it faithfully to all, that the king will always be their first and most faithful friend; that he has need of being loved by them; that he knows how to be happy only with them and by them; the hope of contributing to their prosperity will sustain my courage, as the satisfaction of having succeeded will be my most sweet reward." "It is the harangue of a Henry IV.," said a voice; and Louis departed in the midst of the most brilliant testimonies of affection.

Thouret arose, and with a powerful voice addressing himself to the people, "The constituent assembly," he said, "declares that its mission is accomplished, and that it terminates at this moment its sittings." Thus ended this first and glorious assembly of the nation; it was courageous, enlightened, just, and had only one passion, that of the law. It accomplished in two years, by its efforts and by an unwearied perseverance, the greatest revolution which a single generation of mankind ever witnessed. In the midst of its labours it put down despotism and anarchy, by defeating the intrigues of the aristocracy and maintaining the subordination of the people. Its single error was in not confiding the conduct of the revolution to those who had effected it; it divested itself of power like those legislators of antiquity, who exiled themselves from their country after having given it a constitution. A new assembly did not apply itself to the consolidation of the work of its predecessor, and the revolution which required only to be completed was recommenced.

The constitution of 1791 was founded on principles which suited the ideas and the situation of France. This constitution was the work of the middle class, at that time the most powerful; for, as we know, the prevailing force is always that which seizes upon the institutions: but when it belongs to an individual, it is despotism; to certain persons it is a privilege; to all it is a right; this last state is the term of society as it is its origin. France had finally arrived at it, after having passed through the feudal system, which was the aristocratic institution, and through absolute power, which was the

monarchic institution. Equality was consecrated among the citizens, and delegation was recognised as the constitutional mode of exercising their power: such were, under the new régime, the condition of the people and the form of the government. .

In this constitution the people was the source of all power, but it exercised none; it had only the primary election, and its members were chosen by men taken from the most intelligent portion of the community. This composed the assembly, the tribunals, the administrations, the municipalities, the militias, and possessed thus all the force and all the powers of the state. It was, therefore, alone proper to exercise them, since it alone had the intelligence necessary for the conduct of the government. The people was not yet sufficiently advanced to take a share of the power; it was only by accident and transiently that power fell into its hands; it received the civic education, and accustomed itself to government in the primary assemblies, according to the true object of society, which is not to give its advantages as a patrimony to a class, but to make all participate in them as soon as they are capable of acquiring them. This was the principal character of the revolution of 1791. In proportion as any one became fit to possess the right, he was admitted to it; the constitution enlarged its frame with the progress of civilization, which every day called a greater number of men to the administration of the state. It is thus that it established the true equality, of which the real character is admissibility, as that of inequality is exclusion. In rendering power moveable by election, it made a public magistracy of it; while aristocratic privilege, by rendering it hereditary, made it a private property.

The constitution of 1791 established homogeneous powers, which reciprocally corresponded, without interfering with each other; nevertheless, it must be admitted that the royal authority was too subordinate to the popular power. It never happens otherwise; sovereignty, from whatever quarter it comes, when it limits itself, always establishes but a feeble counterpoise. A constituent assembly weakens the royal power; a legislating king restrains the prerogatives of an assembly.

This constitution was, nevertheless, less democratic than that of the United States, which has been found practicable notwithstanding the extent of the territory, and this proves that it is not the form of institutions, but rather the assent which they obtain, or the disagreement they excite which permits or prevents their establishment. In a new country, after a revolution of independence, as in America, every constitution is possible; there is only one hostile party, the mother-country, and when it is vanquished the struggle ceases, because defeat is followed by expulsion. It is not the same with social revolutions among a people which has had a long existence. Changes attack interests, interests form parties, parties enter on a struggle; and the more victory spreads, the more resentments increase: this happened to France. The work of the assembly perished less from its defects than from the blows of faction. Placed between the aristocracy and the multitude, it was attacked by one party and usurped by the other. This latter would not have become sovereign, if civil war and the foreign coalition had not required its intervention and its aid. To defend the country, it was necessary that the government should be in its hands: then it made its revolution, as the middle class had done before. It had its 16th of July, which was the 10th of August; its constituent, which was the convention; its government, which was the committee of public safety; but, as we shall see, without the emigration, it never would have been master of the republic.

LETTER XX.

The French Revolution continued—National Legislative Assembly.—State of Parties.—The emigration and the refractory Clergy.—War declared against the house of Austria, 1792.

THE new assembly commenced its sittings on the first of October, 1791, and at once declared itself the *National Legislative Assembly*. From the moment of its opening, it had occasion to shew its attachment to the actual order of things, as well as its respect for the founders of French liberty. The book of the constitution was solemnly presented to the new body by the archivist Camus, at the head of twelve of the oldest members of the national representation. The assembly stood uncovered while its members received the constitutional act, and vowed by its contents, amidst the applauses of the crowd which occupied the tribunes, to live freemen, or to die. The assembly next voted thanks to the members of the constituent assembly, and forthwith commenced its labours.

But its first relations with the king did not possess the same character of union or confidence. The court, which undoubtedly hoped to regain under the legislative, the ascendancy which it had lost under the constituent assembly, was not sufficiently cautious in the management of a popular assembly which was restless and jealous of its rights, and which passed at that time for the highest in the state. The assembly sent a deputation of sixty members to the king, to announce that it was constituted. The king did not receive them in person, but directed the minister of justice, that he could not give them an audience till the following day at noon. A dismissal so unceremonious as this, and the communication between the sovereign and the national representatives, thus rendered indirect by the intervention of a minister, deeply wounded the deputation. Accordingly when it was ushered into the presence of Louis XVI., Ducastel, who was president of the deputation, addressed him thus laconically: "Sire, the national legislative assembly is definitely constituted, and it has appointed us to inform you of this." Louis XVI. replied in a still colder tone; "I cannot attend your assembly before Friday." This conduct of the court towards the assembly was very injudicious, and ill calculated to conciliate towards it the affection of the popular party.

The assembly approved of the manner in which the president of the deputation had expressed himself, and very speedily allowed itself an act of reprisal. The ceremonial with which the king was to be received by the assembly was founded upon preceding regulations. An arm-chair, after the fashion of a throne, was reserved for him: he was addressed by the titles of *sire* and *majesty*, and the deputies, who stood up uncovered on his entrance, sat down, put on their hats, and rose up again, following with deference all the movements of the king. Some violent and turbulent spirits thought these condescensions unworthy of a sovereign assembly. The deputy Grangeneuve moved that the words *sire* and *majesty* should be replaced by the higher and more constitutional title of king of the French. Couthon went even farther, and proposed to give the king a simple arm-chair, exactly similar to that of the president. These demands excited some slight signs of disapprobation on the part of several members, but the majority eagerly joined in them. "I trust," said Guadet, "that the French nation will always regard with far higher veneration, the simple arm-chair on which sits the presidents of the representatives of the people, than the gilded seat which supports the chief of the executive power. I shall say nothing of the titles of *sire* and *majesty*. I am only astonished that the national assembly should ever have hesitated as to whether it should preserve them. The word *sire* signifies *seigneur*: it belonged to the feudal

"government, which no longer exists. As to that of *majesty*, it ought only "to be employed in speaking of God or of the people."

The previous question was called for, but feebly: these different propositions were put to the vote, and adopted by a considerable majority. Nevertheless, as such a decree appeared hostile, the constitutional opinion was against it, and blamed so rigorous an application of its principles. The day following, those who had called for the previous question, demanded the abandonment of the resolutions of the previous sitting. A report spread at the same time that the king would refuse to be present at any meeting of the assembly, if the decree was kept in force, and it was accordingly annulled. These little disputes between two powers who mutually dreaded the usurpations, the pride, and the ill-will of each other, ended here for the present. All recollection of them was entirely effaced by the appearance of Louis XVI. among the legislative body, by which he was received with the highest respect and the most lively enthusiasm.

His discourse chiefly tended to the pacification of parties in general. He pointed out to the assembly the points which demanded its attention, the finances, the civil laws, commerce, industry, and the consolidation of the new form of government: he promised to employ all his endeavours to recall the army to order and discipline, to put the realm in a state of defence, and to give such favourable ideas of the French revolution, as would tend to conciliate the favourable opinion of Europe. He added the following words which were loudly applauded; "Gentlemen, in order that your important labours "and your zeal should produce all the good which may be naturally expected "from them, there ought ever to exist between the legislative body and the "monarch, a constant harmony, and an unalterable confidence. The enemies "of our common repose will be but too ready to seek to disunite us; but let "the love of our country bind us together, and the interest of the public "render us inseparable! Thus will the power of the nation be enabled to "exert itself without opposition; the administration be no longer tormented "by visionary terrors; the property and the belief of all shall be equally "protected, and none shall have any longer a pretext for deserting a land "where the laws shall be in force, and where the rights of all shall be re- "spected." Unfortunately there were two classes separate from the revolution, which refused to combine with it, and whose efforts in the interior of France and in Europe generally, prevented the fulfilment of these words of peace and wisdom. Wherever there are any parties displaced in a state, there must always be a struggle; and they force their opponents to adopt against them measures of hostility. Thus the internal troubles excited by the priests who had not taken the oaths, the warlike meeting of the emigrants, and the preparations for the coalition, soon carried the legislative farther than the constitution allowed, or than the assembly itself contemplated.

The composition of this assembly was wholly popular. All ideas having been turned to the revolution, neither the court, the nobles, nor the clergy, exercised any influence over the elections. There were not in that assembly, as in the preceding, any partisans of absolute power or peculiar privileges. The two factions of the left who had separated towards the conclusion of the constituent, still formed part of the assembly, but they were greatly diminished both in numbers and in power. The popular minority of the other assembly became the majority of this. The regulation which forbade the election of constituents already chosen, the necessity which they were under of selecting their deputies from among those who had rendered themselves most remarkable by their conduct and opinions, and above all the active influence of the clubs, led to this result. Opinions and parties soon discovered themselves. There were a right, a centre, and a left as in the constituent, but possessing a character altogether different.

The right, which was composed of firm and decided constitutionalists, formed the Feuillant party. Its principal organs were Dumas, Ramond, Vaublanc, Beugnot, &c. It had some relations with the court through Barnave, Dupont, and Alexander Lameth, who were its former leaders; but their counsels

were rarely followed by Louis XVI., who abandoned himself with more confidence to the guidance of those who were about him. It relied for support without doors on the club of the Feuillants, and on the middle classes. The national guard, the army, the directory of the department, and in general, all the constituted authorities, were favourable to this faction. But it no longer was the ruling party in the assembly, and it speedily lost a post equally essential, that of the municipality, which was occupied by its antagonists of the left.

These formed the party called the Girondists, who served in the revolution as a connecting link between the middling and the lower classes. This party at that time entertained no levelling projects: but it was inclined to support the revolution by all means, in distinction from the constitutionalists, who proposed to support it only according to law. At the head of this faction were the brilliant orators of the department of the Gironde, from which it drew its name, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, and the provençal Isnard, whose eloquence was still more glowing than theirs. Its principal leader was Brissot, who had been a member of the municipality of Paris during the preceding session, and who now belonged to the assembly. The opinions of Brissot, who wished for a complete reform, his great activity of mind, which exerted itself by turns in the journal called *The Patriot*, in the rostrum of the assembly, and at the club of the Jacobins, and his accurate and extensive acquaintance with the situation of foreign powers, combined to give him great influence at a moment when France was divided between the strife of parties, and a war against Europe. Condorcet's influence was of another description: he owed his ascendancy to the profoundness of his views and his strong powers of reason, which raised him to something like the rank of Siéyes in this second revolutionary generation. Petion, the character of whose mind was calm and decided, was the man of action of the party. His tranquil air, his flowing eloquence, and his acquaintance with the moods of the people, speedily raised him to the municipal magistracy, which Bailly had exercised on behalf of the middling classes.

The left side had in the assembly the heads of a faction which went beyond the main party in opinion, of which the members such as Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, were to the Girondists, what Petion, Buzot, and Robespierre had been to the left side of the constituent assembly. This was the commencement of the democratic faction, which out of doors served as auxiliaries to the Girondists, and regulated the affiliation of the clubs and of the multitude. Robespierre in the society of Jacobins, where he established his empire after quitting the assembly; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Églantine at the Cordeliers, where they had founded a club of reformers still more violent than the Jacobins, composed of persons belonging to the trading classes; together with the brewer Santerre, in the Fauxbourgs, where the popular force resided, were the real chiefs of that faction, which trusted for its support to an entire class of the population, and aspired to the foundation of a government of its own. But this party only fought as it were under orders, and it required very pressing circumstances to have brought about its triumph. This was the real party of the *Champ-de-Mars*.

The centre of the legislative was sincerely attached to the new order of things. It held, except in a few immaterial points, the same opinions, and had the same wish for conciliatory measures, as the centre of the constituent assembly; but its power was very different: it was no longer at the head of a class, by means of which it possessed the power of over-ruling in a wise and firm manner all the violent and turbulent parties existing. The dangers which threatened the public, by awakening a sense of the necessity of relying for support upon violent opinions within, and on parties without, completely annulled the centre. It soon became the appanage of the strongest faction, as it happens in the case of all moderate parties, and sunk under the influence of the left.

The situation of the assembly was a very difficult one; for that which preceded it had left behind parties which it had evidently been unable to pacify. In the very commencement of its sittings, it found itself compelled

to attend to these ; and its attention was to be confined to combating them. The emigration was making alarming progress ; the king's two brothers, the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Bourbon, had protested against the acceptance of the act of the constitution by Louis XVI. in other words, against the sole means of conciliation ; they asserted that the king had not the power of alienating the rights of the ancient monarchy ; and their protest, which soon circulated through France, produced a great effect on their partisans. The officers left the army, the nobles abandoned their châteaux, and whole companies deserted, to enrol themselves in the regiments on the frontiers. Distaffs were sent to those who remained behind ; and those who refused to emigrate were threatened with being degraded to the class of the people, when the nobility should return victorious. What was styled *External France* was formed in the Austrian Low Countries, and in the neighbouring electorates. The counter-revolution was openly prepared at Brussels, at Worms, and at Coblenz, not only under the protection of the foreign courts, but even with their assistance. The emigrant ambassadors were received, while those of the existing French government were either sent home, or ill received or in some instances imprisoned, as in the case of M. Duverger ; and French travellers or merchants suspected of patriotism, or admiration of the revolution, were subjected to the distrust of all Europe. Several powers had declared themselves openly : among these were Sweden, Russia, and Spain, which was then governed by the Marquis of Blanca-Florida, who was entirely devoted to the cause of the emigrants. At the same time Prussia kept up her army, in expectation of a war ; the line of the Sardinians and Spanish troops assembled on the French frontiers, was increased by supplies from the Alps and the Pyrenees ; and Gustavus, the intended chief of the coalition, was collecting a Swedish army.

The refractory ecclesiastics lost no opportunity of exciting in the country a diversion which might prove useful to the emigrants. "The priests, and more especially the bishops," says the Marquis of Ferrières, "employed all the resources of fanaticism to rouse the lower classes, both in town and country, against the civil constitution of the clergy." The bishops commanded the priests no longer to celebrate divine service in the same churches with the constitutional clergy, lest the people should confound the two modes of worship and the two orders of priesthood. "Independently," he adds, "of the circular letters addressed to the curates, instructions designed for the people were distributed through the country. In these it was stated, that it was not allowable for any one to receive the sacraments from the hands of the constitutional priests, who were designated as intruders ; that all who participated in them became guilty, by their mere presence, of a mortal sin ; that those who were married by the intruders should not be regarded as married ; that they would draw down a curse on themselves and on their children ; that no one was to hold communication with them, nor with those who had separated themselves from the church ; that the municipal officers who installed them became apostates like themselves ; that even at the moment of installation, the ringers of the bells and the sacristans were to abandon their duty.—These fanatical addresses produced the effect expected by the bishops, and religious dissensions broke out in all quarters."

The revolt took place chiefly in the departments of Calvados, or Gévaudan, and of La Vendée. These provinces were not much disposed to welcome the revolution, because the middling and enlightened class was far from numerous there, and the populace was firmly attached to the clergy and nobility, upon whom they depended. The Girondists, in alarm, were disposed to adopt vigorous measures against the emigration and the dissident clergy who attacked the established order of things. Brissot proposed to stop the emigration by renouncing the system of mildness and forbearance which had till then been followed with regard to it. He divided the emigrants into three classes : 1st, The principal chiefs, at the head of whom he placed the king's two brothers ; 2nd, the public functionaries who abandoned their places and their country, and endeavoured to seduce their colleagues ;

and 3d, private individuals, who through terror of their lives, hatred of the revolution, or other motives, quitted their country, without, however, taking up arms against her. He demanded that laws of the severest kind should be enforced against the two first classes, and insisted that it would be the very reverse of good policy to shew itself indulgent towards the latter. As for the unconsecrated and seditious ecclesiastics, several Girondists were disposed to be content with subjecting them to a stricter system of scrutiny; but others pretended that there was but one sure measure to be adopted with regard to them, and that the only means of crushing the spirit of sedition was to banish them from the realm. "All methods of conciliation," said the impetuous Isnard, "are now useless: I ask, what has been hitherto the result of so many reiterated pardons? Your enemies have only augmented their boldness in proportion to your indulgence; and they will never cease to injure you until they have no longer the means. They must either be victors or vanquished: to this it must come at last; and any man who cannot see this great truth, I hold to be politically blind."

The constitutionalists were opposed to all these measures: they did not attempt to deny the danger, but they regarded such laws as arbitrary. They said, that before all things the constitution ought to be respected, and that measures of precaution were all that were necessary at that period; that it was sufficient to protect the nation against the emigrants; and that in order to punish the dissident priests, some real conspiracies ought to be discovered on their part. They recommended that the law should be kept inviolate, even towards the enemy, lest, once engaged in that career, it might be impossible to stop; and lest the revolution should be annihilated, like the old government, by its own unjust deeds. But the Assembly, judging the safety of the state more important than a strict observance of the law, seeing danger in hesitation, and being moreover led on by feelings which produced prompt steps, was not stayed by these considerations. On the 30th of October, it adopted by general consent a decree relative to the king's eldest brother, Louis Stanislaus Xavier. This prince was required, in the terms of the constitution, to return to France within two months; if not, at the expiration of the delay granted him, he was declared to be deprived of his rights to the regency: but there was not the same unanimity relative to the decrees against the emigrants and the priests. On the 9th of November, the assembly decided that all Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers were regarded as suspected of conspiracy against their country; that if, on the 1st of January, 1792, they were still met in a body, they should be treated as conspirators, become liable to the punishment of death, and that after condemnation for contumacy, the revenues arising from their property should be confiscated for the benefit of the nation, without, however, prejudicing the rights of their wives, their children, and their lawful creditors. On the 29th of the same month, a similar decision was made with regard to the refractory ecclesiastics, who were bound to take the oath of citizenship, under pain of being deprived of their pensions, and of being declared suspected of revolt against the law. If they refused it anew, they were to be strictly watched; and if there arose any religious feuds in their communes, they were to be carried to the principal town of the department; and if they were found to have had any share in preaching up disobedience, they were rendered subject to detention.

The king sanctioned the first decree respecting his brother, but put his *veto* on the two others. He had disavowed the emigration, a short time before by the steps he had publicly taken; and he had written to the emigrant princes to recall them to the realm. He had entreated them to take this step in the name of the tranquillity of France, and of the attachment and obedience which they owed to him, as their brother and their king; and he said, in finishing his letter: "I shall consider myself bound to you all my life, if you will spare me the necessity of acting in opposition to you, by the invariable resolution I have taken, of maintaining all that I have said." His prudent suggestions were not followed by the desired result; but Louis XVI. though he condemned the conduct of the emigrants, was unwilling to

give his sanction to any measures taken against them; he was supported in his refusal by the constitutionalists, and by the directory of the department. This kind of support proved useful to him, at a moment when he appeared in the eyes of the people an accomplice of the emigrants, when he excited the discontents of the Girondists, and separated himself from the assembly. He ought to have strenuously united himself with them, as he invoked the constitution against the emigrants in his letters, and against the revolutionists by the use of his prerogative. His situation could only become strong by subscribing with all his heart to the first revolution, and in identifying his own cause with that of the people.

But the court was not sufficiently resigned; and expected always more favourable times, which prevented it from acting with the requisite firmness, and led it to look for hope on all sides. The court continued to keep up relations with Europe, and was at times disposed to allow of foreign intervention: it intrigued with the ministers against the popular party, and made use of the Feuillants, though with much distrust, against the Girondists. Its principal resources at this period were in the petty intrigues of Bertrand de Molleville, who was at the head of the council. He had established a *French Club*, of which he paid the members; he bought the applauses of the tribunes of the assembly, and hoped by this spurious kind of revolution to destroy the real one. His plan was to play the parties against one another, and to annul the effects of the constitution, while literally observing its provisions.

By this system of conduct the court had the imprudence to weaken the constitutionalists, whom it should have reinforced; and favoured, at their expense, the nomination of Pétion to the mayoralty. In consequence of the disinterestedness with which the preceding assembly had been seized, all those who had exercised under it any popular employments successively resigned them. La Fayette had given up the command of the national guard, and Dailly the mayoralty; the constitutional party proposed La Fayette as his successor in this first post of the state, which put the power of exciting or preventing an insurrection, and consequently Paris itself into the hands of him who occupied it. Up to this time it had belonged to the constitutionalists, who by means of it, had repressed the movement of the Champ-de-Mars. They had lost the direction of the assembly; the command of the national guard. They moreover lost the municipality. The court gave to Pétion, the Girondists candidate, all the votes of which it could dispose. "M. de la Fayette," said the queen to Bertrand de Molleville, "only wishes to be mayor of Paris in order to be afterwards mayor of the palace." — Pétion is a jacobin and republican, but he is too great a fool ever to be "capable of becoming the head of a party." This nomination soon became decisive in favour of the Girondists.

The latter did not content themselves with the acquisition of the mayoralty. France could not long remain in that dangerous and provisional condition: the decrees, which justly or not, were to serve for the defence of the revolution, and which had been rejected by the king, were not replaced by any measure of government; the ministry discovered either treacherous intentions, or an evident indifference to the state of the nation. This led the Girondists to accuse the minister for foreign affairs, Delessart, of compromising the honour and the security of the state by his negotiations with foreign powers, by his delays and by his ignorance; they also strongly charged Du Portail the minister at war, and Bertrand de Molleville, minister of marine, with neglecting to put the frontiers and the coasts in a state of defence. The conduct of the electors of Trèves, of Mentz, and of the bishop of Spire, who favoured the military assemblies of the troops, excited generally strong and deep indignation. The diplomatic committee proposed to make a declaration to the king, that the nation would see with satisfaction a requisition issued to the neighbouring princes to disperse the meetings in three weeks; and that he should assemble the force necessary to compel them to respect the rights of nations. The assembly wished, by this important step, to induce Louis XVI. to take a solemn engagement, and to signify to

the diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, as well as to all the other courts of Europe, the firm intentions of France.

Isnard ascended the tribune to support this project; "Let us," said he, "on this occasion, feel the due dignity of our mission; let us speak to the king, to his ministers, and to all Europe with the firmness which becomes us. Let us tell our ministers that hitherto, the nation is by no means satisfied with the conduct of any of them; that henceforth, they have only to choose between the gratitude of the people and the vengeance of the laws; and that by the word *responsibility*, we mean *death*. Let us tell the king, that his interest lies in defending the constitution; that he reigns only by the people, and for the people; that the nation is his sovereign, and that he is subject to the law. Let us proclaim to Europe, that the French nation, if it draws the sword, will cast away the scabbard; that it will only go to regain it crowned with the laurels of victory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will engage the people in a war, even to death, against kings. Let us tell her, that all the combats in which nations engage at the command of despots—(here the speaker was interrupted by shouts of applause, and cried out)—Do not applaud! do not applaud! but respect my enthusiasm, it is that of liberty. Let us, I say, tell Europe, that all the wars in which nations engage at the command of despots, resemble the blows which two friends, instigated by a perfidious enemy, aim at each other in the dark; when the light of day appears, they throw away their arms, they embrace, and punish him who deceived them; so if, at the moment when hostile armies are struggling with ours, the light of philosophy flashes on their eyes, both nations will embrace in the sight of dethroned tyrants, of consoled earth, and of satisfied heaven."

The assembly decreed with transport and unanimously, the proposed measure, and despatched a message to the king. Vaublanc was the organ of that deputation. "Sire," said he to Louis XVI. "scarcely had the assembly cast its eyes on the situation of the realm, when it perceived that the troubles which still agitate it, have their source in the criminal attempts of the French emigrants. Their audacity is supported by the German princes, who disregard the treaties signed between them and France, and affect to forget that they owe to this empire the treaty of Westphalia, which guarantees their rights and their security. These hostile preparations, these threats of invasion, require armaments which absorb immense sums, which the nation would have poured with joy into the hands of its creditors.

"It is for you, sire, to put an end to them, it is for you to hold, in addressing foreign powers, the language which becomes the sovereign of the French people! Tell them, that every country which continues preparations against France, must be numbered among her enemies; that we will religiously regard our oath of attempting no conquests; that we offer to live with them in brotherly neighbourhood, and to grant them the inviolable friendship of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, their customs, and their constitutions; but that we require in return that ours should be respected! Tell them, lastly, that if the princes of Germany continue to countenance preparations directed against the French, the French will carry into their country, not fire and sword, but liberty! It is for them to calculate what may be the consequence of this awakening of the nations!"

Louis XVI. replied, that he would take into deep consideration the message of the assembly; and a few days afterwards, he came to announce in person his resolutions on the subject. They were agreeable to the general wish. The king declared, amidst general applause, that he would signify to the elector of Trèves, and to the other electors, that if before the 15th of January, all hostile meetings, and all hostile dispositions on the part of the refugee French should not have ceased in their states, he would regard them as enemies. He added, that he would write to the emperor, in order to engage him, as the head of the empire, to interpose his authority to avert the

evils, which any longer obstinacy on the part of some members of the Germanic body might occasion. "If these declarations, gentlemen, are not attended to," added he, "it only remains for me to propose war; war, in which a people who has solemnly renounced foreign conquest, never engages without necessity; but which a free and generous nation knows how to undertake when its own security and its own honour demand it!"

The steps taken by the king, relative to the princes of the empire, were supported by military preparations. A new minister at war had replaced Du Portail. Narbonne, chosen from the party of the Feuillants, young, active, and ambitious of signaling himself by the triumph of his party, and by his defence of the revolution, immediately marched to the frontier. A hundred and fifty thousand men were required; the assembly voted on this occasion twenty millions of extraordinary funds; three armies were formed under the command of Rochambeau, of Luckner, and La Fayette; and finally Monsieur, count of Provence, the count d'Artois, and the prince of Condé were accused and decreed *guilty of attempts and conspiracy against the general security of the state and constitution*. Their properties were sequestrated; and the term which had formerly been fixed for the return of Monsieur to France being expired, he was deprived of all right to the regency.

The elector of Trèves, who did not expect the step which was taken, engaged to disperse the meetings, and to allow them no longer to take place. All this, however, was confined to a pretence of disbanding the troops. Austria gave orders to marshal Bender to defend the elector if he was attacked, and ratified the conclusions of the diet of Ratisbon. The latter demanded the restoration of the *possessory princes*; it refused to allow that they should be indemnified in money for the loss of their rights; and left to France the choice only of the re-establishment of feudality in Alsace, or war. These two resolutions of the cabinet of Vienna were of a very hostile nature. Her troops marched upon the French frontiers, and proved clearly that France was not to trust to her inaction. Fifty thousand men were stationed in the Low Countries; six thousand were posted in the Brigaw, and thirty thousand were despatched from Bohemia. This formidable army of observation, could at a moment's notice, be rendered an army of attack.

The assembly felt that there was an urgent necessity of compelling the emperor to decide. It considered the electors but as borrowed names under which he acted, and the emigrants as his instruments; for prince Kaunitz regarded as legitimate *the league of sovereigns united for the security and the honour of their crowns*. The Girondists, therefore, were desirous of anticipating this dangerous adversary, and of preventing him from having time to prepare himself. They required him to explain before the 10th of February, in a clear and precise manner, his real intentions with regard to France. They attacked, at the same time, those ministers on whom they could not count in case of war; the incapacity of Delessart, and the intrigues of Molleville, especially afforded ground for such attacks. Narbonne was the only one spared. They were seconded by the divisions of the council, which was half aristocratical, by Bertrand de Molleville, Delessart, &c.; and half constitutional, by Narbonne and Cahier de Gerville, minister of the interior. Men, so opposite in intentions and talents, could never be expected to agree. Bertrand de Molleville had lively contests with Narbonne, who wished his colleagues to adopt a frank and decided tone, and to render the assembly the principal support of the throne. Narbonne failed in the struggle, and his fall produced the disorganization of this ministry. The Girondists accused Bertrand de Molleville and Delessart; the former had enough of ingenuity to defend himself; but the latter was carried before the high court of Orleans.

The king, intimidated by the violent conduct of the assembly towards the members of his council, and especially by the decree of accusation against Delessart, had no resource left but to choose his new ministers from the victorious party. An alliance with the actual rulers of the revolution was the only thing which could save at once liberty and the throne. It would restore concord to the assembly, the chief power, and the municipality; and if their

union was maintained, the Girondists would perform, with the aid of the court, what they judged, after the rupture, they could only have accomplished without it. The members of the new ministry were La Coste for the navy; Clavière for the finances, Duranton for justice, De Grave, who was soon replaced by Servan, minister at war, Dumouriez for foreign affairs, and Roland for the interior. The two latter were the most remarkable and the most important men of the council.

Dumouriez was forty-seven years of age at the commencement of the revolution; up to that time he had lived amidst intrigues, which he was too fond of employing at a period when small means ought only to have been used in aid of great ones, and not to supply their place. The first part of his political life was spent in discovering those by whom he might rise, and the second those who were able to support his elevation. A courtier before 1789, a Constitutionalist under the first assembly, a Girondist under the second, a Jacobin under the republic, he was eminently the creature of the time. But he had all the resources of great men: an enterprising disposition, indefatigable activity, and prompt, accurate, and extended views; extraordinary impetuosity in action, and unbounded confidence in success: he was besides frank, ingenious, clever, bold, equally fitted for the council and the field; full of expedients, astonishing for the readiness of his invention, and knowing how to submit to the misfortune of a difficult position, until he could change it. It must be admitted however that these fine qualities were injured by several defects. He was rash, thoughtless, and extremely capricious both in his opinions and his means, in consequence of his continual thirst for action: but the great fault of Dumouriez was his want of all political principle. In a period of revolution nothing is to be accomplished unless the individual is the man of a party—if a man is ambitious, he must see farther than the object he seeks to attain—and unless his will is stronger than that of his partisans he will fail. It was thus with Cromwell and Buonaparte: while Dumouriez, after having been the servant of parties, believed he should conquer them all by his intrigues. He wanted the passion of his time; it is this which completes a man, and which alone can render him the governing spirit of his age.

Roland was a contrast to Dumouriez. His was a character which liberty found ready made, as if she had herself moulded it. The manners of Roland were simple, his morals severe, and his opinions tried: he loved liberty with enthusiasm, and he was equally capable of disinterestedly consecrating to her cause the whole of his existence, or of perishing for its sake without ostentation and without regret. He was a man worthy of being born in a republic, but misplaced in a revolution; he was ill-fitted for the agitations and the struggles of parties; his talents were not great: his disposition was somewhat unbending: he neither knew how to appreciate nor to manage men: and though laborious, intelligent and active, he would have figured little without the aid of his wife. All that was wanting in him, she supplied; force and elevation of mind, ability and foresight. Madame Roland was the soul of the Girondists; she was the point round which assembled those brilliant and courageous men, to discuss the wants and the dangers of their country: it was she who roused those whom she knew to be able in action, and directed to the tribune the efforts of those whom she knew to be eloquent.

The court named this ministry the *Sans Culotte ministry*. The first time that Roland appeared at the palace, with strings in his shoes and a round hat, which were against the rules of etiquette, the master of the ceremonies refused to admit him. But forced at length to allow him to pass, pointing to Roland, he thus addressed Dumouriez: "*What Sir! without buckles in his shoes!*"—"Aye Sir, all is lost!" replied Dumouriez with the utmost coolness. Such were still the prejudices of the court. The first measure of the new ministry was war. The situation of France was daily becoming more and more dangerous, and she had every thing to fear from the evil dispositions of Europe. Leopold was dead, and that event was likely to hasten the resolutions of the cabinet of Vienna. His young successor Francis II. it was probable would be less pacific or less prudent than he had been.

Austria moreover was assembling troops, tracing camps, and appointing generals: she had violated the territory of Basle, and placed a garrison in Porentruy, to obtain an entrance to the department of Doubs. There remained therefore no doubt with regard to her projects. The meetings of troops at Coblenz had recommenced in greater numbers: the cabinet of Vienna had but momentarily dispersed the emigrants scattered through the Belgian provinces, in order to prevent the invasion of that country, which it was not yet in a state to oppose; but all this was only done to save appearances, for it suffered a staff of general officers to remain at Brussels wearing the royal uniform and mounting the white cockade. The answers of prince Kaunitz to the explanations demanded were by no means satisfactory. He even refused to treat directly, and the baron of Cobentzel was charged with replying that Austria refused to depart from the conditions she had imposed. The re-establishment of the monarchy on the basis of the royal sitting of the 23d of June, the restoration of the property of the clergy, of the lauds of Alsace with all their rights to the German princes, and of Avignon and the Venetian territory to the pope; such was the *ultimatum* of Austria. All possibility of agreement was thus at an end, and the maintenance of peace was no longer to be expected. France was threatened with the fate which Holland had undergone, or perhaps with that of Poland: all that now remained to be decided on was, whether to wait for, or commence the war,—to profit by the enthusiasm of the people, or to suffer it to subside into coldness; the real author of a war is not he who declares it, but he who renders it necessary.

Louis XVI. presented himself on the 20th of April to the assembly accompanied by all his ministers. "I come gentlemen," said he, "in the midst of the national assembly, on occasion of one of the most important subjects which can occupy the attention of the representatives of the nation. My minister for foreign affairs will read to you the report which he has made in my council on our political situation." Dumouriez then rose: he exposed the causes of complaint which France had against the house of Austria: the object of the conferences of Mantua, Reichenback and Pilnitz: the coalition which Austria had formed against the French revolution: her warlike preparations, which continued to assume a more formidable aspect: the undisguised protection which she accorded to bodies of the emigrants: and finally, the intolerable conditions of her *ultimatum*; and after a long series of considerations, founded on the hostile conduct of the king of Hungary and Bohemia, (Francis II. was not yet elected emperor) on the pressing circumstances in which the nation stood, on its formal and pronounced resolution never to suffer any attack or any outrage on its rights, and on the honour and good faith of Louis XVI. who was the depository of the dignity and security of France—he advised war against Austria. Louis XVI. then said, with a voice somewhat tremulous with emotion: "You have just heard, gentlemen, the result of the negotiations which I have engaged in with the court of Vienna. The conclusions of that report have been sanctioned by the unanimous voice of all the members of my council, and I have myself adopted them. They are agreeable to the wishes which have been often expressed by the national assembly, and to the sentiments which have been manifested by many of my subjects from various parts of the realm: all prefer war to witnessing the dignity of the French people longer outraged, and the security of the nation threatened. It was my duty, previous to adopting this measure, to exert my utmost efforts for the maintenance of peace. I now come, in the terms of the constitution, to propose to the national assembly war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia." Several marks of applause followed the king's speech; but the solemnity of the circumstance and the weight of the decision had penetrated all the assembly with a deep and silent emotion. As soon as the king retired, the assembly determined on a meeting in the evening in which the war was resolved on almost unanimously. Thus was begun with the chief of the confederated powers, that war which lasted a quarter of a century, which confirmed the revolution triumphantly, and which changed the whole face of Europe.

LETTER XXI.

The French Revolution continued.—France prepares for war.—Disasters of the army.—Decree of banishment against the non-juring clergy.—Fall of the Girondists.—Duke of Brunswick's manifesto.—Events of the 10th of August.—The Prussian army enters France.—Massacre of the 2nd of September, 1792.—Retreat of the combined armies.

THE declaration of war, was hailed with enthusiasm, in every part of France: it communicated a new excitement to the people already sufficiently agitated by domestic broils. The districts, the municipalities, and popular societies sent addresses: men were raised, voluntary contributions were offered, pikes were made, and the whole nation seemed to rise up to wait the onset of Europe, to invade her. But enthusiasm, which in the end assures victory, does not at first supply the want of organization. Accordingly there were no troops at the opening of the campaign but the regular soldiers, until the new levies should have been formed. The following is the state of the French forces in these respects. The vast frontier from Dunkirk to Huningen was separated into three great divisions. On the left, from Dunkirk to Philippeville, the army of the north consisting of about forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse, was under the command of the marshal de Rochambeau. La Fayette commanded the centre army, composed of forty-five thousand foot and seven thousand horse, and extended from Philippeville to the lines of Weissenbourg. Lastly the army of the Rhine, consisting of thirty-five thousand foot and eight thousand horse, was led by the marshal Luckner, who occupied the space extending from the lines of Weissenbourg to Basle. The frontier of the Alps and Pyrenees was intrusted to general Montesquiou, whose army was very small: but that portion of France was not yet exposed to danger.

The marshal de Rochambeau was of opinion that the army should remain on the defensive and keep the frontiers. Dumouriez on the contrary wished to act on the offensive and to begin the attack, as France had first declared war, in order to profit by the advantage of being first ready. He was very enterprising: and as he directed the military operations, though minister for foreign affairs, he procured the adoption of his plan. It consisted in a rapid invasion of Belgium. That province had attempted in 1790, to shake off the Austrian yoke, and after having been for a short period victorious, it had been conquered by superior force. Dumouriez imagined that the patriots of Brabant would favour the attack of the French, as a means of freedom for themselves. He planned a triple invasion for this end. The two generals Dillon and Biron, who commanded in Flanders under Rochambeau, received orders to march, the one with four thousand men from Lille upon Tournay, the other with ten thousand from Valenciennes upon Mons. At the same time La Fayette with a part of his army quitted Metz, and led his army to Namur, by forced marches through Stenai, Sedan, Mézières and Givet. But this plan presupposed in the soldiers habits which they had not yet acquired, and demanded an union of opinion and method very difficult to find among the chiefs. Besides the invading columns were not strong enough for such an enterprise. Scarcely had Dillon left the frontier and met the enemy when a panic terror seized the troops. The cry through all the ranks was *Sauve qui peut!* and he was dragged away by his own troops and massacred. The same thing took place and accompanied by the same circumstances in the army of Biron, who was alike obliged to retire in disorder to his former position. This sudden flight, which had been common to both columns, must either be ascribed to the dread of the enemy experienced by troops who had never been in action, to distrust of their chiefs, or to the

suggestions inspired by evil-disposed persons who hinted suspicions of treachery.

La Fayette on arriving at Bouvines, after having marched fifty leagues in a few days and over bad roads, was informed of the disasters of Valenciennes and Lille : he saw that the object of the invasion had failed, and thought with reason that there was nothing better to be done than to effect a retreat. Rochambeau complained of the *precipitation and irregularity* of the measures which had been prescribed to him in the most absolute manner. As he did not feel disposed to become a *passive machine, obliged to act a part at their discretion, which ought to be his own*, he resigned his post. From that moment the army resumed the defensive. The force on the frontier was now divided into two armies only ; of which the one under the command of La Fayette, extended from the sea to Longwy, and the other from the Moselle to Jura was under the orders of Luckner. La Fayette put the left wing of his army under the command of Arthur Dillon, and his right joined that of Luckner, who had Biron for his lieutenant on the Rhine. It was in this position that the troops waited for those of the coalition.

These first checks, however, augmented the disunion of the Feuillants and the Girondists. The generals ascribed the failures to the plan of Dumouriez. The ministry threw the blame of them upon the generals, who had all been put in their places by Narbonne, and belonged to the constitutional party. On the other hand the Jacobins accused the counter-revolutionists to have occasioned the rout by their cries of *Sauve qui peut!* Their joy, which they did not attempt to conceal, and their hopes of soon seeing their confederates in Paris, the emigrants returned, and the whole régime established, confirmed these suspicions. It was thought that the court which had raised the mercenary body-guard of the king from eighteen hundred men to six thousand, and who had framed it of chosen counter-revolutionists, was acting in concert with the coalition. A secret committee, of which even the existence was not proved, was denounced as the *Austrian committee*. Public distrust was now at its height.

The assembly immediately adopted party measures : it had entered into the war, and thenceforth was obliged to regulate its conduct much less after the rules of justice than those which seemed to be prescribed by the safety of the state. It established itself permanent : it disbanded the king's mercenary body-guard : the renewal of the religious troubles led it to issue a decree of banishment against the refractory clergy, in order no longer to have at once to combat a revolution and to appease revolts. To repair the late defeats, and that an army of reserve might be stationed near the capital, it adopted, on the motion of Servan the minister of war, the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men, selected from the departments, and to be placed below Paris. The assembly endeavoured at the same time to exalt the general enthusiasm by revolutionary fetes, and began to enrol the populace by arming them with pikes, judging that no assistance could be superfluous at a moment of such imminent danger.

All these measures were not adopted without some opposition from the constitutionalists. They opposed the establishment of the camp of twenty thousand men, which they regarded as a party-army called in against the national guard and the throne. The staff of the guard protested, and the re-composition of this corps was speedily accomplished to the profit of the ruling party. Into the new national guard there were introduced companies armed with pikes. The constitutionalists were still more discontented with this measure, which introduced the lower classes into their ranks and appeared to them a plan for annulling the middle classes by the populace. Lastly, they condemned in an open manner the banishment of the priests, which was according to them nothing less than a decree of proscription.

Louis XVI. had behaved for some time in a colder manner to his ministers, who on their side, appeared to exact more at his hands : they urged him to permit about his person priests who had taken the oaths in order to give an example in favour of the constitutional religion, and to remove a pretext for troubles ; but this he constantly refused, being determined to make no con-

essions in matters of religion. The last decrees put a term to his union with the Girondists; he remained several days without alluding to them and without declaring his opinion on the point. It was then that Roland wrote to him his famous letter on his constitutional duties, and urged him for the sake of calming the minds of the people, and of confirming his own authority, to declare himself frankly the king of the revolution. That letter still farther irritated Louis XVI. who was already resolved to break with the Girondists. He was supported by Dumouriez, who abandoned his party, and who had formed with Duranthon and Lacoste, a schism in the ministry against Roland, Servan, and Clavière. But, like a man at once ambitious and able, Dumouriez recommended Louis XVI. to dismiss the ministers of whom he had to complain, and to sanction at the same time the decrees in order to confirm his popularity. He represented the one against the priests as a measure of precaution in their favour, as banishment was likely to remove them from a proscription which would probably be more deplorable: and he engaged to prevent the revolutionary consequences of the camp of twenty thousand men, by dispatching to the army battalions of them in proportion as they arrived. On these conditions Dumouriez offered to undertake the office of minister at war, and to sustain the attacks of his own party; but Louis XVI. dismissed the ministers and rejected the decrees, and Dumouriez went off to the army, after having rendered himself suspected. The assembly declared that Roland, Servan, and Clavière carried with them the regrets of the nation.

The king chose his new ministry from the ranks of the Feuillants. Scipio Chambonnas took the foreign affairs; Terrier Monteil the interior; Beau-lieu the finances; Lajarre, the war department; and Lacoste and Duranthon remained for the time in charge of justice and of the navy. All these persons were without name or credit, and their party itself was approaching the term of its existence. The state of the constitution, during the existence of which alone it could maintain an ascendancy, was acquiring daily more and more a revolutionary aspect. How could a moderate party maintain itself between two violent and belligerent factions, of which the one was advancing from without to destroy the revolution, while the other was resolved, at all hazards, to defend it? The Feuillants were a superfluous party in this state of things. The king who saw their weakness, seemed to count no longer on any thing but on the state of Europe; and he dispatched Mallet Dupan, charged with a secret mission to the coalition.

In the mean time all those whom the tide of popular opinion had gone beyond, and who belonged to the earlier days of the revolution, combined to second this slight retrograde movement. The monarchists, at the head of whom were Lally-Tollendal and Malouet, two of the principal members of the party of Mounier and Necker; the Feuillants, who were headed by the old triumvirate, Dupont, Lameth, and Barnave; lastly La Fayette whose constitutional reputation was immense, endeavoured to repress the clubs, to confirm the order of the laws and the power of the king. The Jacobins were eagerly in motion at this period: their influence became enormous; and they became the head of the popular party. The ancient party, framed of the middle classes, was the only one which could have opposed or repressed them; but it was quite disorganized and its power was daily declining. It was to raise this party again that La Fayette wrote, on the 16th of June, from the camp at Maubeuge, a letter to the assembly, in which he denounced the Jacobin faction: he demanded that an end should be put to the reign of the clubs; he required the independence and the security of the constitutional throne, and urged the assembly in his own name, in that of his army, and of all the friends of liberty, to adopt for the safety of the state only such measures as should be sanctioned by the law. This letter excited lively contests between the right and left side of the assembly. Though its motives were only pure and constitutional, it seemed on the part of a young general at the head of his army, a step imitative of Cromwell; and from that moment the reputation of La Fayette, which had till then been respected even by his adversaries, began to be attacked. Besides, regarding such a step

merely in a political view, it was imprudent. The Girondist party, driven from the ministry, and arrested in its plans for the public welfare, required no farther excitation; and it was quite wrong in La Fayette, even for the interests of his party to have employed his influence so uselessly.

The Girondist party endeavoured for its own security and that of the revolution to regain its power, without ceasing to employ constitutional means. Its object was not then, as it was at a latter period, to dethrone the king, but to make him its own centre. For that purpose it had recourse to the impetuous petitions of the multitude. The employment of this kind of popular violence was highly to be condemned: but all parties were placed in so extraordinary a situation, that each adopted an illegitimate means of support: the court the support of Europe, and the Girondists that of the people. The populace was in the greatest agitation. The leaders of the Fauxbourgs, among whom were the deputy Chabot, Santerre, Gouchon, and the marquis of Saint Hurugues, had been for some days preparing the people for a similar revolutionary act to that which had failed at the Champ-de-Mars. The 20th of June, the anniversary of the oath of the *tennis-court*, was approaching. Under pretence of celebrating, by a civic fête, that memorable day, and of planting a may-pole, in honour of liberty, an assemblage of about eight thousand armed men on the 20th of June left the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, and marched towards the hall of the assembly.

The procurator-syndic, Roederer, came with the intention of informing the assembly of the meeting; and, in the mean time, the insurgents arrived at the doors of the hall. Their chiefs demanded to be allowed to present a petition, and to file off before the assembly. Violent debates now took place between the members on the right, who refused to receive a petition from men in arms, and those on the left, who thought that according to certain precedents they ought to be admitted. It was difficult to oppose the wishes of an immense and enthusiastic multitude, which were seconded by the majority of the representatives. The deputation was introduced. The speaker who represented it expressed himself in the language of menace. He said that the people was roused, and ready to employ all its powers—powers which were included in the declaration of rights, *resistance to oppression*: he said, that its opposers, if such there were in that assembly, ought to purge the land of freedom of their presence and depart to Coblenz: and then coming at once to the object of the insurrectionary petition: “The executive power,” added he, “is not in accordance with you; and of this we ask no other proof than the dismissal of the patriot ministers. It is thus, then, that the happiness of a free people is to depend on the caprice of a king! but ought this king to have any other will than that of the law? The people think not. Such is its opinion, which may well weigh against that of crowned despots. The opinion of the people is the genealogical tree of the nation: and before that sturdy oak, the feeble reed must bend! We complain, gentlemen, of the inactivity of our armies: we insist on your discovering the cause; and if it proceeds from the executive power, we require that it should be annihilated!”

The assembly told the petitioners that its demand should be taken into consideration: it next exhorted them to respect the laws and the constituted authorities, and allowed them to file off through the midst of the members. The crowd which by this time had swelled to the number of thirty thousand men mingled with women, children, national guards and persons armed with pikes, displaying banners and signals of a decidedly revolutionary character, traversed the hall, singing the famous chorus, *ca ira!* and shouting, “The nation for ever! Long live the Sans-culottes! Down with the veto!” The multitude was led by Santerre and the marquis of Saint Hurugues. On leaving the assembly, the crowd marched towards the palace, with the petitioners at its head.

The outer gates were thrown open by order of the king: the crowd then poured into the palace, and entered the apartments. They were demolishing the doors by blows with axes, when Louis XVI. ordered them to be opened, and presented himself to the multitude attended only by a few per-

sons. The stormy wave of the crowd was arrested for an instant by his appearance; but those who were without, continued still to advance, not being withheld by respect for the presence of the king. Louis XVI. was prudently placed in the opening of a window. Never did he discover more courage and true greatness of mind than on that melancholy day. Surrounded by national guards, who served as a barrier to keep off the crowd, and seated on a chair which was placed on a table to allow him to breathe more freely, and be seen more distinctly by the people, he preserved a calm and undaunted countenance: he replied with decision to the loud cries of those who demanded his sanction to the decrees: "This is neither the form "in which it ought to be demanded of me, nor the moment to obtain it." Having had the courage to refuse what was the main object of the insurrection, he thought it unnecessary to refuse a token unimportant to him, but which in the eye of the multitude, was the signal of liberty: he placed on his head a red cap which was presented to him on the point of a pike. The multitude was highly pleased with this mark of condescension. A few moments after, he was loaded with applauses, when, almost stifled with heat and thirst, he drank without hesitating out of a glass which was handed to him by a half-intoxicated labourer. In the mean time Vergniaud, Isnard, and several deputies of the Gironde, had hastened to the spot to protect the king, to harangue the people, and to put an end to these disgraceful scenes. The assembly which had just risen, re-assembled in haste, alarmed at this irruption, and dispatched several successive deputations to Louis XVI. to serve as a safeguard to him. At last Pétion, the mayor, arrived; and standing on a chair harangued the populace, exhorting them to retire without tumult, a command which they obeyed. These singular insurgents, whose only aim was to obtain the decrees and new ministers, withdrew without having transgressed the bounds of their mission, but at the same time without having accomplished it.

The 20th of June excited the constitutional opinion against the authors of it. The violation of the royal residence, the insults offered to Louis XVI. the illegality of a petition presented amidst the violence of a multitude and with a show of arms, were grounds of strong reproach against the popular party. The latter found itself for an instant reduced to act on the defensive; for, besides having been guilty of a tumult it had in reality received a check. The constitutionalists resumed the tone of an offended and ruling party; but this did not last long, for they were not seconded by the court. The national guard offered to assemble for the protection of the person of Louis XVI. and the duke of Rochefoucault Liancourt, who commanded at Rouen, wished to carry him to Rouen, and place him in the midst of the troops who were devoted to him. La Fayette proposed to conduct him to Compiègne, and to place him at the head of his army: but Louis XVI. refused all these offers. He imagined that the agitators would be disgusted with the failure of their late attempt: and as he looked for his deliverance to the confederate powers, he was unwilling to avail himself of the constitutionalists, because it would in that case have been necessary to treat with them.

La Fayette, however, made a new attempt in favour of the legitimate monarchy. After having provided for the command of his army, and collected addresses against the late events, he set out for Paris, and presented himself unexpectedly on the 28th of June, at the bar of the assembly. He demanded in his own name, and in that of the army, the punishment of those who had figured in the attempt of the 20th of June, and the destruction of the sect of the Jacobins. This step excited various sensations among the members of the assembly; the right side applauded him greatly, but the left side opposed his sentiments and conduct. Guadet moved an inquiry whether he was not culpable in having quitted his army, and in thus coming to dictate laws to the assembly. Some remains of former respect induced the meeting to reject the motion of Guadet; and after a tumultuous debate, it admitted La Fayette to the honours of the meeting; but this was all that the assembly would do. La Fayette's hopes now turned towards the national guard,

which had so long been devoted to him ; and he trusted with the aid of its members, to succeed in putting an end to the clubs, dispersing the Jacobins, restoring to Louis XVI. all the authority which the law had conferred on him, and giving security to the constitution. The revolutionary party was in a state of stupefaction, and dreaded the worst results, from the boldness and the activity of this redoubtable adversary of the Champ-de-Mars. But the court, which feared that the constitutionalists might triumph, was itself the cause of the failure of La Fayette's projects: he had announced a review, which the court prevented by its influence with the royalist officers. The grenadiers and the chasseurs, select corps, which were still better disposed than the others, were to meet before his house, and from thence to march against the clubs ; but not more than thirty men made their appearance. Having thus vainly attempted to rally, in the cause of the constitution and of the general security, the court and the national guard, and finding himself deserted by all those whom he came to succour, La Fayette returned to the army, after losing all the remains which had been left him of popularity and influence. This effort was the last sign of life on the part of the constitutional party.

The assembly then naturally returned to the consideration of the state of France, which had not changed. The extraordinary commission of twelve presented, through Pastoret, a very discouraging picture of the state and the divisions of parties. Jean Debry, in the name of the same commission, proposed to announce, for the sake of maintaining tranquillity in the public mind, which was extremely agitated, that the assembly should declare the moment when the crisis became imminent by the words "*Our country is in danger!*" and that then measures for the public safety should be adopted. The discussion opened with the consideration of this important proposition. Vergniaud, in a speech which produced a great effect on the assembly, painted all the dangers to which, at that moment, the country was exposed. He stated, that it was *in the name of the king* that the emigrants were assembled, that the sovereigns were leagued, that foreign armies were marching on the frontiers, and that their internal disturbances took place. He accused him of weakening the national energy by his refusals, and of thus delivering up France to the coalition. He quoted that article of the constitution which declared that "*if the king placed himself at the head of an army and directed its forces against the nation, or if he did not oppose any similar enterprise which should be attempted in his name, he should be regarded as having abdicated the monarchy.*" He then supposed that Louis XVI. should have voluntarily opposed the true means of defending the country, and "In this case," said he, "should we not have a right to say to him: O king! who doubtless did believe, like the tyrant Lysander, that truth is no better than a lie, and that men were to be amused with oaths as children are amused with playthings; you who have only feigned a love of the laws, in order to maintain the power of braving them; and love of the constitution, lest you should have been hurled from the throne, where you wish to remain only to destroy it; do you think now to deceive us by any more of your hypocritical protestations? do you think to flatter us into forgetfulness of our misfortunes by your artificial excuses? Was it in order to defend us that you opposed foreign soldiers by troops whose inferiority did not leave a chance of doubt as to their defeat? Was it to defend us that you rejected all the propositions for fortifying the interior? Was it for our defence that you countenanced the act of a general who violated the constitution, and chilled the courage of those who served it? Did the constitution leave you the choice of your ministers for our happiness or for our ruin? Did it appoint you the head of our armies for our glory or our shame? Did she leave you, in short, the right of sanctioning measures, a civil list, and so many prerogatives, in order that you might constitutionally ruin the constitution and the empire? No, no! Man, whom the generosity of Frenchmen has been unable to touch, and whom love of despotism alone can warm—you are no longer any part of that constitution you have so unworthily violated—of that people you have so unworthily betrayed!"

In the situation of the Girondist party, it no longer counted on any thing but the deposition of the king. Vergniaud, indeed, expressed himself as yet but in the language of supposition; but all the popular party ascribed to Louis XVI. in reality the projects which in the mouth of Vergniaud were only assumptions. A few days afterwards, Brissot explained himself still more plainly: "The dangers which surround us," said he, "are the most extraordinary which have been known in past ages. Our country is in danger, not for want of troops, not because these troops want courage, because her frontiers are ill fortified, and her resources scanty—No! she is in danger because her forces are paralyzed. And who has paralyzed them? A single individual; the very man whom the constitution raised into its chief, and whom perfidious advisers have rendered its enemy! You have been told to dread the kings of Hungary and Prussia—I tell you that the main strength of these sovereigns is in your own court; there it is that they must be first conquered. You have been told to give a blow to the refractory priests without the realm—but I tell you, that a blow aimed at the Tuileries will reach at once all these priests. You have been told to attack all intriguers, all conspirators, and all the factious—I tell you that all these will disappear, if vengeance reaches them through the Tuileries, for that cabinet is the point to which all their machinations tend, where all their plots are concocted, and from whence all impulses spring! The nation is the puppet of this cabinet. This is the secret of your situation, and the source of your evils, and there it is to which the remedy must be applied."

The Gironde in this manner prepared the assembly for the question of deposit. But the great question relative to the dangers of the country was previously decided on. The three united committees declared that it was then time to take measures for the public safety, and the assembly then proclaimed the solemn formula, "*Citizens, the country is in danger!*" Upon this all the civil authorities immediately placed themselves in a state of permanent surveillance; all the citizens fit to bear arms, and who had already performed the functions of national guards, were put on active service; every one was called on to declare the arms and ammunition he had in his possession; pikes were given to those who could not carry guns; battalions of volunteers were enrolled in the public squares, in the midst of which banners were planted, bearing the words "*Citizens, the country is in danger!*" and a camp was formed at Soissons. All these measures of defence, now become indispensable, carried to its height the excitation of the revolutionary frenzy. An opportunity of remarking it was afforded by the anniversary of the 14th of July, during which the sentiments of the multitude and of the federates of the departments burst forth without disguise. Pétion was the object of the popular idolatry, and bore away all the honours of the federation. A few days previous he had been dismissed from his place, on account of his conduct on the 20th of June, by the directory of the department and by the council; but the assembly had restored him to his functions, and the sole cry uttered on the day of the federation was "*Pétion or death!*" A few battalions of the national guard, such for example as that of the Filles St. Thomas, having still discovered some attachment to the court, became the objects of popular distrust and resentment. A dispute was fomented in the Champs-Élysées, betwixt the grenadiers of the Filles St. Thomas and the federates of Marseilles, in which several grenadiers were wounded. The crisis rose higher every day; the war party could no longer endure that of the constitution. The attacks on La Fayette grew more numerous; he was pursued by the journalists and denounced in the assembly. At length, hostilities commenced; the club of the Feuillants was closed; the companies of the grenadiers and chasseurs of the national guard, who were the support of the middling class, were broken; the troops of the line and the Swiss soldiers were removed from Paris, and the catastrophe of the 10th of August was openly preparing.

The march of the Prussians, and the famous manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, contributed to hasten this movement. Prussia had united with

Austria and the German princes against France. This coalition, which was joined by the court of Turin, was formidable, though it did not include all the powers which at first had signified an intention of joining it. The death of Gustavus, who had been named to the chief command of the army of invasion, had detached Sweden from it; the appointment of the count of Aranda, a man of prudence and moderation, as Spanish minister, in the room of the marquis of Blanca Florida, had prevented Spain from entering into the league; and Russia and England, though they secretly approved the attacks of the European coalition, had not yet co-operated in them. After the military events, of which an account has been given, there was rather a system of mutual observation adopted, than of warfare. During this time, La Fayette had accustomed his army to habits of discipline and devotion to the service; and Dumouriez, placed under Luckner at the camp of Maulde, had trained for action the troops intrusted to him, by slight skirmishes, and daily successes. They had thus formed the basis of a good army, a thing rendered absolutely necessary by the need of organization and confidence required to repel the approaching invasion of the confederates.

The duke of Brunswick conducted it. He had the entire command of the hostile army, composed of seventy thousand Prussians, and sixty-eight thousand Austrians, Hessians, and emigrants. The following was the plan of invasion:—The duke of Brunswick was to pass the Rhine at Coblenz with the Prussians, march up the left bank of the Moselle, attack the frontier of France in its central point, as being most accessible, and advance to the capital by Longwy, Verdun, and Chalons. The prince of Hohenlohe was to pursue operations on his left, in the direction of Metz and Thionville, with the Hessians and corps of emigrants; while general Clairfaut was to cover his right with the Austrians and another corps of emigrants; he was then to overthrow La Fayette, who was placed between Sedan and Mczieres, to cross the Meuse, and march by Rheims and Soissons upon Paris. In this manner the enemy was to advance concentrically on the capital from the middle and the two sides—from the Moselle, from the Rhine, and from the Low Countries. Other bodies of the army, placed on the Rhenish frontier, and on that of the extreme north, were, by attacking the French troops on these sides, to facilitate the central invasion.

On the 25th of July, the day on which the army first put itself into motion, and left Coblenz, the duke of Brunswick published a manifesto in the name of the emperor and the king of Prussia. He reproached *those who had usurped the reins of administration in France*, with having troubled its good order, and overthrown its legitimate government; with having been guilty of attempts against the king's person and family, and of violence daily renewed; with having arbitrarily withheld the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; and lastly, with having crowned that measure, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by attacking his provinces in the Low Countries. He declared, that the allied sovereigns had taken up arms in order to put an end to anarchy in France, to arrest the attacks upon the altar and the throne, to render to the king the security and the liberty of which he had been deprived, and to put him in a situation for exercising his legitimate authority. In consequence, he declared the national guards and the authorities responsible for all these disorders, until the arrival of the troops of the coalition. He summoned them to return to their ancient fidelity. He said that the inhabitants of the towns which ventured to defend themselves should be punished immediately as rebels, according to the rigour of war, and their houses demolished or burnt: that if the city of Paris did not restore the king to his full liberty, or refused to render him the respect due to him, the combined princes rendered personally responsible for such failure, on their heads, to be judged by military law, without hope of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guard; that if the palace were forced or insulted, the princes would take an exemplary and memorable vengeance, by giving up Paris to plunder, and to total destruction. He promised on the contrary, that he would engage to

employ the good offices of the confederate princes with Louis XVI. in favour of the inhabitants of Paris, and obtain for them the pardon of their errors and offences, if they promptly obeyed the orders of the coalition.

This violent and impolitic manifesto, which disguised neither the designs of the emigrants nor those of Europe; which spoke of a great people with a tone of contempt and in a style of command altogether extraordinary; which threatened it openly with all the miseries of an invasion, and above all with despotism and vengeance, roused the spirit of the whole nation. This more than any thing else hastened the fall of the throne, and opposed the success of the coalition. There was but one wish, one cry of resistance from one end of France to the other; and whoever had not joined in it would have been regarded as guilty of impiety towards his country and the sacred cause of independence. The popular party, which was thus forced, as it were, to triumph, saw no other means than that of annulling the monarchy, and in order to annul it, to depose the king. But every individual in the party wished to arrive at this end in his own way: the Gironde by a decree of the assembly; the chiefs of the multitude by insurrection. Danton, Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Marat, &c. formed a displaced faction, who wanted a revolution which should carry them from the midst of the people into the assembly and the municipality. They were, besides, the real chiefs of the new movement which was about to arise, through the means of the lower class of society, against the middle class, to which the Girondists belonged both by their situation and by their habits. A division began from this time betwixt those who only wished to abolish the court in the actual state of things, and those who wished to introduce the multitude in place of it.

The latter did not relish the delays of a discussion. Agitated with all the revolutionary frenzy, they made ready for an attack of which the preparations had been made for a long time previous, and openly. Their enterprise was several times projected and suspended. On the 26th of July an insurrection was to have broken out: but it was ill contrived, and Pétion prevented it. When the Marseillois federates arrived to join the camp at Soissons, the inhabitants of the Fauxbourgs were to meet them, and all were to march suddenly upon the palace. This insurrection also failed. The arrival of the Marseillois however encouraged the disturbance of the capital, and conferences were held between them and the federate chiefs at Charenton for the overthrow of the throne. The divisions of the city were in a state of great agitation: that of Mauconseil was the first which declared itself in a state of insurrection, and it caused this fact to be notified to the assembly. The dethronement of the king was discussed in the clubs, and on the 3rd of August Pétion the mayor came to demand it of the legislative body in the name of the commune and the sections. The petition was referred to the extraordinary committee of twelve. On the 8th the question was discussed whether La Fayette should be accused: but some remains of courage were left in the assembly, the majority of which sustained his cause with warmth, and not without some danger to themselves. He was acquitted: but all those who had given their votes for him were hissed, pursued and maltreated by the populace, on leaving the hall.

The following day the general effervescence was extreme. The constitutionalists complained of the excesses of the previous night: they insisted that the federates should be sent to Soissons, and that measures should be adopted to secure the tranquillity of Paris, and the freedom of their deliberations. The Girondists defended the federates. While this was passing, news arrived that the section of the Quinze Vingts had declared that if the resolution of dethronement was not pronounced that very day, the tocsin should be sounded at midnight, the drums should beat the *générale*, and the palace should be attacked. This determination had been transmitted to all the forty-eight sections, and had been approved of by all, with the exception of one only. The assembly summoned the procurator syndic of the department, who stated that he had all the good will that could be desired, but that he wanted power; and the mayor, who replied that at a moment when

the sections had resumed their sovereignty, he could exercise no influence over the people but that of persuasion. The assembly then separated without having resolved upon any measure.

The insurgents fixed the day for the attack on the palace for the 10th of August. The chief place of assembling was in the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine. In the evening after a very stormy meeting, the Jacobins proceeded thither in a body : and the insurrection was then organized. It was determined to annul the department : to dismiss Pétion, in order to free him from the duties of his place and from all responsibility : and lastly, to replace the general council of the commune by an insurrectionary municipality. The agitators went at the same time through all the sections of the Fauxbourgs and into all the barracks of the Breton and Marseillois federates.

The court had been for some time apprized of the danger, and had put itself into a state of defence. Perhaps at this movement the king thought he might not only make a resistance but even re-establish himself entirely. The interior of the palace was occupied by the Swiss guards, to the number of eight or nine hundred : by officers of the disbanded guard, and by a troop of gentlemen and royalists, who had assembled there, armed with pistols, sabres, and swords. The commander of the national guard, Mandat, had marched to the palace with his staff to defend it ; and had given orders to the battalions the most attached to the constitution to take arms. The ministers were also with the king : the syndic of the department had gone thither, and Pétion had been sent for to inform the court of the state of Paris, to obtain his authority for repelling force by force, and for the sake of keeping him as a hostage.

At midnight a shot was heard, the tocsins sounded, the *générale* was beat, the insurgents assembled and ranged themselves : the members of the sections annulled the municipality, and named a provisional council for the commune, which went off to the Hôtel de Ville to direct the insurrection. On the other side the battalions of the national guard marched up to the palace, and were placed in the courts and at the principal posts, with the gendarmerie on horseback, while the Swiss guards and the volunteers guarded the apartments. The palace was defended in the best manner.

In the mean time several deputies awakened by the tocsin, had hastened to the hall of the legislative body, and had opened a discussion at which Vergniaud presided. Upon hearing that Pétion was detained at the Tuileries, and that he wished to be dismissed, they summoned him to the bar of the assembly to give an account of the state of Paris. On receiving that order, he was released at the palace : he appeared before the assembly, who restored him to his functions : but he had scarcely reached the Hôtel de Ville, when he was put under the guard of three hundred men, by order of the new commune. The latter who wished for no other authority, in such a day of disorder, than the insurrectionary authorities, sent for the commandant Mandat to give an account of the preparations at the palace. Mandat hesitated to obey, but not knowing that the municipality was changed, and his duty binding him to obey its orders, he set out for the Hôtel de Ville. On entering he saw new faces, and he grew pale. He was then accused of having authorized the troops to fire on the people ; he hesitated, was sent to the abbey, and as he left the hall, the multitude assassinated him on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. The commune then gave the command of the national guard to Santerre.

The court thus found itself deprived of its most resolute and influential defender. The presence of Mandat and the order he had received to employ force in case of need, were necessary to induce the national guard to fight. The sight of the nobles and the royalists had greatly cooled their enthusiasm. Mandat himself before his departure had entreated the queen to dismiss that troop, which was regarded as a troop of aristocrats : but she replied with asperity—"These gentlemen are come to defend us, and we count upon them." A division had already arisen among the defenders of the palace when Louis XVI. reviewed them at five o'clock in the morning. He first went over the soldiers at the interior posts, all of whom were animated with

the liveliest zeal: he was followed by Madame Elizabeth, the dauphin and the queen, whose *Austrian lip and eagle-nose, which was fuller than usual, gave her an air of great majesty.* The king was very melancholy: "I will not," said he, "separate my cause from that of my good citizens, we will save ourselves or perish together." He next descended into the courts followed by some general officers. As soon as he arrived, the troops began to move; the cry of *Vive le roi!* was heard, and was repeated by the national guard: to which the artillery and the battalion of the red cross replied by a shout of *Vive la nation!* At the same moment arrived two new battalions armed with guns and pikes, who as they filed off before the king to take their station on the terrace of the Seine, cried out, *Vive la nation! Vive Pétion!* The king continued the review, not without being affected by this sad omen. He was received with the strongest demonstrations of attachment by the battalions of the Filles Saint Thomas, and of the Petits Peres, who occupied the terrace which runs along the palace wall. While he was crossing the garden to visit the posts of the Pont Tournant, the battalions with pikes pursued him with the cry of,—"*Down with the veto! Down with the traitor!*" and when he returned, they quitted their position, placed themselves near the Pont Royal, and pointed their guns against the palace. Two other battalions posted in the courts followed their example, and placed themselves on the square of the Carrousel in a menacing attitude. The king on his return to the palace was pale and cast down; and the queen said, "All is over: that kind of review has done more harm than good."

While all this was passing at the Tuileries, the insurgents were advancing in several columns: they had passed the whole night in uniting and organizing their forces. In the morning they forced the arsenal and distributed the arms among themselves. The column of the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, which was about fifteen thousand strong, and that of the Fauxbourg Saint Marceau, consisting of about five thousand, had begun their march at five in the morning. The crowd increased on its passage. A troop had been placed by the directory of the department on the Pont Neuf, in order to prevent the junction of the assailants from the two sides of the river: but the commune ordered it to quit that post, and the passage of the bridge was now free. The advanced guard of the Fauxbourgs, composed of the Marseillois and Breton federates, had already issued from the Rue Saint Honoré, had ranged itself in battle array on the Place du Carrousel, and pointed its cannon against the palace. It was at this moment that the procurator syndic, Rœderer, who had not quitted the Tuileries during the whole night, presented himself to them, and stated that it was impossible that such a multitude could have access to the king, or to the national assembly; and recommended them to name twenty deputies and charge them with their demands: but to this suggestion they refused to listen. He then addressed the national troops, and read to them the article of the law which enjoined them in case of attack to repel force by force: but a very small portion only of the national guard appeared disposed to this, and the gunners made no reply but by discharging their cannons. Rœderer, seeing that the insurgents were every where successful, that they were masters of the commune, that they disposed of the multitude and even of the troops, returned in all haste to the palace, at the head of the executive directory.

The king was holding a council with the queen and ministers. A municipal officer had just spread an alarm by stating that the columns of the insurgents were approaching the Tuileries. "Well—and what do they want?" said July, the keeper of the seals. "The dethronement of the king," replied the officer. "Let the assembly pronounce the vote then," added the minister. "But after the dethronement," said the queen, "what is to happen?" The municipal officer bowed, without answering. At the same moment Rœderer entered, who augmented the consternation of the court by announcing that the danger was extreme: that the bands of the insurgents were intractable, that the national guard was not to be trusted, and that the royal family would expose itself to infallible ruin, if the members of it did not place themselves in the midst of the legislative assembly. The queen at first rejected

this advice with the utmost scorn. "I would rather," said she, "be nailed to the walls of this palace than leave it." Then addressing herself to the king, and presenting him with a pistol: "There, sir," said she, "now is the moment to show your courage." The king remained silent. "You wish then, madam," added Rœderer, "to render yourself responsible for the death of the king, of yourself, of your children, and of all who are now assembled in this palace to defend you." These words decided the king: he arose to go to the assembly, and the queen followed him; in departing he said to the ministers and to the defenders of the palace,—“Gentlemen, there is no longer any thing to be done here.” Accompanied by his family and some persons belonging to his household, Louis XVI. crossed the garden of the Tuileries in the midst of two lines of Swiss guards and battalions of the Filles Saint Thomas and Petits Pères; but when he arrived at the gate of the Feuillants, an immense multitude crowded the passage, and refused to give way before him. His escort had much trouble in conducting him to the hall of the assembly, where he arrived amidst the abuse, threats, and vociferations of the multitude.

A justice of peace who preceded the king came to announce his arrival to the legislative body, which was deliberating at this moment on the propriety of dispatching a deputation to the palace. The members who sat nearest the door immediately went out to receive Louis XVI. "Gentlemen," said the king on entering the hall, "I am come among you to prevent the commission of a great crime. I shall always consider myself and my family in safety while we are in the midst of you."—"Sire," replied Vergniaud, who was in the chair, "you may count upon the firmness of the national assembly: its members have sworn to die in support of the rights of the people and of the constituted authorities." The king then took a seat by the side of the president. But Chabot recollecting that the assembly could not deliberate in presence of the king, Louis XVI. passed with his family and his ministers into the box of the reporters of the assembly, which was behind the president, and from whence all that passed could be seen and heard.

After the departure of the king all motives to resistance had ceased. Besides, the means of defence themselves had diminished with the departure of three hundred Swiss, and three hundred national guards, who had escorted Louis XVI. The gendarmes had quitted their posts amidst cries of *Vive la nation!* The national guard was disposed to take part with the assailants. But the enemy was in sight; and though the cause of combat existed no longer, the combat itself did not the less take place. The columns of the insurgents surrounded the palace. The Marseillois and the Bretons, who occupied the first line, had forced the royal gate of the Carrousel, and penetrated into the courts of the castle. They had at their head an old soldier named Westermann, a very courageous and resolute man, and the friend of Danton. He ranged his troop in the order of battle and advanced towards the artillery, who at his desire, joined the Marseillois with their cannon. The Swiss guards stood at the windows of the palace in motionless attitudes. The two troops stood for some time eyeing each other, without beginning the attack. Some of the assailants even advanced in token of brotherhood, and the Swiss guards threw cartridges from the windows in sign of peace. They even penetrated to the vestibule, where they found other defenders of the palace. A barrier separated the parties. There it was that the combat began; but it is impossible to say on which side the aggression was first offered. The Swiss guards then opened a destructive fire upon the insurgents, who soon dispersed. The square of the Carrousel was soon cleared. But the Marseillois and the Bretons speedily returned with renewed force: the Swiss guards were cannonaded and surrounded; and after holding out as long as they could, they were defeated, pursued, and exterminated. It was no longer a combat but a massacre; and the multitude gave themselves up in the palace to all the excesses of victory.

The assembly was during this time in a state of lively alarm. The first reports of the cannon had spread consternation among them. As the discharges of artillery grew more frequent, their agitation redoubled. At one

moment the members of the assembly gave themselves up for lost. An officer entered the hall precipitately crying out, "To your places, Legislators! the hall is forced." Some deputies rose up to leave the assembly. "No," "no," cried the others, "this is our post." The tribunes then shouted, "The national assembly for ever!" and the assembly returned the shout by crying, "The nation for ever!" At last shouts were heard without of "Victory! victory!" and the fate of the monarchy was decided.

The assembly immediately issued a proclamation for the purpose of restoring tranquillity, and conjuring the people to respect justice, their magistrates, the rights of man, liberty and equality. But the multitude and its chiefs had the entire power, and were determined to exert it. The new municipality presented itself to the assembly, claiming the recognition of its powers. It was preceded by three banners, on which were inscribed the words, "*Our Country—Liberty—and Equality.*" The harangue of its members was imperious, and concluded by demanding the dethronement of the king and a national convention. Deputations succeeded each other, and all expressed the same wish, or rather, to use a more appropriate phrase, they all communicated the same order. The assembly found itself constrained to yield. Nevertheless, it was reluctant to take upon itself the dethronement of the king. Vergniaud mounted the tribune in the name of the committee of twelve, and said: "I come to propose to you a very rigorous measure; but I leave you to judge how important it is that you should immediately adopt it." This measure consisted in the convocation of a national convention; in the dismissal of the ministers, and the suspension of the king's authority. The assembly adopted it unanimously. The Girondist ministers were recalled; the famous decrees were put in force; and commissaries were sent to the army to ensure their fidelity. Louis XVI. to whom the assembly had at first assigned the Luxembourg as a residence, was transferred to the Temple, as a prisoner, by the all-powerful commune, under the pretext, that it was impossible without taking such a step, to be sure of his person. At length, the 23rd of September was fixed for the opening of the extraordinary sitting, which was to decide the fate of the monarchy. But the latter had in fact ceased on the 10th of August—that day which witnessed the insurrection of the mob against the middle classes and the constitutional monarchy, as the 14th of July had seen the insurrection of the middle classes against the privileged orders and the absolute powers of the crown. The 10th of August witnessed the first commencement of the dictatorial and absolute power of the revolution. As circumstances became more and more difficult, there arose a great struggle, which required an increased energy; and that energy, misdirected because popular, rendered the dominion of the lower classes uneasy, oppressive, and cruel. The question then changed its nature altogether; it had no longer for its end general liberty, but the public safety; and the conventional period, from the end of the constitution of 1791, till the time when the constitution of the year III. established the directory, was only a long campaign of the revolution against parties, and against Europe. It was scarcely possible that it should have been otherwise. "The revolutionary movement once established," says M. de Maitre,⁽¹⁾ "France and the monarchy could only have been saved by jacobinism.—Our posterity, who will be sufficiently indifferent about our sufferings, and who will dance upon our graves, will laugh at our ignorance; they will easily console themselves for the excesses which we have witnessed, and which have preserved the integrity of this fine kingdom."

The departments approved of the events of the 10th of August. The army, which was always somewhat slower to feel the influence of the revolution, was still royalist and constitutional; nevertheless, as the troops were subordinate to the parties, they would necessarily submit without difficulty to the prevailing opinion. The generals of the second rank, such as Dumouriez, Custines, baron Kellermann, and Labourdonnaie, were disposed to approve the recent changes. They had not yet taken any side, but they

(1) *Considerations on France.*

thought a revolution of this kind would procure them advancement. It was not thus with the generals-in-chief. Luckner was undecided, between the insurrection of the 12th of August, which he styled a *little accident that had occurred at Paris*, and his friend La Fayette. The latter, the chief of the constitutional party, attached to his oath in the minutest points, wished still to defend the fallen monarchy, and a constitution which no longer existed. He was at the head of thirty thousand men, who were attached to his cause and to his person. His head-quarters were near Sédan. In his plans of resistance in favour of the constitution, he joined the municipality of that town, and the directory of the department of Ardennes, in order to establish a civil centre, round which all the departments might rally. The three commissaries, Kersaint, Antonelle, and Péraldy, sent by the legislative to his army, were arrested and imprisoned in the tower of Sédan. The motive assigned for that measure was, "that the assembly, having been made to act upon compulsion, the members who had accepted such a mission could only be the chiefs or the instruments of the faction which had subjugated the national assembly and the king." The troops and the civil authorities afterwards renewed their oath of fidelity to the constitution, and La Fayette endeavoured to widen the circle of the insurrection of the army against the popular insurrection.

Perhaps at this moment general La Fayette thought too much of the past, of the law, and of the oaths which had been generally taken, and not enough of the truly singular situation in which France then stood. He saw only the dearest hopes of the friends of liberty destroyed, the invasion of the state by the multitude, and the Jacobin reign of anarchy; but he did not see the fatality of a situation which rendered indispensable the triumph of these last comers of the revolution. It was scarcely possible that the middle class, which had shown itself strong enough to throw down the monarchy, and vanquish the privileged classes, but which had reposed since that victory, could repel the emigrants and the whole of Europe. For this a new movement—a new faith, were required: there was wanting a numerous, fresh and ardent class, which should regard the 10th of August with the same enthusiasm as the middle class regarded the 14th of July. This class La Fayette could not join; he had opposed it under the constituent assembly, in the Champ-de-Mars, before and after the 20th of June. He could neither continue to act his former part, nor defend the existence of a party, which had justice on its side, though events were against it, without compromising the fate of his country, and the results of a revolution, to which he was so sincerely attached. His resistance, if farther prolonged, would have produced a civil war between the army and the people, at a moment when it was not clear that the union of the efforts of all would be sufficient to withstand the invasion of foreigners.

It was now the 19th of August, and the army of invasion, which had left Coblenz on the 30th of July, marched up the Moselle, and advanced upon that frontier. The troops were disposed, in consideration of the general danger, to return to their obedience to the national assembly; Luckner, who had at first approved of the conduct of La Fayette, now retracted with tears and oaths before the municipality of Mentz; and La Fayette himself felt that he must yield to a destiny too powerful to be resisted. He quitted his army, taking upon himself the whole responsibility of that insurrection. He was accompanied by Bureau de Pusy, Latour-Maubourg, Alexander Lameth, and several officers of his staff. He directed his steps across the enemy's posts towards Holland, purposing from thence to proceed to the United States, his second country; but he was discovered by the Austrians and arrested, together with his companions. In violation of all the rights of nations, he was treated as a prisoner of war, and shut up in the prisons of Magdeburg and Olmutz. During four years of the severest captivity, suffering all kinds of privations, ignorant of the fate of liberty and of his country, and having before him only a long and discouraging future of imprisonment, he displayed the most heroic courage. He was offered his liberty at the price of a few retractations, but he preferred remaining buried in his

dungeon, to abandoning, in any one point, the sacred cause which he had embraced.

The lives of few, in our time, have been as pure as that of La Fayette; few characters have been loftier: few popular persons have better deserved, and longer preserved popularity. After having fought for liberty in America, by the side of Washington, he wished to establish it as he had done in France; but this grand part could not be acted in that revolution. When a nation seeks its liberty, without being troubled by internal dissensions, and when it has only foreigners for its enemies, it may find a deliverer, and may produce in Switzerland a William Tell, in the Low Countries, a prince of Orange, or in America, a Washington; but when a people pursues liberty in spite of some among itself, and opposed by others, amidst factions; such a people can only produce Cromwells or Buonapartes, who rise into the dictators of revolutions, after the struggles and exhaustion of parties. La Fayette was the general of the middle ranks, whether at the head of the national guard, under the constituent assembly, or at that of the army, under the legislative assembly. He was raised by this class, and with this his part was to end. It must be said of him, that though he may have committed some errors, he never had but one object—liberty; and never employed but one means of attaining it—the law. The manner in which, while still young, he devoted himself to the deliverance of both worlds, his glorious conduct, and his invariable constancy, will cause him to be honoured by posterity, in the eyes of which, no man, as in party-times, has two reputations, but must depend upon his own.

The actors in the scenes of the 10th of August were daily divided more and more, and could not agree upon the results which that revolution was to have. That audacious party which had seized upon the commune, desired through the commune to govern Paris; by means of Paris, the national assembly; and through the assembly, France. After having obtained the removal of Louis XVI. to the Temple, the party ordered the demolition of all the statues of its kings, and of all the emblems of royalty. The department had formerly exercised a check over the municipality: this was abrogated in order to render the latter independent. The law exacted certain conditions to qualify for an active citizen, which the party abolished by a decree, in order that the multitude might be introduced into the government of the state. It demanded at the same time, the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal, to try "*the conspirators of the 10th of August.*" As the assembly did not seem sufficiently pliant, but endeavoured by its proclamations, to recall the people to more just and moderate sentiments, it received from the Hôtel-de-Ville messages of the most threatening description. "As a citizen," said a member of the commune, "and as a magistrate of the people, I come to announce to you, that this night, at midnight, the tocsin shall sound, and the *générale* shall be beaten. The people are tired of remaining unavenged; dread, lest they rise to avenge themselves."—"If before three or four hours," said another, "the foreman of the jury be not named, if the jury be not in readiness to act, the most fearful consequences await Paris." To avoid these new disasters, the assembly was compelled to appoint an extraordinary criminal tribunal. This tribunal condemned a few persons; but it appeared too slow for the wishes of the commune, who had conceived the most terrible projects.

The commune had at its head Marat, Paris, Sergent, Duplain, Lenfant, Lefort, Jourdeuil, Collot d'Herbœis, Billaud-Varennes, Tallien, &c. But the principal head of the party was at that time Danton, who more than any other had co-operated in the events of the 10th of August. During the whole of that night, he had been running from the sections to the barracks of the Marseillois and the Bretons, and from thence to the Fauxbourgs. He had directed the operations of the revolutionary commune as one of its members, and had been afterwards appointed a member for the administration of justice.

Danton was a revolutionist of the most violent kind. No means appeared to him wrong, provided they were useful; and according to his creed, all

that was possible was lawful. Danton who has been styled the Mirabeau of the populace, bore some resemblance to that tribune of the higher orders: he had marked features, a strong voice, impetuous gestures, a bold style of eloquence, and a commanding manner. Their vices were the same: but those of Mirabeau were the vices of a patrician, those of Danton of a democrat: what was bold in the conceptions of Mirabeau might be traced in Danton, but bearing a different character, as belonging to a different class and period of the revolution. Overwhelmed with debts and harassed by wants, of an ardent temperament, of licentious morals, and abandoning himself by turns to his passions or his party, he was formidable in his politics when the question was how to arrive at his end, but he became indifferent to it as soon as it was attained. This powerful demagogue presented a mixture of discordant vices and qualities. Though he had sold himself to the court he was not mercenary: for there are characters which can elevate even a mean action. He was an exterminator without ferocity; inexorable with regard to the mass, but humane and even generous towards individuals.⁽¹⁾ A revolution in his eyes was a game, in which the conqueror if he desired it, gained the life of the vanquished. The welfare of his party in his eyes went before the law—even before humanity: this explains his attempts after the 10th of August and his return to moderate measures when he believed the republic firmly established.

At this period the Prussians advancing in the order of invasion which has been already mentioned, crossed the frontier after a march of twenty days. The army of Sedan was without a leader, and unable to cope with forces so superior and so well organized. On the 20th of August, Longwy was surrounded by the Prussians; on the 21st it was bombarded, and on the 24th it capitulated. On the 30th the enemy arrived before Verdun, surrounded it and commenced the bombardment. In case of the capture of Verdun, the road to the capital lay open. The taking of Longwy and the near approach of so much danger, threw Paris into a state of the greatest agitation and alarm. The executive council composed of the ministers, was called to the committee for the general defence, to deliberate on the best measures to be taken in so perilous a conjuncture. Some voted for waiting until the enemy should appear under the walls of the capital: others proposed to retire to Saumur. "You know," said Danton, when his turn came to speak, "that France lies in Paris: if you abandon the capital to our invaders, you give up yourselves, and you give up France to them. It is in Paris that we must maintain our position by all the means that can be devised; I cannot consent to the plan which proposes to remove you from it. The second project seems to me equally inadvisable. It is impossible to think of fighting under the walls of the capital: the 10th of August has divided France into two parties, of which the one is attached to monarchy, while the other desires a republic. The latter of which, it is useless to dissemble, the minority in the state, is the only one on which you can depend when we come to the combat. The other will refuse to march; it will agitate Paris in favour of the foreigners, while your defenders placed betwixt two fires, are losing their lives in repelling them. If they fail, as it seems to me certain they will, the loss of France and your ruin are decided: if contrary to all expectation, they return victors over the coalition, their victory will be a defeat to you; for it will have cost you thousands of brave men, while the royalists, already more numerous than you, will have lost nothing of their strength or their influence. My advice is, therefore, that in order to disconcert their measures, we must frighten the royalists." The committee which understood the sense of these terrible words, was in consternation. "Yes; I repeat," continued Danton, "that we must frighten them." And as the committee seemed to reject by its silence and its affright the proposition, Danton entered into arrangements

(1) At the time when the Commune was meditating the massacres of the 2nd of September, he saved all who came to him: and of his own accord he discharged from prison, Duport, Barnave, and Ch. Lameth, who were in some shape his personal antagonists.

with the commune; he wished to repress his enemies by means of terror; and to engage the multitude, by rendering itself his accomplice, to leave the revolution no other hope or refuge, but in victory. Domiciliary visits were performed with the most melancholy and imposing accompaniments: and a great number of persons were imprisoned on the ground of their rank, their opinions, or their conduct. These unfortunate persons were mainly selected from the two dissident classes of the clergy, and the nobility, who were accused of conspiracy under the legislative assembly. All the citizens who were fit to carry arms were enrolled in regiments in the Champ-de-Mars, and were sent off on the 1st September to the frontier. The *général* was beaten, the tocsin sounded, and cannons fired: and Danton, presenting himself to the assembly to detail the measures which had been taken for the preservation of the country, said: "The cannon you hear is not the alarm-gun: it announces our onset upon our enemies. To vanquish them—to lay them prostrate, what is it that we require? The first qualification is "*Boldness*—the second *Boldness*—the third *Boldness*." The news of the taking of Verdun arrived in the night between the 1st and 2nd of September: the commune seized that moment when Paris in alarm fancied the enemy at the gates, to execute its terrible designs. The cannon was again fired, the tocsin sounded, the barriers were closed, and the massacres began.

The prisoners shut up at the Carmelites, at the Abbey, at La Force, the Conciergerie, &c., were butchered during three days, by a band of about three hundred murderers, under the orders, and in the pay of the commune. These men, inspired by a silent fanaticism, prostituting to the ends of murder the sacred forms of justice, sometimes judges, and sometimes executioners, seemed less the ministers of vengeance than the performers of a labour to be done: they massacred without fury, but without remorse—with all the confidence of fanatics, and the obedience of hangmen. If any extraordinary circumstances sometimes touched them, and recalled them to sentiments of humanity, they relented but for a moment and soon resumed their cruel work. Thus a few victims were saved; but these were few in number. The assembly wished to put a stop to these cruel massacres, but could not. The ministry was as impotent as the assembly: the terrible commune alone was all-powerful, and directed every thing. Pétion, the mayor, had been deposed from office. The soldiers who guarded the prisoners durst not resist the murderers, and suffered them to do their work of death: the populace looked on as indifferent spectators or accomplices; and the rest of the citizens dared not even venture to discover their horror. There would be room for surprise that a crime so enormous and so long in duration should have been conceived, executed, and suffered, if we did not know all that the policy or fanaticism of parties leads its votaries to commit, and all that fear induces men to support. But the punishment of that fearful outrage was visited upon the heads of its authors. The greater number of them perished in the tempest they had raised, and by the violent means they had employed. It is seldom that party-men do not experience the fate which they have made others undergo.

The executive council, which was directed as to military measures, by general Kellermann, sent forward the newly-raised battalions to the frontier. They had wished to place an able commanding officer on the point chiefly threatened; but the choice was embarrassing. Among the generals who had declared themselves in favour of the late political events, Kellermann did not appear fit for a higher command than a secondary one, and the council contented itself with putting him in the place of the undecided and inept Luckner. Custine was but little acquainted with the art of war; he was an excellent officer for a bold undertaking, but unfit for the command of a great army, on which the destinies of France were to depend. The same reproach, as to military incapacity, was applicable to Biron, to Labourdonnaie, and to others, who were left in their former ranks with the troops under their command. There remained only Dumouriez, against whom the Girondists still felt some rancour, and whose ambitious views, his tastes, and his character of adventurer, led him to be suspected, even by those who render-

ed ample justice to his superior talents. However, as he was the sole general, capable of so important a position, the executive council gave him the command of the army of the Moselle.

Dumouriez had hastened from the camp of Maulde to that of Sédan. He assembled a council of war, of which the general opinion was, that it would be advisable to retire towards Châlons or Rheims, and to remain covered by the Marne. Instead of following this dangerous advice, which would have discouraged the army, surrendered Lorraine to the enemy, as well as three bishopricks, with a part of Champagne, and laid open the road to Paris, Dumouriez conceived a project worthy of a man of genius. He saw, that he must, by a bold march, direct his troops upon the forest of Argonne, and that there they would infallibly stop the enemy. That forest had four outlets, that of Chêne Populeux on the left, of the Croix aux Bois and Grandpré in the centre, and of the Islets on the right, which opened or closed the passage into France. The Prussians were at a distance of six leagues only, and Dumouriez had twelve to get over, as well as his plans of occupation to conceal, before he could seize upon his position. He did this in a very bold and able manner. General Dillon, who directed his corps on the Islets, occupied them with seven thousand men: Dumouriez arrived at Grandpré and there established a camp of thirteen thousand men: the Croix aux Bois and the Chêne Populeux were in like manner taken, and guarded by several troops. On this occasion he wrote to Servan, the minister at war: "*Verdun is taken: I wait the arrival of the Prussians. The camp of Grandpré and that of the Islets are the Thermopylæ of France: but I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas.*"

In that position, Dumouriez was able to stop the enemy, and at the same time await the succours which were sent him from all parts of France. The battalions of volunteers joined the camps pitched in the interior, from which positions they were sent off to join his army after having received the first elements of organization. At the frontier of Flanders, Bournonville had received orders to advance with nine thousand men to join the right wing of the army of Dumouriez at Rhetel, on the 13th of September. Duval was to be at the Chêne Populeux on the 7th with seven thousand men, and Kellermann was on his way from Metz on his right with twenty-two thousand men to reinforce him. It was only necessary to gain time.

The duke of Brunswick after gaining possession of Verdun, passed the Meuse in three columns. General Clairfait commenced operations on his right, and the prince of Hohenlohe on his left. Despairing of forcing Dumouriez to quit his position by attacking him in front, he endeavoured to dislodge him from it by assailing him behind. Dumouriez had been so imprudent as to place all his forces at Grandpré and the Islets, and to have left the Chêne Populeux and the Croix aux Bois feebly defended, which indeed were much less important. The Prussians seized them, and were on the point of dislodging him in his camp at Grandpré, and compelling him to surrender. Even after committing that capital fault, which annulled the effect of his first manœuvres, he did not despair of his situation. He quitted his camp during the night of the 14th of September, passed the Aisne from which he might have been prevented by the enemy, made a retreat as able as his march on the Argonne had been, and succeeded in carrying his entire force into the camp of Sainte-Menehould. He had already retarded the march of the Prussians on the Argonne, and the season as it advanced began to bring bad weather; he had only to maintain his position until the arrival of Kellermann and Bournonville by whom he was to be joined, and the success of the campaign became certain. The troops had become accustomed to action, and the army amounted to seventy thousand men on the arrival of Bournonville and Kellermann, which took place on the 17th of September.

The Prussian army had followed the movements of Dumouriez. On the 20th, it attacked Kellermann at Valmy, in order to cut off from the French army the power of retreating upon Châlons. The cannonading commenced warmly on both sides. The Prussians next marched in columns up the heights of Valmy, in expectation of carrying them. Kellermann also formed

his infantry in columns and gave them orders not to fire, but to wait for the enemy, that they might charge at the point of the bayonet. He gave these orders amidst cries of "*Vive la Nation!*" and this cry repeated from one end of the line to the other, surprised the Prussians still more than the steady aspect of the French troops. The duke of Brunswick directed his battalions, which were already in some disorder, to retire: the cannonading was kept up till evening; the Austrians tried a new attack, but were repulsed. The day was gained: and the almost insignificant success of Valmy produced on the French troops and throughout France the effect of the most complete victory.

From this period also may be dated the discouragement and retreat of the enemy. The Prussians had engaged in this campaign, as if it had been a review, in which light it had been represented to them by the emigrants. They were unprovided with stores or provisions; instead of an unprotected country, they found daily a more and more vigorous resistance: the continual rains had broken up the roads, the soldiers marched in mud up to their knees, and for four days together they had no other nourishment than boiled corn. The diseases produced by the muddy water, the want of stores and the rain, had occasioned the greatest ravages in the army. The duke of Brunswick recommended a retreat, against the opinion of the king of Prussia and the emigrants, who wished to risk a battle and seize upon Châlons. But as the fate of the Prussian monarchy depended upon his army, and the loss of that army would be rendered certain by its defeat, the advice of the duke of Brunswick prevailed. Negotiations were opened; and the Prussians, relaxing from their first demands, no longer demanded any other terms than the re-establishment of the king upon the constitutional throne. But the convention had just assembled, the republic had been proclaimed, and the executive council replied, that "*the French republic could not listen to any propositions until the Prussian troops had entirely quitted the French territories.*" The Prussians therefore effected their retreat on the evening of the 30th of September, which was feebly opposed by Kellermann, whom Dumouriez sent in pursuit of them, while he himself advanced to Paris to enjoy his victory and to concert plans for the invasion of Belgium. The French troops re-entered Verdun and Longwy; and the enemy, after having traversed the Ardennes and Luxembourg, repassed the Rhine at Coblenz toward the end of October. This campaign had been marked by general successes. In Flanders the duke of Saxe Teschen had been compelled to raise the siege of Lille, after seven days of a bombardment, contrary, for its length and its useless cruelty, to all the usages of war. On the Rhine, Custine had seized upon Trèves, Spire and Mentz: towards the Alps, general Montesquiou had invaded Savoy, and general Anselme the county of Nice. The French armies, victorious in all quarters, had every where assumed the offensive, and the revolution was saved.

LETTER XXII.

Progress of the French Revolution.—Formation of the National Convention, September, 1792.—Contest between the Girondists and the Mountainists.—Robespierre.—Trial of Louis XVI.—His condemnation and death.—December 1792.—January 1793. *

THE national convention met on the 24th of September 1792, at a crisis when the dangers of foreign invasion, the predominance of internal faction, and the violent effervescence of the passions, left little room for calm deliberation, or the dominion of reason. In its first sitting it abolished royalty and proclaimed the republic, both of which were done by acclamation; and on the following day it was ordered, that all public acts should be dated from "the first year of the French republic." Such were the fatal effects of the tran-

sient successes of the Austrian and Prussian armies, and of the ill-judged manifestoes by which they were preceded. They only exasperated a people whom they were intended to intimidate. They hastened the fall of that throne which they came to support, and consolidated that power which they intended to crush. Their object was to re-establish a monarchy—their efforts gave birth to a republic.

To convey to you, my son, a distinct idea of the progress and events of the revolutionary war, it is quite necessary to attend to the internal state of France, and examine the principal factions which at this time agitated the convention and the city of Paris.

From the moment of the deposition of the king, two powerful parties entered the arena, namely the Girondists, and the Mountainists, and these divided the convention. Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaux and their friends, most of them men of eminent talents and of distinguished eloquence formed the party of the Gironde. Republicans in principle, they had contributed to weaken the constitutional throne, but had taken no part in the conspiracy by which it was overturned. The revolutionists of the 10th of August, Danton, Robespierre, Barbaourx, Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Couthon, Collet d'Herbois, and the members of the commune of Paris, assumed the name of the mountain. These aspired to reap the fruit of their boldness, and to govern the republic which they had erected: the Girondists, however, wished to dispute with them the honour and advantages of that revolution. This party was at first supported by the public favour and by the majority of their colleagues: the party of the Mountain, by intrigue and audacity made up for its deficiency in numbers and its inferiority also in point of legal influence. Thus from the commencement of its sittings, the convention was divided into two parties, whose violent struggles for the ascendancy announced new convulsions.

The Girondists and the Mountainists before constituting the new revolution, wished to know to which of their parties it was to belong; and even the enormous dangers of their situation could not prevent their mutual struggles. They had more than ever to fear the hostile attempts of Europe. One part of the sovereigns having attacked France before the 10th of August, there was every reason to believe that the others would declare themselves against her after the fall of the monarchy, the detention of Louis XVI. and the massacres of September. In the interior, the number of the enemies of the revolution had augmented. To the partisans of the ancient régime, of the aristocracy and the clergy, were now joined those of constitutional royalty, those to whom the fate of Louis XVI. was a subject of lively solicitude, and those who did not believe that unbounded liberty was practicable, especially under the control of the multitude. Amidst so many obstacles and adversaries, at a moment when even their union would not have proved too strong for their opponents, the Girondists and Mountainists attacked each other with the utmost inveteracy. Indeed the two parties were incompatible, and the junction of their chiefs was hopeless; so numerous were the causes of discord arising from their rivalry of power and the opposite nature of their designs.

The Girondists had been forced by events to become republicans. The station which was most suitable to them was that of constitutionalists; the uprightness of their intentions, their dislike to the multitude, their repugnance to violent measures, and especially the prudence which recommended only the adoption of what measures were possible, all combined to rank them in this class; but it was not allowed them to remain what they had at first declared themselves. They had followed the downward slope, which led to the establishment of the republic, and they had by degrees become accustomed to that form of government; and though they still desired it ardently and sincerely, they felt how difficult it would be to establish and consolidate it. The thing appeared to them grand and splendid; but they saw that the men were wanting. The multitude had neither the intelligence nor the habits fitted to such a mode of administering the public affairs. The revolution brought about by the constituent assembly was still more legitimate,

because it was practicable rather than because it was just ; it had its constitution and its citizens. But a new revolution, which called the lower classes to the government of the state, could not be durable ; it must necessarily affect too many interests, and could only have momentary defenders, for though the lower class might govern and act well for a time, it could not do so always. However it was on this class that the party ought to have depended in consenting to this second revolution. The Girondists did not do this, and, consequently, placed themselves altogether in a false position ; they lost the assistance of the constitutionalists, without gaining that of the democratic party, and thus possessed the voice of neither the higher nor lower ranks of society ; and formed a half-party, which was soon overthrown, because it was without a base. The Girondists, after the 10th of August, stood between the middle class and the multitude, as the Monarchists, or the party of Necker and Mounier, had done after the 14th of July, between the privileged and middle classes.

The Mountainists, on the contrary, desired a republic which should be directed by the people. The chiefs of their party, offended at the credit which the Girondists enjoyed, endeavoured to overthrow them, and to seat themselves in their place ; they were less enlightened and less eloquent, but more sagacious, more decided, and by no means scrupulous in the means they employed. The very extreme of democracy seemed to them the very best form of government ; and what they called the people, that is to say, the lowest class, was the object of their constant flatteries, and of their most ardent solicitude. No party was ever more dangerous or more consistent ; it laboured for those along with whom it was combating.

At the opening of the conventional sittings, the Girondists occupied the right, and the Mountainists the top of the left, from whence came the name by which they have been styled. The Girondists were the strongest in the assembly : the election in the departments had been generally favourable to their party. A great number of the members of the legislative assembly had been re-elected ; and all the members who had belonged to the deputation of the Gironde, or the commune of Paris, before the 10th of August, returned with the same opinions. Others entered the assembly without system, without party, without attachments, and without rancour ; these formed what at that time was called the *Plain*, or the *Marais*. This part of the assembly, which felt no interest in the struggles of the Gironde and the Mountain, ranged itself on the side it considered the most just, as long as it was allowed to be moderate, that is to say, as long as its members had no reasons to fear for their own personal safety.

The Mountain was composed of the deputies of Paris who had been elected under the influence of the commune of the 10th of August, and of some very decided republicans in the provinces : it was afterwards strengthened by the addition of all whom the circumstances of the time exalted into enthusiasm, or whom fear associated with its members. But though inferior in number in the convention, it was not on this account less powerful even at that period. It reigned absolute in Paris : the commune was devoted to it, and that commune had contrived to make itself the first authority in the state. The Mountainists had attempted to govern the other departments of France, by establishing between the municipality of Paris, and the other municipalities throughout the kingdom, a correspondence of plans and conduct ; they had not however completely succeeded, and the departments were in a great measure favourable to their adversaries, who cultivated their kindly feelings towards them by means of pamphlets and journals sent through the minister Roland, whose house was styled by the Mountainists, a *bureau d'esprit public*, and his friends, *the ingrates*. But besides the affiliation of the communes, which sooner or latter was sure to succeed, the Jacobins were affiliated to them. This club, which was the most influential, as being the oldest and the most general, changed its spirit with every crisis, without changing its name ; it was a kind of frame-work, which was always ready for the use of the ruling party, who excluded from it all its opponents. That of Paris was the focus of Jacobinism, and governed the others with almost sovereign

away. The Mountainists had a complete mastery over these clubs: they had already banished the Girondists from them by means of denunciations and affronts, and had replaced the members belonging to the middle classes by *sans-culottes*. The only support of the Girondists was the ministry, which being opposed by the commune, was powerless in Paris. The Mountainists disposed on the other hand of all the effective force of the capital, of the public mind by means of the Jacobins, of sections and faubourgs through the *sans-culottes*, and of the insurrections through the municipality.

The first measure of the parties, after having decreed the republic, was to oppose each other. The Girondists were indignant at the massacres of September, and witnessed with horror on the benches of the convention the men who had recommended or commanded them. Two especially of the members excited their horror and disgust; Robespierre, whom they suspected of aspiring to the tyranny, and Marat, who from the commencement of the revolution had declared himself in his writings the apostle of massacre. They denounced Robespierre with more animosity than prudence: he was not yet sufficiently dangerous to incur an accusation of aspiring to the dictatorship. His enemies, by reproaching him with designs which were unlikely to have occurred to him, and which, in any case, it was impossible to prove, themselves augmented his popularity and his importance.

Robespierre, who afterwards played so horrible a part in the revolution, began now to figure in its principal ranks. Till this time, in spite of all his efforts, he had superiors in his own party: under the constituent assembly, its famous chiefs: under the legislative Brissot and Pétion: in the events of the 10th of August, Danton. On all these occasions he had constantly declared himself against those whose fame or popularity offended him. Amidst the celebrated personages of the first assembly, being unable to render himself remarkable in any other way than by the singularity of his opinions, he had figured as a violent reformer: in the second, he appeared as a constitutionalist, because his rivals were innovators, and he had harangued in favour of peace at the Jacobins' club, because his rivals were clamorous for war. After the 10th of August, he endeavoured, in this club, to destroy the Girondist party, and to supplant Danton, always associating the cause of his vanity to that of the multitude. This man, whose talents were but of an ordinary kind, and whose disposition was vain, owed to his inferiority his late appearance on the stage, which in revolutions, is always a great advantage; his ardent self-love kept alive his constant aim at the principal rank in the revolution, and led him to work wonders to obtain it, and to venture every thing to maintain himself there. Robespierre had all the qualities of a tyrant: a mind which was without grandeur, but which, nevertheless, was not vulgar: the advantage of having but one passion, the external appearances of patriotism, a deserved reputation for being above corruption, an austere life, and an inclination for blood. He was a living proof, that, amidst civil troubles, it is not by means of talents, but conduct, that political successes are gained; and that obstinate mediocrity is more powerful than the irregularity of genius. It must also be allowed that Robespierre possessed the support of an immense and fanatical sect, of which he had demanded the government and maintained the principles, since the close of the constituent assembly. That sect derived its origin from the 18th century, of which it represented certain opinions; it took for its political symbol the absolute sovereignty of the *Contrat Social* of J. J. Rousseau, and in matters of belief the deism contained in the Savoyard Vicar's confession of faith; and succeeded for a brief space in realizing them in the constitution of 1793, and in the worship of the *Supreme Being*. There was, indeed, in the various epochs of the revolution, more system and more fanaticism than is generally believed.

Whether it was that the Girondists foresaw from afar the rule of Robespierre, or whether they allowed themselves to be seduced by their resentment, they accused him of a crime which is the heaviest that can exist in a republic. Paris was agitated by the spirit of faction; the Girondists wished to carry a law against those who stirred up disorders and violence, and at the same time give the convention an independent strength gathered.

from the eighty-three departments; they even charged a commission, which they caused to be named, with the presentation of a report on the subject. The Mountain attacked this measure as injurious to Paris; the Gironde defended it, declaring at the same time that a project of a triumvirate had been formed by the deputation of Paris. The three persons referred to were Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. The latter was attacked by name, and denounced by Rebecqui, of Marseilles, as aspiring to the dictatorship, and in this he was supported by Barbaroux, one of the chief actors in the 10th of August. But, the accusation against Robespierre was unattended by any consequences, and it recoiled upon Marat, who had recommended the dictatorship in his newspaper, called the *Friend of the People*, and extolled the massacres. When he appeared in his place, to justify himself, the assembly seemed to feel a movement of horror. *Down! down!* was shouted from all parts. Marat remained unmoved. In an interval of silence, he cried—"I have in this assembly a great number of personal enemies."—"We are all so! all!"—"I call the assembly to show some sense of shame. I exhort its members to refrain from these furious clamours and indecent menaces against a man who has served them, and the cause of liberty, more than they imagine: let them at least listen for once!" This man then explained to the convention, which listened as if stupified by his boldness and coolness, his opinions relative to the proscriptions and the dictatorship. For a long time he had succeeded in avoiding the public animadversion and the orders of arrest which had been published against him. His sanguinary publications alone appeared, in which he demanded the heads of individuals, and prepared the multitude for the massacres of September. There is no species of folly which may not come into the head of a man, and what is worse, which may not be for a moment realized. Marat had several ideas which were unalterable. The revolution had its enemies, and according to him, in order to insure its duration, these were to be destroyed; he thought no means more obvious than to exterminate them, and to name a dictator, whose functions should be limited to proscription: he preached openly these two doctrines without cruelty, but with an air of cynicism, equally regardless of the rules of decency and the lives of men, and despising as weak-minded all who styled his projects atrocious, instead of regarding them as profound. The revolution has numbered among its actors many more atrocious than he, but none exercised a more fatal influence upon the period in which he lived; he depraved the morals of the existing parties, which were already sufficiently lax, and to him were owing the two ideas which the committee for the public safety realized at a latter period, through its commissaries or its government—the extermination of multitudes, and the dictatorship.

The accusation against Marat led to no consequences, any more than that against Robespierre; the former inspired more disgust, but less hatred than the latter: some regarded him merely as a madman; others considered these debates but as party quarrels, and not as objects of interest to the republic. Besides, it appeared dangerous to attempt the purification of the convention, or to issue a decree against one of its members: it was a delicate step to take. Danton was not the apologist of Marat. "I do not like him," said he: "I have had experience of his temper, which is furious, peevish, and unsocial. But why should we seek in his writings the language of a faction? Is the general agitation to be ascribed to any other cause than the movement of the revolution?" Robespierre asserted on his side that he knew very little of Marat; that previous to the 10th of August he had held only a single conversation with him; after which Marat, of whose violent opinions he did not approve, had found his political views so narrow, as to have published in his journal, that he had neither the views nor the boldness of a statesman.

But it was himself who was the object of general attack, because he was far more dreaded. The first accusation of Rebecqui, and of Barbaroux, had failed. A short time after the minister Roland published a report on the state of France, and on that of Paris, in which he condemned the massacres of September, the encroachments of the commune, and the intrigues of the agitators. "When the wisest and most intrepid defenders of our

"liberty," said he, "are rendered odious or suspected, when principles of revolt and carnage are openly professed and applauded in our assemblies, and when clamours are raised against the convention itself, I cannot doubt that partisans of the old régime, or false friends of the people, concealing their madness or their wickedness under the mask of patriotism, have conceived the plan of overthrowing the actual system of things, in hopes of raising themselves upon its ruins and our corpses, and of tasting the savour of blood, of gold, and of cruelty!" He quoted, as a confirmation of his report, a letter, in which the vice-president and the second section of the civil tribunal informed him that he and the most illustrious members of the Girondist party were threatened; that according to the expression of their enemies, *there must be yet another bleeding*, and that these men would hear of no one but Robespierre.

At these words the latter flew to the tribune to justify himself. "No one," said he, "will dare to accuse me to my face." "I will," cried Louvet, one of the most resolute men of the Girondist party. "Yes, Robespierre," continued he, regarding him fixedly, "it is I who accuse thee!" Robespierre, whose countenance had, till then, been firm, was now moved: he had once measured his powers at the Jacobins' with this redoubtable adversary, whom he knew to be clever, impetuous, and regardless of consequences. Louvet immediately addressed the assembly, and in an eloquent harangue, he spared neither the acts nor the names of his opponents' partisans; he followed Robespierre to the Jacobins, to the commune, and to the electoral assembly, where he represented him as "calumniating the most virtuous patriots; offering the basest flatteries to a few hundred citizens, first called the people of Paris, then absolutely the people, next the sovereign people; repeating the eternal enumeration of his own merits, his perfections, and his virtues and never failing, after he had proclaimed the strength, the greatness, and the sovereignty of the people, to protest that he was the people also." He described him as hiding himself on the 10th of August, and afterwards commanding the conspirators of the commune. He then came to the massacres of September, and cried out, "The revolution of the 10th of August belongs to us all." He next added, addressing himself to some Mountainists of the commune, "But the revolution of the 2nd of September is yours! it is yours only! and have you not taken the glory of it to yourselves? They themselves, with ferocious contempt, styled us the patriots of the 10th of August! With ferocious pride they dignified themselves with the title of patriots of the 2nd of September! Well, let that distinction remain to them; a distinction worthy of the courage peculiar to them! let it remain to them for our lasting justification, and for their eternal disgrace! These pretended friends of the people wished to throw upon the people the horrors with which the first week of September was sullied.....they have unworthily calumniated them. The people of Paris know how to fight, but they know not how to assassinate! They were, indeed, seen in a body before the palace of the Tuileries, on the grand day of the 10th of August; but it is false that they were seen before the prisons on the horrible day of the 2nd of September. Within their walls how many executioners were there? two hundred, perhaps not even two hundred; and without them how many spectators might be counted, attracted by a truly incomprehensible curiosity? The double at most of that number. But it is said, if the people did not participate in these murders, why did it not prevent them? Why? Because the tutelary authority of Pétion was chained up, and Roland spoke in vain: because the minister of justice, Danton, spoke not at all; because the presidents of the forty-eight sections expected requisitions, which the commandant-general did not issue: because the municipal officers, arrayed in their official scruffs, presided at these atrocious executions.—But the legislative assembly!—The legislative assembly! Representatives of the people, ye will avenge it! The impotency to which your predecessors were reduced, is, even amidst so many crimes, the greatest of those for which we must punish the ferocious madmen whom I denounce to you." Then returning to Robespierre, Louvet represented his ambition, his intrigue, and

his extreme ascendancy over the populace, and concluded this furious philippic by a series of facts, each preceded by the redoubtable formula—*“ Robespierre, I accuse thee ! ”*

Louvet descended from the tribune amidst loud applause; and Robespierre rose to defend himself, pale and assailed with murmurs. Whether from his confusion, or from dread of the prejudice which his adversary's harangue might have excited, he demanded a delay of eight days. At the end of that time, he appeared, less as an accused person than as a triumphant antagonist: he repelled with irony the reproaches of Louvet, and entered into a long apology for his own conduct. It must be allowed that the facts were vague; he had therefore little difficulty in extenuating or disproving them. The galleries were prepared to applaud him: and the convention itself, which saw in the accusation but a personal quarrel, and which was not afraid, to use an expression of Barrère's, of *“ the man of a day, a small undertaker of tumults, ”* was disposed to put an end to these debates. Accordingly when Robespierre said in conclusion: *“ For my part, I shall adopt no personal measures: I have renounced the obvious advantage of replying to the calumnies of my adversaries by more redoubtable denunciations: I have therefore chosen to suppress the offensive part of my justification: I renounce the vengeance with which I should have had a just right to pursue my adversaries: I ask no other revenge than the return of peace, and the triumph of liberty ! ”*—he was applauded, and the convention passed to the order of the day. In vain Louvet would have replied, the assembly refused to hear him: Barbaroux also proposed himself as an accuser, and Lanjuinais opposed the order of the day without succeeding in renewing the discussion. The Girondists themselves supported it: they had committed a fault in permitting the accusation, and they committed another in not maintaining it. The Mountainists gained the day, since they were not conquered, and Robespierre was brought nearer the performance of the part from which he was still so far distant. A man very soon becomes, in revolutions, what he is believed to be: and the Mountainist party took him for its chief, because the Girondists attacked him as such.

But what was still more important than these personal attacks, was the discussion of the means of government, and on the management of the authorities and of parties. The Girondists failed, not only against individuals, but against the commune. None of their measures succeeded; they were either ill proposed or badly seconded. They ought to have reinforced the government, replaced the municipality, maintained their popularity among the Jacobins and governed them, gained the multitude or prevented it from acting, and they did nothing of all this. One of their number, Buzot, proposed to give the convention a guard of three thousand men, drawn from the departments. This proposal, which would have at all events preserved the independence of the assembly, was not warmly enough supported to be adopted. Thus the Girondists attacked the Mountainists without being able to weaken them: the commune without subjecting it; and the faubourgs without annulling them. They irritated Paris by calling in the assistance of the departments, without after all obtaining it; thus acting against the rules of the most ordinary prudence.

Their adversaries profited ably by this circumstance. They secretly spread a report which could not fail to compromise the Girondists: this was, that they wished to transport the republic to the south, and abandon the rest of the empire. Upon this began the reproach of federalism which was afterwards so fatal. The Girondists despised it, because they did not see all its dangers; but it was necessarily accredited as their party became feebler, and their enemies more audacious. What had given room for this opinion was the project to defend the country behind the Loire, and to transfer the government to the south, in case the north was invaded and Paris forced; and next the predilection which they discovered for the provinces, and their fury against the agitators of the capital. Nothing is easier than to disfigure and pervert a measure, by changing the time at which it was first conceived, or to find, in expressions of disapprobation against disorders of a city, a design

to league against it all the other cities of the state. Accordingly the Girondists were exhibited to the multitude as federalists. While they were denouncing the commune, and accusing Robespierre and Marat, the Mountainists caused the *unity and indivisibility of the Republic* to be decreed: this was one method of attacking them, and bringing down suspicion upon their party, though they supported these propositions with so much eagerness, that they appeared to regret not having themselves originated them.

But a circumstance apparently foreign to the debates of both parties, was still more favourable to the Mountainists. Encouraged as they already were by the failure of the attempts against them made by their antagonists, they waited only for an opportunity to become assailants in their turn. The convention was wearied with these long discussions: those of its members whom they did not concern, those even in the two parties who did not occupy the principal ranks, felt the necessity of concord, and desired that all should occupy themselves with the affairs of the republic. There was an apparent truce, and the attention of the assembly was for a moment arrested by the new constitution, from which the Mountainist party diverted it, in order to decide on the fate of the dethroned prince. To this the chiefs of the extreme left were induced by several motives: they did not wish that the Girondists and the moderate party of the *Plain* who directed the constitutional committee, the one party through Pétion, Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud and Gensonné; and the other through Barrère, Siéyes, and Thomas Paine, should organize the republic. They would have established the government of the middle classes, only rendering it somewhat more democratic than that of 1791, while they, on the contrary, aspired to erect the mob into the governing power. But they could only arrive at their end by gaining the ascendancy, and this they could only obtain by prolonging the revolutionary state of France. Besides the necessity of preventing the establishment of legal order by a terrible stroke of policy, such as the condemnation of Louis XVI. which should move all passions, and rally round them all the violent partisans, by showing them to be the faithful guardians of the republic, they hoped to draw out the sentiments of the Girondists, who did not conceal their wish to save Louis XVI., and thus to ruin them in the opinion of the mob. There was doubtless a great number of the Mountainists who on this occasion acted from the most honest motives and purely as republicans, in whose eyes Louis XVI. appeared criminal as far as regarded the revolution: a dethroned king was dangerous to a rising democracy. But this party would have shown itself more merciful if its views had not extended to the destruction of the Gironde, as well as to that of Louis XVI.

For some time past the public mind had been prepared for the trial of the king. The Jacobin club re-echoed to invectives against him: reports the most injurious to his character were spread; and his condemnation was demanded as a security for liberty. The popular societies of the departments addressed the convention to the same effect: the sections presented themselves at the bar of the assembly, and men who had been wounded on the 10th of August, were marched into the midst of the members crying for vengeance on *Louis Capet*. Louis XVI. was no longer indicated but by the surname of the ancient head of his race: his title of king was intended to be replaced by his family name.

Both party motives and popular animosity were united against that unfortunate prince. Those who two months before would have rejected the idea of subjecting him to any other punishment than dethronement, were now plunged into a state of apathy: so speedily in such a crisis do people lose their right of holding an opinion! The discovery of the iron chest above all redoubled the fanaticism of the multitude, and increased the weakness of the defenders of the king. After the 10th of August there were found, in the offices of the civil list, papers proving the secret relations kept up by Louis XVI. with the malecontent priests, the emigrants, and the powers of Europe. In a report drawn up by order of the legislative assembly, he had been accused of attempting to betray the state and overthrow the revolution. He was reproached with having written on the 16th of April, 1791, to the

bishop of Clermont, that "if he recovered his former power, he would re-establish the ancient government in its former state;" to have proposed the war only to accelerate the march of his liberators: to have corresponded with men who wrote to him in this strain: "War will force all the powers to join against the factious and wicked men who now tyrannize over France, in order that their punishment may serve as an example to all those who may be tempted to trouble the peace of empires. You may count on one hundred and fifty thousand men, composed of Prussians, Austrians, and Imperialists, and on an army of twenty thousand emigrants:" to have been in reality in accordance with his brothers, whose conduct he affected publicly to disapprove; and lastly, to have constantly opposed the revolution.

New proofs were brought in support of all these accusations. There was found at the Tuileries, behind a panel of wainscot, a hole bored in the wall, and closed by an iron door. This secret place was pointed out to the minister Roland, and in it were found a detail of all the plots and intrigues of the court against the revolution—projects tending to strengthen the constitutional power of the king with the popular chiefs, and to bring back the old régime with the aristocrats: the manœuvres of Talon, the arrangements with Mirabeau: the accepted propositions of Bouillé, and some new intrigues framed under the legislative. This discovery enhanced the general fury against Louis XVI. The bust of Mirabeau was broken in pieces at the Jacobins, and the convention hid with a cloth that which stood in the hall where its sittings were held.

There had been doubts in the assembly for some time, whether the prince could be tried; and whether having been dethroned, he could be any further pursued. There was no tribunal which could pronounce sentence upon him, no kind of punishment which could be inflicted: accordingly false interpretations were resorted to, of the inviolability which had been accorded to Louis XVI. in order to condemn him in a legal manner. The greatest error of parties, after that of being unjust, is that of not wishing to seem so. The committee of legislation charged with a report on the question whether Louis XVI. could be tried, and tried by the convention, pronounced in the affirmative. The deputy Mailhe raised his voice against the opinion of his inviolability; but as this opinion had governed the preceding epoch of the revolution, he pretended that Louis XVI. had been inviolable as king, but not as a private individual. He maintained that the nation which could not lose his guarantee to acts of power, had supplied the inviolability of the monarch by the responsibility of his ministers; but that where Louis XVI. had acted as a private individual, his responsibility falling upon no one, he ceased to be inviolable. Mailhe thus limited the constitutional safeguard accorded to Louis XVI. to his acts as a king. He decided that Louis XVI. might be tried, his dethronement not being a punishment, but merely a change of government;—that he should be judged in virtue of the law in the penal code *relative to traitors and conspirators*;—lastly, that he should be tried by the convention, without following the procedure of other tribunals; because the convention representing the people, the people comprehending the interests of all classes, and the interest of all being justice, it was impossible that the national tribunal could violate justice, and of course useless that it should be subjected to its forms. Such was the chain of sophisms by means of which the committee transformed the convention into a tribunal. The party of Robespierre showed itself much more consistent, in urging only reasons of state, and rejecting forms as illusory.

The discussion commenced on the 13th of November, six days after the report of the committee. The partisans of the king's inviolability, though they considered Louis XVI. as guilty, maintained that he could not be tried. The principal among these was Morisson: he asserted that the inviolability was general; that the constitution had provided for much more than the secret hostilities of Louis XVI.—for an open attack on his part—and even in this case had decreed only his dethronement; that the nation had thus, as it were, made him pledge his sovereignty; that the duty of the convention was to change the government, and not to try Louis XVI; that, with-

held by rules of justice, it was so also by the usages of war, which did not allow an enemy to be destroyed after the victory, but only during the combat; that besides, the republic had no interest in the condemnation of Louis XVI.; that it ought to confine itself to ordaining measures of security with regard to him, to keep him a prisoner, or to banish him from France. This opinion was that of the right side of the convention. The Plain shared the opinion of the committee, but the Mountainists at once denied the inviolability, and rejected the trial, of Louis XVI.

"Citizens," said Saint Just, "I undertake to prove that the opinion of Morison, who believes in the inviolability of the king, and that of the committee, who require him to be judged as a citizen, are equally wrong. I maintain that the king should be judged as an enemy; that our business is not so much to try him as to oppose him: that standing for nothing in the contract which unites Frenchmen, the forms of procedure are not in the civil law, but in the law of the right of nations; that delays and consideration are in this case a real imprudence; and that, after the fault of retarding the moment for giving us laws, the most fatal would be that which should lead us to temporize with the king." Then referring the whole question to considerations of enmity and policy, Saint Just added: "The same men who are about to judge Louis have a republic to form;—those who attach any importance to the just chastisement of a king will never found a republic. Citizens, if the Roman people, after six hundred virtuous years of hatred to kings; if Great Britain, after the death of Cromwell, saw kings revive notwithstanding the energy of its people, what ought not to be feared among us by all good citizens and friends of liberty, at seeing the axe tremble in your hands, and a people forced, in the very first day of its freedom, to respect the remembrance of its chains!"

This sanguinary party, which wished to replace the king's sentence by a violent state manœuvre, and instead of adhering to law or its forms, to punish Louis XVI. like a vanquished prisoner, and make hostilities survive even after victory, formed a very small minority in the convention; but out of doors it was powerfully supported by the Jacobins and the commune. In spite of the terror it already inspired, its murderous counsels were rejected by the convention, and the partisans of inviolability insisted courageously, in their turn, upon the grounds of the general interest, at the same time that they urged the rules of justice and humanity. They maintained that the same men could not be both judges and legislators, accusers and jury. They wished, moreover, that a lustre should be shed over the rising republic, derived from those great virtues, generosity and forgiveness; they wished to follow the example of the people of Rome, who conquered their liberty for themselves, and kept it five hundred years, because they showed themselves magnanimous; because they banished the Tarquins, instead of putting them to death. On political grounds, they showed the consequences of the king's condemnation as regarded the anarchist party, who would thus be rendered more audacious, and as regarded Europe, that the powers who were then neuter, would thereby be forced to join the coalition against the republic.

But Robespierre, who during this long pleading discovered a boldness and an obstinacy which presaged from afar his future power, appeared in the tribune to support the opinion of Saint Just; to reproach the convention with having again rendered doubtful what the insurrection had decided, and with attempting to raise, by the pitea defence would excite, and the publicity it would occasion, the fallen royalist party. "The assembly," said Robespierre, "has been seduced, unknown to itself, from the real question before us. Here there is no trial contemplated: Louis is not accused, and you are not his judges; you are, and can only be, statesmen. You have not to pronounce a sentence for or against a man, but you have a measure of public safety to adopt, an act of national care to undertake. A dethroned king in a republic can only do two things—either he troubles the tranquillity of the state, and endangers its liberty, or he adds security to both. Louis was king; the republic is founded: the great question which occupies you is decided in these few words,—Louis is not to be tried; he has

“been tried already: he is condemned, or the republic is not absolute.” He demanded that the convention should declare Louis XVI. “a traitor to the French, guilty towards humanity, and condemn him forthwith to death in virtue of the insurrection.”

The Mountainists, through their violent propositions, and the popularity which they had out of doors, rendered the king's condemnation in some measure inevitable. By making an extraordinary advance before the other parties, they forced the latter to follow them, though at a distance. The constitutional majority, composed of a large part of the Girondists, who durst not venture to pronounce Louis XVI. inviolable, and of the Plain, decided on the motion of Pétion, and against the opinion of the fanatical Mountainists, and that of the partisans of inviolability, that Louis XVI. should be judged by the convention.

Robert Lindet then made his report respecting Louis XVI., in the name of the commission of twenty-one: the act declaratory of the crimes imputed to him was prepared, and the convention ordered the prisoner to the bar. Louis had been shut up at the temple upwards of four months: he did not enjoy his liberty there, as originally contemplated by the legislative assembly, when it assigned him the Luxembourg for his residence. The distrustful commune guarded him strictly; but he was resigned to his fate, and prepared himself for the worst, discovering neither impatience, regret, nor resentment. He had no other attendant but a single servant, Cléry, who was at the same time the attendant of all his family. During the first months of his detention, he had not been separated from the latter, and he experienced some consolation from the society of his family: he encouraged and consoled his wife and sister; he officiated as preceptor to the young dauphin, and showed him the example of the behaviour of a man in misfortune, and an imprisoned sovereign. He read a great deal, and particularly in the History of England by Hume: he there found many instances of deposed kings, and one among others condemned by the multitude. It is very natural for us to seek for fates similar to our own. But the consolations he found in the society of his family were not of long duration: he was separated from them as soon as the question of his trial was agitated. The commune wished to prevent the prisoners from concerting together their justification; and the surveillance exercised towards Louis XVI. became every day more exact and more severe.

In the meanwhile Santerre received orders to conduct Louis XVI. to the bar of the convention. He went to the temple, accompanied by the mayor, who communicated to the king his mission, and asked if he would consent to go down to the convention. Louis hesitated a moment, and then said, “This is only another piece of violence; to this also I must yield.” Accordingly he resolved to appear before the convention, whose power he did not refuse to acknowledge, as Charles I. did that of his judges. As soon as his approach was announced, “Representatives,” said Barrère, “you are now about to exercise the right of national justice; let your manner be conformable to your new functions.” Then turning towards the tribunes, “Citizens,” said he, “remember the terrible silence which accompanied Louis when he was brought back from Varennes—a silence which was the precursor of the judgment of kings by the nations.” The countenance of Louis, on entering the hall, was firm and manly, and he looked round upon the assembly, with an air of resolution. As he stood at the bar, the president said to him, with a faltering voice, “Louis, the French nation accuses you: you are now about to hear the reading of the act declaratory of the charges. Louis, sit down.” A seat had been placed for him; he sat down. During this long interrogatory, he discovered great calmness and presence of mind. He replied to each question with readiness, and generally in a touching and triumphant manner. He replied to the reproaches addressed to him relative to his conduct anterior to the 14th of July, by reminding the assembly that his power was not then limited;—before the journey to Varennes, by the decree of the constituent assembly, which had declared itself satisfied with his answers;—lastly, before the 10th of August, by throwing

the responsibility of all the public acts upon the ministers, and denying all the secret intrigues which had been attributed to him. These denials did not destroy, in the eyes of the convention, facts of which the greater number were proved by papers in the handwriting, or bearing the signature, of Louis; but he made use of the right which is common to every accused person. It was on this principle that he denied the existence of the iron chest, and of all the papers which had been presented to him. Louis XVI. appealed to a law of safeguard, which the convention did not acknowledge, and the convention wished to assure itself of the counter-revolutionary attempts, which Louis XVI. refused to avow.

When Louis XVI. returned to the temple, the convention debated on the demand he had made of a defender. It was in vain that some Mountainists opposed the motion; the convention determined that Louis XVI. should have a counsel. He himself had mentioned Target and Tronchet: the former refused. It was then that the venerable Malesherbes offered himself to the convention to defend Louis XVI. "I have been twice called" (wrote Malesherbes) "to be counsel to him who was once my master, at a time when these functions were ambitiously sought by every one;—I owe him the same service when these functions are considered dangerous by many." His demand was acceded to. Louis XVI., in his state of abandonment, was touched by this proof of devotion to his cause. When Malesherbes entered his chamber, he went up to him, embraced him, and said, "The sacrifice you make for me is so much the more generous, as you expose your own life without a chance of saving mine." Malesherbes and Tronchet busied themselves with his defence uninterruptedly, and joined to their number M. Desèze. They endeavoured to reanimate the king's courage, but they found him very little disposed to hope. "They will take my life; of that I am sure: but no matter; let us busy ourselves with our process as if I were sure of gaining it: indeed, I shall gain it; for the memory I leave behind me will be spotless."

At length the day for the defence arrived. The speech was pronounced by M. Desèze. Louis was present; the utmost silence reigned in the assembly and in the galleries. M. Desèze urged in favour of the accused monarch all the considerations of justice and innocence. He urged the inviolability which had been accorded to the king. He insisted that as a king he could not be tried; and that, as accusers, the representatives of the people could not be his judges. In this he advanced nothing which had not been maintained by a part of the assembly. But he principally directed the attention of the audience to the justification of Louis XVI., and attributed to him intentions that were constantly pure and irreproachable. He ended by these closing and solemn words: "Listen first what fame will say to history—Louis, who ascended the throne at the age of twenty, carried with him there an example of morals, of justice, and of œconomy: he had no weaknesses, no corrupting passions, and he was the constant friend of the people. The people desired that a disastrous impost should be abolished, and Louis abolished it; the people asked for the abolition of servitudes, and Louis destroyed them; they demanded reforms, he consented to them; they wished to change the laws by which they were governed, he agreed to their demands; the people required that some millions of people should recover their rights, and these he surrendered to them; the people asked for liberty, and he gave it to them. No one can dispute that Louis had the glory of preventing the demands of his people by making these sacrifices; and he it is whom it has been proposed to . . . Citizens, I cannot go on; I pause before history: remember that history will judge your judgment, and that her's will be that of ages to come." But the passions of the assembly were deaf, and incapable of all foresight.

The Girondists were desirous of saving Louis XVI., but they dreaded the reproach of *royalism*, which already began to be addressed to them by the Mountainists. During the whole trial their conduct was extremely wavering, they neither ventured to pronounce for or against the accused, and their indecision ruined themselves without serving him. At this moment his

cause, which was no longer the cause of his throne, but of his life, was their own. It was to be decided by an act of justice, or by an act of violence, whether the nation should return to the legal régime, or whether the revolutionary system were to be prolonged. The triumph of the Girondists, or the Mountainists, depended on the solution of this question. The latter made great efforts. They pretended that a rigid adherence to forms was to give up the energy which should be displayed by a republic, and that the defence of Louis XVI. was a course of monarchy addressed to the nation. The Jacobins seconded them powerfully, and deputations came to the bar of the convention to demand the death of the king.

In the mean time the Girondists, who had not ventured to maintain^o the king's inviolability, proposed a dexterous measure for preventing the execution of Louis XVI., by appealing from the sentence of the convention to the people. The extreme right still continued to protest against the erection of the assembly into a tribunal. But the competence of the convention having been previously decided on, all efforts were turned in another direction. Sallés proposed to declare Louis XVI. guilty, and to leave to the primary assemblies the application of the punishment. Buzot, fearing that in this way the convention would incur the reproach of weakness, was of opinion that it should itself pronounce the sentence, and appeal to the people from its own judgment. This advice was strongly opposed by the Mountainists, and even by a large number of moderate Constitutionalists, who foresaw in the convocation of the primary assemblies all the horrors of a civil war. The assembly had unanimously voted Louis XVI. guilty; when the question of appeal to the people was suggested, two hundred and eighty-four voted for, and four hundred and twenty-four against it: ten refused to vote. The next question was the terrible one of the punishment to be inflicted. Paris was in the highest state of agitation: the deputies were threatened even at the doors of the assembly: new popular excesses were looked for, and the club of the Jacobins echoed to furious invectives against Louis XVI., and the party of the right. The Mountainist party, till then the weakest in the assembly, endeavoured to obtain a majority by means of terror, equally decided, nevertheless, if they did not succeed, to sacrifice Louis XVI. At length, after forty hours of nominal appeal, the president Vergniaud said, "Citizens, I have now to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. When justice has spoken, humanity ought to be heard in turn." There were seven hundred and twenty-one voters. The absolute majority was three hundred and twenty-one. Sentence of death was pronounced by a majority of twenty-six votes. The opinions had been mixed: the Girondists had voted for sentence of death—with a provision of delay, indeed: the greater number of members on the right had voted for his imprisonment or exile; and some Mountainists voted with the Girondists. As soon as the result of the scrutiny was known, the president said, with an accent of grief—"I declare in the name of the convention, that the punishment it decides against Louis Capet is death." His defenders appeared at the bar, and seemed deeply moved. They endeavoured to recall the assembly to sentiments of pity, in consideration of the small number of voices by which he was condemned. But the question had been already discussed, and decided. "Laws are framed only by means of a simple majority," said a Mountainist. "Yes," said a voice, "but decrees may be reformed, and the life of a man can never be recalled." Malesherbes wished to speak, but could not. His sobs stifled his voice, and the only words that were audible were broken and imploring. His grief touched the assembly. The Girondists now called for delay, as a last resource; but they failed in this also, and the fatal sentence was pronounced.

Louis expected this. When Malesherbes came in tears to announce to him his sentence of death, he found him sitting in darkness, his elbows resting on the table, and in a state of profound meditation. At the noise he made in entering, Louis XVI. rose, and said, "For the last two hours I have been endeavouring to discover whether during my reign I could ever accuse myself of deserving from my subjects the slightest reproach. Well, M. de Malesherbes, I swear to you, in all sincerity of heart, and as a man about to appear before God, that I have constantly desired the welfare of

"my people, and never formed a wish that was contrary to their happiness." Malesherbes endeavoured to persuade him that the delay required would not be refused, but Louis would not yield to the hope. He begged Malesherbes, as he was retiring, not to abandon him in his last moments; Malesherbes promised to return, and did return several times, without ever being able to obtain admission to his presence. Louis asked frequently for him, and was grieved that he could not see him again. He received, without emotion, the news of his sentence, which was signified to him by the minister of justice. He asked three days to prepare himself for appearing before God; he required besides to be assisted by a priest, whom he named, and to communicate freely with his wife and children. The two latter demands only were agreed to.

The moment of the interview was terrible for that unfortunate family, and that of their separation more so. Louis, on quitting them, promised to see them again next day; but on entering his chamber, he felt that the trial was too great for him, and as he walked about the room he said to himself—"I shall not go." This was his last struggle: he afterwards thought of nothing but his preparations for death. On the night preceding his execution, he had a peaceful slumber. On being awaked at five o'clock by Cléry, to whom he had given orders to that effect, he made his last testament. He received the communion, charged Cléry with his last words, and with all of which he was allowed to dispose by will—a ring, a seal, and some hair. Already the drums began to beat, and a confused sound of cannons dragged along, and human voices were heard. At length Santerre arrived. "You are come for me," said Louis; "I only require a moment." He then gave his will to a municipal officer, asked for his hat, and said, in a firm tone of voice, "Let us go."

The carriage took an hour to go from the temple to the square of the revolution. A double line of soldiers guarded the road, and more than four thousand men were under arms. Paris was in gloom. Among the citizens present at the execution, there were neither signs of approbation nor regret apparent: all were silent. On their arrival at the place of execution, Louis descended from the carriage. He mounted, with a firm step, the ladder of the scaffold, and received on his knees the blessing of the priest, who then said to him, as is generally believed: "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!" He allowed his hands to be tied, though with some reluctance; and turning to the left of the scaffold—"I die innocent," said he; "I forgive my enemies; and you, unfortunate people," At this moment the signal for the drums to beat was given; the sound of their roll drowned his voice, and the three executioners seized him. At ten minutes past ten he had ceased to exist.

Thus perished, at the age of thirty-nine, after a reign of sixteen years and a half, passed in endeavouring to do good, the best, but weakest of monarchs. The revolution was an inheritance bequeathed to him by his ancestors. He was more fitted than any of those that preceded him, to prevent or terminate it; for he was capable of being a reformer before it broke out, or of being a constitutional monarch after it. He perished, the victim of passions which he did not share; of the passions of those about him, to which he was a stranger; and those of the multitude which he had not excited. There are few kings who have left behind them so excellent a memory; and history will say of him, that with more firmness of mind he would have been a model of a king. His execution took place on the 21st of January 1793, and the consequences of this tragical event were terrible to France, and scarcely less so to all Europe—a horrible tyranny and an almost universal war. But we are now arrived at the momentous period when Great Britain began to take an active part in the troubles which convulsed the continent, and we must for the present interrupt the narrative, that we may pay a little attention to the state of matters at home. (1)

(1) Histoire de la Révolution Française, par A. F. Mignet. — Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire et le Recit de mes Pères, par J. B. Louvet. — Histoire du dernier Règne de la Monarchie Française — Journal de ce qui passa à la Tour du Temple, pendant la Captivité de Louis XVI. par M. Cléry.

LETTER XXIII.

Retrospective view of the domestic affairs of Great Britain from the termination of the American war to the commencement of the French Revolution.—A. D. 1783—1793.

THE execution of Louis XVI. among many other baneful consequences, served to give form and consistency to the wavering politics of the British cabinet; and at the close of the year 1792, the progress towards hostilities with France became too apparent to admit of any reasonable doubt of the result. But to trace this important subject in order, it will be necessary, my son, to carry you back to the period of the general peace, consequent on the war with the Transatlantic colonies,⁽¹⁾ and give you a cursory view of the leading events in our history during the interval.

The terms on which the treaty of pacification had been concluded, gave rise to very animated discussions in the British senate, and these in their turn produced a succession of changes in the executive government. On the retirement of lord North, in the year 1782, a new ministry was formed upon Whig principles—the principles which placed the Brunswick family on the throne of England, which brought about the glorious revolution of 1688, and secured the liberties of the country;—an event which diffused great joy and afforded inexpressible satisfaction to the best friends of the country. It infused fresh vigour into the constitution; for by combining energy in our fleets and armies with a skilful and united administration at home, it opened upon public view a prepossessing aspect of the state of our national affairs. Unhappily, however, for the country, this pleasing prospect was of short duration. The enchanting illusion vanished; the political horizon became again beclouded; and storms and tempests, not a little destructive of the public weal, succeeded. The marquis of Rockingham, who had been entrusted with the formation of this administration, and who stood during its short career at the head of it, died on the 1st of July 1782, in the meridian of his days, and while he was at the zenith of his political reputation.

Though by no means distinguished for pre-eminence of talent, lord Rockingham was a nobleman whose character for every public and private virtue, though drawn by his warmest admirers, has never been questioned by his enemies. He possessed according to the eulogium of Mr. Burke, sound constitutional principles, enlargement of mind, clear and sagacious sense, and unshaken fortitude. His rank, his services, and conciliatory influence, had long rendered him the centre of union among the Whigs. The weight and influence attached to his reputation, combined with the excellence of his private character, and the mild benignity of his manners, all conspired to form a power of attraction which held together the whole ministerial system: and when this ceased to operate, disorder, confusion, and mutual repulsion quickly ensued. The splendour of the new constellation faded; and in the language of poetry, “certain stars shot madly from their spheres.” His decease occasioned a struggle for power, of which the baleful effects continued to be felt during the remainder of the century. The unrivalled talents of Charles James Fox pointed him out to a great proportion of the nation as the natural successor of lord Rockingham. The king, however, using his prerogative of appointing his own servants, made choice of the earl of Shelburne. On the demise of the marquis of Rockingham, the duke of Portland was looked up to by the Whigs as their ostensible head; on which account he was esteemed the properest person to fill the office of first lord of the treasury. Mr. Fox called a meeting of his friends, for the avowed purpose of opposing lord Shelburne’s appointment to the first official situa-

(1) See Letter XIV.

tion; and it was agreed at the meeting, to solicit his majesty for the nomination of the duke of Portland to that high station: but when Mr. Fox waited upon the king with this request, he heard of a different appointment—it had already been conferred on lord Shelburne. The acceptance of this high and pre-eminent office on the part of the latter, without any previous communication with his colleagues was considered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of hostility:—it was, in effect, telling them that he considered his influence in the cabinet to be sufficiently strong to enable him to stand independent of their support. The result was that Mr. Fox and lord John Cavendish instantly resigned their places, and were followed by the duke of Portland, as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and several other persons in office. They were succeeded by earl Temple, lord Grantham, Mr. T. Townsend, and Mr. William Pitt, who was made chancellor of the exchequer. The new administration, certainly possessed some title to esteem, nor was it destitute of supporters, but it wanted the confidence of the public; and, if we except the rising genius of Mr. Pitt, it was defective in parliamentary talents.

The truth of this observation was soon put to the test. The conditions on which the earl of Shelburne had ratified the treaty of peace, underwent a rigid scrutiny in the house of commons—many of the concessions were severely censured, and the lavish augmentations of the American boundary, with the desertion of the loyalists, were particularly inveighed against. Indeed so copious were the topics and numerous the speakers on the occasion, that the house did not divide till 8 o'clock in the morning, when the ministers were left in a minority, and lord Shelburne was driven from his post.—Mr. Pitt also intimated that he held his place only until a successor was appointed.

During the whole month of March, 1783, there was a ministerial *interregnum*. But on the 2nd of April, the "Coalition ministry," so famed in the political history of this reign was formally announced. It was formed by the duke of Portland, who was appointed first lord of the treasury; lord North being made secretary of state for the home department, and Mr. Fox, secretary for foreign affairs; lord John Cavendish was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; viscount Keppel, first lord of the admiralty; viscount Stormont, president of the council; the earl of Carlisle, lord privy seal; Mr. Burke, paymaster general; Mr. Charles Townshend, master general of the ordnance; and Mr. Fitzpatrick, secretary at war.

The affairs of the East India company was one of the first objects which engaged the attention of the new ministry. Two committees had been unremitting in their application to this subject during the former session of parliament; but the unsettled state of the government had prevented them from bringing forward the result of their enquiries. It was now pressed upon them by the speech from the throne, and Mr. Fox gave notice that, on the 18th of the same month, he would produce a specific plan in relation to that subject. Accordingly on that day he moved for leave to bring in a bill "for vesting the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public"—and also a bill "for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India." The introduction of these bills into parliament gave rise to an almost unprecedented state of ferment in the public mind. The former of them, which is commonly known by the name of Mr. Fox's India bill, excited throughout the nation the most violent ferment of opposition. The bold and comprehensive ideas displayed in it, made a powerful impression both in and out of parliament; while the innovations and extraordinary delegations of power involved in it, excited a strong feeling of repugnance. In the house of commons the two principal grounds of objection were, the arbitrary invasion of the chartered rights of the company, without a justifiable plea of necessity; and the dangerous authority lodged in the hands of the new directorship.

Mr. William Pitt, who stood prominently forward on this occasion as the most formidable opponent of ministers, drew a pointed distinction, between

those charters of incorporate bodies which had originated in the caprice, the prodigality, or prepossessions of a particular monarch, and those which were sanctioned by a deliberate act of a solemn legislature, on which the faith of a free parliament was irrevocably pledged. He contended that the charter of the East India company was a fair purchase made from the public—an equitable compact for reciprocal advantages between proprietors and the nation at large. The second objection appeared to him to be still more appalling. The bill, he maintained to be an infraction of the very principles of the constitution; for, by throwing the whole patronage of India into the hands of the commissioners, it tended to create a fourth estate in the realm—a new power in the nation, incompatible with the nature of the government—and independent of the power of the crown, which might carry a most destructive influence into the other branches of the legislature.

The framers of the bill endeavoured to defend its principles against all these allegations, and on the various topics issue was joined in the parliamentary debates which frequently continued till five in the morning. Pamphlets and caricature prints, now deluged the metropolis, with a view of rendering the bills odious in the eyes of the nation, and petitions against them were presented by the East India company and the city of London. Their progress through the house of commons, however, evinced the strength of the coalition ministry from which they originated, and the first bill passed by a majority of two to one. It was nevertheless fated to sustain the effects of back-stairs influence—for, if report may be credited, earl Temple having requested an audience of the king, represented so forcibly to his majesty, the thraldom to which the crown would be reduced by the power now proposed to be constituted, that a note was put into his hands in which the sovereign declared, “that he should deem those who voted for the bill, not “only not his friends, but his enemies; and if lord Temple could put this “into stronger terms, he had full authority to do so!” The consequence was that when the bill came under discussion in the upper house, the ministers were left in a minority, and the bill was lost. On the same day, a messenger brought to the two secretaries of state, an order from the king to deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under secretaries, as a personal interview would not be agreeable to his majesty. On the following day the rest of the cabinet were dismissed, and a new ministry appointed.

In this arrangement, Mr. Pitt, then at the age of twenty-four, was raised to the high office of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; earl Gower, president of the council, lord Sidney, secretary for the home, and the marquis of Carmarthen for the foreign department; Thurlow was made high chancellor, the duke of Rutland, lord privy seal, viscount Howe, first lord of the admiralty; the duke of Richmond, master general of the ordnance; Mr. W. Grenville and lord Mulgrave, joint pay masters; and Mr. Henry Dundas, treasurer of the navy. The new ministry made a bold effort to conduct the affairs of the state without having recourse to the usual practice of dissolving the parliament, but finding themselves out voted, a prorogation took place on the 24th of March, and on the following day it was dissolved.

The appeal that was thus made to the sense of the country, proved greatly in favor of the new ministry. It fixed Mr. Pitt permanently in his seat, and he now began to bend all his efforts to the duties of his arduous situation. Though a year and half had now elapsed since peace was concluded; the collision of parties in the state had hitherto prevented the adoption of any effectual measures, to recover the country from the deplorable condition to which it had been reduced by a long, expensive and ruinous war. Commerce was stagnant, the national credit depressed, and the public funds, after an interval of peace, at the lowest war prices; the national income, unequal to the expenditure in its full amount, was at this time greatly diminished by fraud; and the important concerns in India without any effectual plan of beneficial arrangement.

The first ministerial efforts of Mr. Pitt, were directed to finance. He

brought a bill into parliament, the object of which was to prevent smuggling, which was now carried to an enormous extent, particularly in the article of Teas. To check this evil, he proposed to reduce the duty on that article to a very small amount, thus making the profits on smuggling inadequate to the risk, and as this would occasion a deficiency to the revenue of six hundred thousand pounds *Per Annum*, he proposed to make good that sum by an additional window tax. This was the measure which was afterwards so well known under the title of the *Commutation Act*, which was carried by a majority of more than three to one.

Mr. Pitt had now to encounter the rock on which his predecessors had split, the affairs of the East India company,—an evil which at this time called loudly for a remedy. He accordingly moved the bringing in of two bills; the first was to enable the East India company to divide *eight per cent* interest on their capital, which after a warm discussion was carried; and the second was to allow the company a farther respite of duties due to the exchequer, to enable them to accept bills beyond the amount prescribed by former acts of parliament, and to establish their future dividend. These propositions also gave rise to vigorous debates; nevertheless the bill passed both houses of parliament.

Having disposed of these preliminaries, the minister now brought forward his renovated Indian bill, which was successfully introduced, though it had been previously rejected. By the new bill Mr. Pitt proposed to extend very considerably the powers of the board of controul, and even to allow them in certain circumstances, to transmit orders to India without responsibility to the court of directors. Several clauses of the bill had for their object the prevention of iniquitous gains by the company's servants, who, under the name of presents, were in the habit of enacting contributions, or receiving bribes. The regulations respecting these, as well as for preventing offensive wars and disobedience of orders, were copied from Mr. Fox's bill; but these effects were, in a great measure, rendered nugatory by concomitant limitations and exceptions. One severe regulation was, however, left unrestricted, which was to examine the servants of the company, on oath, respecting the amount of their property on returning from India, and to punish them by confiscation if they were found to conceal it.

But the most important feature of this bill was the institution of a new court of justice for the trial of East India delinquents. This court was to consist of three judges nominated by the Chancery, Court of King's bench, and Common Pleas, together with four peers and six members of the house of Commons. The four peers were to be taken by lot from a list of twenty-six, which were to be chosen by ballot at the commencement of every session of parliament; and the six commoners out of a list of forty members chosen in the same manner. Liberty was to be given, both to the party accused and to the prosecutor, to challenge a certain number of these arbitrators. The judgment of the court was made final, and to extend to fine, imprisonment, and incapacitating the convicted party from ever again serving the company. Mr. Fox at once pronounced this bill inefficient, insidious, and unconstitutional, which he instanced in various particulars; nevertheless it passed both houses of parliament after frequent divisions, in which a large majority always supported the minister.

I must here, my son, interrupt the narrative of state affairs, while I mention, by way of relief from the somewhat tedious detail of these political occurrences, an event of a more private nature which at this time took place. I allude to the death of the great colossus of English literature, an author whom any country would be proud to own.

This year England lost one of the brightest ornaments that had graced her literary annals during a century, with which he was almost coeval. In December 1784, died SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D. in the 76th year of his age, after a long and tormenting illness, which he supported with manly fortitude and resignation. The history of literature affords few instances of such a rare combination of intellectual and moral qualities as constituted the character, and prompted and guided the efforts of Samuel Johnson. An under-

standing perspicacious, powerful, and comprehensive; an imagination vigorous, fertile, and brilliant; and a memory retentive, accurate, and stored with valuable knowledge, laid the foundation of his literary character, which stood unrivalled for half a century. The most successful and beneficial exertions of this illustrious sage were exhibited in philology, criticism, biography, and ethics. On subjects of language, he displayed science as well as knowledge; he not only collected usages, but investigated principles; and by applying and modifying general analogies, according to the circumstances of the particular cases, he greatly enriched the English tongue, and improved it in precision and force. The style which his precept and example formed, bore the stamp of his mind and habits, being less distinguished for elegance and delicacy than for perspicuity and strength. His peculiarity of expression, however, was perhaps not the most useful as a general model, because its excellence depended upon its conformity to his own vigorous sentiments and thought. Since the time of Aristotle, few have equalled Johnson as a critic, either in principles of estimation, or in actually appreciating defect and excellence. Disregarding mere usage and authority, Johnson followed nature and reason. In rating the value of a Shakspeare, he did not esteem the mode of Grecian arrangement the criterion of judgment, but the exhibited operations of passion, sentiment, and character, with its conformity to real life. He estimated works of imitation by their likeness to originals, combined with the importance of object and the difficulty of delineation. As a biographer Dr. Johnson is unequalled: he indeed possessed the highest requisites for that important species of writing. He possessed a deep insight into the fundamental principles of human nature; he knew the constitution and movements of the understanding and will, and the usual operation of such causes; and few writers possessed so eminently as he did, the faculty of clearly conveying to others, and forcibly impressing, his thoughts, opinions, and conceptions. As he was general and unconfined in his studies, he must not be viewed as a master of any one particular science; but he had accumulated a vast and various collection of learning and knowledge, which was so arranged in his mind as to be in constant readiness to be brought forth. But his superiority over other learned men consisted chiefly in what may be called the art of thinking—the art of using his mind; a certain continual power of seizing the useful substance of all he knew, and exhibiting it in a clear and forcible manner; so that knowledge, which we often see to be no better than lumber in men of dull understanding, was in him evident and actual wisdom. His moral precepts are all practical, for they are drawn from an intimate acquaintance with human nature. His maxims carry conviction; for they are founded on the basis of common sense, and an attentive survey of real life. His mind was so full of imagery, that he might have been perpetually a poet. He had accustomed himself to such accuracy in his common conversation, that he always expressed his thoughts with great force, and an elegant choice of language, the effect of which was aided by his having a loud voice, and a slow deliberate utterance. He united a logical head to a most fertile imagination, which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing; for he could reason close or wide as he saw best for the moment. Exulting in his intellectual strength and dexterity, he could, when he pleased, be the greatest sophist that ever contended in the lists of declamation; and from a spirit of contradiction, and a delight in shewing his powers, he would often maintain the wrong side with equal warmth and ingenuity; so that when there was an audience, his real opinions could seldom be gathered from his talk: but he was too conscientious to make error permanent and pernicious by deliberately writing it; and in all his numerous works, he earnestly inculcated what appeared to him to be the truth. The historian of the reign of George III. if he narrate the truth, must admit that few either lived or died in it of such extraordinary talents, and at the same time of wisdom so beneficially directed, as Samuel Johnson; and his death forms an epoch in the literary history of the times.

From this episode we now revert to the narrative of our political occurrences.

The debts of the Nabob of Arcot, next came under consideration in the British parliament. The subject had been long under the consideration of the East India company, and had been adverted to in the regulating bills of both Fox and Pitt. The court of directors had prepared orders to be sent out to Madras, in which the agents of the company were enjoined to proceed to a more ample investigation of the nature and origin of these enormous debts. The board of controul, to which these orders were communicated, rejected them, and caused a new letter to be drawn up, by which the claims of the creditors were established, with a few limitations, and a fund for the payment of them assigned out of the revenues of the Carnatic.

In consequence of this proceeding, a motion was made in the house of lords by the earl of Carlisle, on the 18th of February 1825, for copies or extracts of all letters or orders issued by the court of directors, in pursuance of the injunctions contained in two clauses of the regulating act, to be laid before the house. A debate ensued, in which the propriety of the board of controul in this instance was warmly canvassed, but the motion was rejected without a division. A similar motion was made in the commons, where a still more rigid scrutiny was instituted into the nature of the Nabob's debts, and the right of the board of controul to act as it had done. On this occasion Mr. Edmund Burke particularly distinguished himself by his eloquence: his speech was one of the most brilliant he ever delivered. In the course of his harangue he enumerated the various exactions made upon the Nabob by the British power in India, amounting to *four millions four hundred thousand pounds!* Mr. Burke quoted the following passage from a letter written with the Nabob's own hand to the court of directors: "Your servants have
"no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages: yet, in a
"few years, they return to England with many lacks of pagodas. How can
"you or I account for such immense fortunes, acquired in so short a time,
"without any visible means of getting them?" After analyzing the amount of this enormous debt, and exposing the usurious transactions which appeared upon the face of it, the right honourable gentleman thus proceeded: "Let no man talk of the decayed energies of nature: the acts and monuments of the records of peculation, the consolidated corruption of ages, the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman iniquity, never equalled the gigantic corruption of this single act. Never did Nero, in all the insolent prodigality of despotism, deal out to his Proetorian bands a donation fit to be named with the largess of the chancellor of the Exchequer to his Indian sepoys. This enormous debt was to be raised from the country of the Carnatic." Mr. Burke then proceeded to describe the state of that country as one dreadful scene, which still wore the fresh and unhealed scars of warfare—all the accompanying vestiges of poverty, famine, and desolation. Such had been its devastated condition, that, for tracts of hundreds of miles, the British armies on their marches had not seen man, woman, child, or four-footed animal: and that to restore the country to its former state would require many years of rest. He inveighed in most indignant terms against the British ministry, for attempting to exact such a debt from a country so depopulated. "What would a virtuous ministry do," he asked, "to fill up this chasm of desolation? They would have set aside payments the most just, they would have drawn nothing from the vitals of such a country, till they had allowed all its producing parts to reanimate those which had been unproductive: they would have proclaimed, that in every country the first creditor is the plough: that this original claim supersedes every other. But, no; our ministry felt nothing for a land desolated by fire, sword, and famine—their sympathies took another direction—they were touched with pity for bribery so long tormented with a fruitless itching of its palms. Their bowels yearned for usury, that had long missed the harvest of its returning months. They felt for peculation, which for so many years had been raking in the dust of an empty treasury: they were melted into compassion for rapine and oppression licking their dry, parched, unbloody jaws. These were the objects of their care, the necessities for which they were studious to provide." Not-

withstanding this powerful appeal, the motion was lost on a division, by one hundred and sixty-four to sixty-nine.

These proceedings, however, may be considered as laying the foundation of an event which from small beginnings ramified and expanded itself to such a degree as to occupy no small share of the public attention, for several years. Mr. Burke, in the course of his speech had thrown out many severe reflections on the conduct of Warren Hastings Esq. in the capacity of governor-general of India, with threats of an impeachment. Early in the session of 1785, major Scott, late confidential secretary to Mr. Hastings, and now a member of the house of commons, reminded Mr. Burke of his charges against the governor-general, who he said was now returned from India: and therefore he called his accuser to bring forward the allegations of criminality, that they might undergo the enquiry, and receive the decision of the house. Mr. Burke's answer to the challenge was made by quoting the words of the duke of Parma, on being challenged by Henry the fourth of France to come out openly and fight him. "That he knew very well what he had to do, and had not come so far to be directed by an enemy."

Accordingly on the 17th of February 1786, Mr. Burke brought the subject before the house of commons, and gave his reasons for undertaking the invidious office of an accuser. He began by tracing the history of the proceedings of parliament respecting the affairs of British India, and also the alleged misconduct of the company's servants, from the period of lord Clive's government to the reports of the secret and select committees, the resolutions founded on them, and the approbation repeatedly given to those proceedings by his majesty from the throne. On the authority, the sanction, and the encouragement thus afforded him, he rested his accusation of Mr. Hastings as a delinquent of the first magnitude. He proceeded to state, that there were three species of inquisition against a state-culprit: the first was prosecution in the courts below, which in the present case he thought very inadequate to the complicated nature and enormity of the offence: secondly, a bill of pains and penalties, of which he disapproved as a hardship and injustice to the accused, by obliging him to anticipate his defence, and by imposing on the house two relations that ought ever to be kept separate—those of accusers and of judges; the only process that remained, was by the ancient and constitutional mode of impeachment. The first step in such a cause, was a general review of the evidence, to enable them to determine whether the accused should be impeached. If the general question were carried in the affirmative, they must next appoint a committee to divide and arrange the evidence, under the heads of which the impeachment should consist. Having stated these preliminaries with great precision, he urged the unavoidable necessity of making this enquiry into the known delinquency committed in India personal and particular. What, he asked, would be the sentiments of the miserable slaves of India, if the result of proceedings in that house should be to find that enormous peculation had existed, but that there was no peculator: that there was gross corruption, but yet no person corrupted; that a torrent of violence, oppression, and cruelty had deluged the country, but that every soul in it was just, moderate, and humane? To trace peculation to the peculator, corruption to its source, and oppression to the oppressor had been the object of several searching committees, instituted by that house; and the result was, that government could not be foul and the governor pure. He concluded with moving the production of certain papers which were necessary for the establishment of his charges, which were, in general, granted.

Mr. Henry Dundas, who during the course of a long and able speech, had smarted under Mr. Burke's censure, for having shrunk from the accusation of the man whose guilt he had himself so largely contributed to report, endeavoured to defend his conduct, by distinguishing between the degree of criminality which appeared to him in Mr. Hastings's government worthy of his recall, and that greater enormity which calls for prosecution at home. Mr. Pitt, rising in his defence, directed all the bitterness of his invective against Mr. Burke, the mover, and his friend Mr. Fox. *They need not, he*

said, complain that the business is not in other hands ; for if the prosecution was to be the work of violence and resentment, it was best fitted for their own ! And he warded the charge of inconsistency from his friend Mr. Dundas, by reminding the opposition of their union with the greatest enemies they had ever encountered, in the memorable coalition which had taken place between them and lord North.

Mr. Burke now came forwards completely equipped for the impeachment ; and on the 4th of April, he solemnly charged Warren Hastings Esq. late governor-general of Bengal, with sundry high crimes and misdemeanors : nine of the articles of impeachment he then delivered in, and thirteen more the following week. Mr. Hastings petitioned the house that he might be heard in his defence to the several articles, and that he should be allowed a copy of his accusation, which was granted. On the 1st of May, Mr. Hastings being called to the bar of the house, proceeded to read his defence, in which he was assisted by Mr. Markham, son of the archbishop of York, and the clerks, of the house, which occupied three days, after which it was printed for the use of the members. The effect of the defence, which it had been confidently hoped would quash all further enquiry, did not seem to correspond with the sanguine expectation of Mr. Hastings's friends. The remainder of the month was chiefly spent in examining witnesses ; and on the 1st of June, Mr. Burke exhibited his first charge, which related to the Rohilla war, and concluded a speech of considerable length and great energy by moving, that there were grounds for impeaching Warren Hastings, on this article, for high crimes and misdemeanors ; but it appearing, after a full discussion, that this war was unavoidable on the part of the governor-general of India, the proposition was negatived—119 to 76.

Mr. Fox next brought forward, on the 13th of June, a charge respecting the expulsion of Cheyt-Sing from the Zemindary of Benares, and Mr. Hastings' severe and arbitrary conduct in that province. It had been solemnly decreed by the supreme council of Benares, that the native prince, Cheyt-Sing, and his heirs for ever, should enjoy the Zemindary of Benares, on condition of giving only the usual payment of revenue hitherto paid by the late vazier. The refusal of Cheyt-Sing to pay beyond this stipulated sum, drew down upon him the vengeance of the British governor, and terminated in the expulsion of the native prince, after putting to death many of his people. Mr. Fox contended, that Mr. Hastings had acted unjustly in his first demand : that his subsequent conduct was a continuation and increase of injustice ; but that his last proceedings, when he arrived in the province, were flagrantly iniquitous and tyrannical—such indeed as had rendered the British name odious in India.

In defence of Mr. Hastings' conduct it was urged, that in cases of extraordinary danger to the empire, the superior had a right to demand exorbitant aids of his vassal. In the present debate, however, the friends of Mr. Hastings saw, not without apprehension and dismay, that Mr. Pitt, whom they could so little suspect of a leaning to their enemies, evidently sided with the accuser, declaring his persuasion, that, admitting the right of Mr. Hastings to tax the Zemindar, his general conduct in the affair had been unnecessarily severe. The result was that the resolution of Mr. Fox, that there existed grounds of impeachment on the Benares charge, was carried triumphantly by the accusers of the governor-general. Thus the die was cast ; but beyond this decision nothing of importance regarding the case was brought forwards during that session of parliament.

That we may not have occasion to revert to this extraordinary subject, again and again, I shall in this place give you an abstract of its progress and termination. The trial of Mr. Hastings having commenced, it was brought forwards annually during the session of parliament and, strange to say, protracted to its eighth year, for it was not concluded until 1794, when events of such overwhelming magnitude engrossed the attention of the whole empire, that the impeachment of Mr. Hastings had ceased to interest ; and the governor-general of India was then acquitted ! His trial during its progress gave occasion to an unprecedented display of eloquence on the part of the

managers, and the speeches of Messrs. Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, delivered on this occasion will remain on record, a standing memorial of the transcendent talents of these British statesmen, to the remotest posterity. That they were fully satisfied in their own minds of the guilt of the delinquent there can be no reasonable doubt, and that they were much disappointed at the result of the trial, are facts now put beyond all reasonable question, by a letter which Mr. Burke wrote to his friend Dr. Laurence a little before his death and which has recently, after a lapse of thirty years, been published. This letter was written from Bath on the 10th of February 1797, and evidently in the view of the writer's death, which took place a few months afterwards.—Thus wrote Edmund Burke on a review of those proceedings.—

“—Let whoever laugh or weep, nothing plaintive will make Mr. Pitt, or Mr. Dundas blush for having rewarded the criminal whom they prosecuted: and sent me and nineteen members of parliament to prosecute, for every mode of peculation and oppression,—with a greater sum of money than ever yet was paid to any one British subject, except the duke of Marlborough, for the most acknowledged public services.—My illness, which came the more heavily and suddenly upon me by *this flagitious act*, whilst I was preparing a representation upon it, has hindered me, as you know, from doing justice to that act, to Mr. Hastings, to myself, to the house of Lords, to the house of Commons, and to the unhappy people of India, on that subject. But you remember likewise, that when I came here at the beginning of last summer, I repeated to you that dying request which I now reiterate, that if at any time—you can place in a short point of view, and support by the documents in print and writing which exist with me, or with Mr. Townsend, or yourself, the general merits of this transaction, you will erect a cenotaph most grateful to my shade, and will clear my memory from that load, which the East India Company, king, lords, and commons, and in a manner the whole British nation, (God forgive them) have been pleased to lay as a monument upon my ashes. I am as conscious as any person can be of the little value of the good or evil opinion of mankind to the part of me that shall remain; but I believe it is of some moment not to leave the fame of an evil example, of the expensiveness of fourteen year's labour, and of *not less*, taking the expense of the suit, and the costs paid to Mr. Hastings, and the parliamentary charges, than near three hundred thousand pounds. This is a terrible example, and it is not acquittance at all to a public man, who, with all the means of undeceiving himself if he was wrong, has thus with such incredible pains both of himself and others, persevered in the persecution of innocence and merit.”—And in another letter to the same friend, he adds,—“Let not this *cruel, daring, unexampled act of public corruption, guilt, and meanness*, go down to a posterity, perhaps as careless as the present race, without its due animadversion, which will be best found in its own acts and monuments. Let my endeavours to save the nation from that shame and guilt, be my monument, the only one I will ever have. Let every thing I have done, said, or written, be forgotten but this. I have struggled with the great and the little on this point, during the greater part of my active life; and I wish after death, to have my defiance of the judgment of those who consider the dominion of the glorious empire given by an incomprehensible dispensation of the Divine Providence into our hands, as nothing more than an opportunity of gratifying, for the lowest of their purposes, the lowest of their passions—and that for such poor rewards, and for the most part indirect and filthy bribes, as indicate even more the folly than the corruption of these infamous and contemptible wretches.—Above all, make out the cruelty of this *pretended acquittal*, but in reality this barbarous and inhuman condemnation of whole tribes and nations, and of all classes they contain. If ever Europe recover its civilization, that work will be useful. Remember! Remember! Remember!” (1)

These dying declarations are full proof of the sincerity of Mr. Burke's

(1) See Mr. Burke's Correspondence with Dr. French Laurence, published in 1827.

principles in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings; nevertheless his acquittal was not a matter of surprise to many thinking persons. The exalted individuals who had to pass sentence upon him, do not consider themselves bound by the rules of inferior courts, in which, when guilt is made apparent, character or services do not influence the verdict. They rather incline to balance useful acts or judicious measures against delinquency, and to acquit the able governor where strict justice would condemn the plunderer or the oppressor.—During the period of which I am now speaking, and while the trial of Mr. Hastings was pending, an event occurred which threw a momentary gloom over the whole kingdom; and as it gave rise to some very important discussions in parliament, it is proper to mention it in this place.

In the year 1788, soon after the parliament had been prorogued, the king and queen repaired to Cheltenham, it being thought advisable by his physicians, that his majesty, whose health had been some time declining, should try the effects of its medicinal springs. They remained about five weeks in that part of the country, but, unhappily the king was not relieved by the excursion. In the autumn he became more seriously indisposed; and his disorder at length assumed the aspect of mental derangement. Sir George Baker, Dr. Warren, and other eminent physicians, declared, that they were unable to ascertain the cause of his malady, neither could they give a plausible opinion on the subject. But Dr. Willis, from a very particular detail of his majesty's mode of life for twenty-seven years, was of opinion, that the pressure of business, severe exercise, (his majesty having been passionately fond of hunting) too great abstemiousness, and little rest, had been too much for his constitution.

The king having been thus by the visitation of God rendered incapable of exercising his political functions, the consideration of a regency occupied the minds of all ranks of the community. Nor can it be a matter of surprise, that so lamentable an event, unprecedented in English history, should produce a general consternation, and occasion extraordinary movements among the heads of parties. Parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of November; and as, under existing circumstances it could not be officially put off, it met, but was by unanimous consent adjourned for fifteen days longer; and a privy council being held on the day previous to the expiration of that term, the attending physicians were summoned, and three questions put to them, the purport of which will be easily gathered from their answers, namely, that his majesty was incapable of business—that there was great probability of his recovery though it was impossible to limit the time—and that they formed this opinion from experience, having observed that the greater part of those afflicted with the same disease had recovered.

Parliament having assembled on the 4th of December, a committee was appointed in each house, for the purpose of ascertaining his majesty's actual state. On the 10th of the same month, Mr. Pitt moved, "that a committee be appointed to examine the journals of the house, and report precedents of such proceedings as may have been resorted to in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same."

Mr. Fox objected to this motion as nugatory, and productive of unnecessary delay, affirming that his royal highness the prince of Wales had an unquestionable right to the regency, though he allowed that the two houses of parliament were alone competent to decide when he ought to take possession of his right. Mr. Pitt, who appears to have anticipated something of this kind, eagerly caught hold of it and exclaimed with warmth, that such a declaration nearly amounted to treason against the constitution; and that the prince had no more right to assume the reigns of government than any other subject, the right and privilege of selection and appointment being in the hands of the commons; and he resolved to submit the point to regular discussion. He, indeed, allowed that no cases exactly parallel with the present, appeared on record. There were instances of occasional incapacity in the sovereign; but there was then no heir apparent of full age; yet from the manner in which the two houses had formerly supplied the deficiency, it was

evident that they claimed the power of acting at discretion. At the revolution also, the chief power of the state was considered by the true friends of the constitution, as residing with those assemblies, until they had renewed the integrity of the executive power. *

New resolutions, proposed by Mr. Pitt, were adopted by both houses, and carried into effect, under the royal authority delegated by a commission under the great seal. The first merely stated the fact of the king's temporary inability of governing. The second was thus worded: "It is the right and duty of the lords and commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require." The third resolution was of the following tenor: "for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords and commons should determine the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses respecting the exercise of the powers, and authorities of the crown, during his majesty's present indisposition." These resolutions which had passed in a committee, being now brought up, occasioned considerable debates, in which much historical and constitutional knowledge was displayed on both sides; but in conclusion they were agreed to, and ordered to be delivered to the lords at a conference. Similar debates took place in the upper house, but the resolutions were passed, on the 29th of December, by a majority of about one-third: the dukes of York and Cumberland, and forty-six other peers, protesting against them.

The speaker of the house of commons, Mr. Cornwall, died on the 2nd of January, 1789; and the house adjourned to the 5th, when two members were proposed for the vacant office: these were, the honourable W. Grenville, and sir Gilbert Elliot; but, on a division, the former was chosen by a majority of two hundred and fifteen votes to one hundred and forty-four. The great business of the regency was then resumed; and a re-examination of his Majesty's physicians having been agreed on, the report of the committee appointed for this purpose was brought up on January the 13th, from which it appeared, that all those gentlemen were agreed on the probability of the king's recovery, though they were not equally sanguine in their expectations, nor would any of them venture to fix the time when such an event was likely to take place.

Mr. Pitt took up the subject of the regency on the 16th of January, by observing, that what they were to provide for was a deficiency in the executive government for an interval, and, as he hoped, a short one; and also against any embarrassment in the resumption of the royal authority on his majesty's recovery. He therefore proposed to invest the prince of Wales with the royal authority, subject only to certain limitations and restrictions. The first of these was, that the regent should not have the power of creating peers; the second, that he should not grant any place or pension for life or in reversion, other than such place as from its nature is to be held for life or during good behaviour; the third, that he should be restrained from all power over the king's personal property. Besides these resolutions, he proposed one which went to entrust the queen with the entire care of the royal person during his illness, and to place under her authority the whole of the king's household, with full power to dismiss and appoint at her pleasure; and another, for the nomination of a council to assist her Majesty with their advice. These five resolutions were then moved in succession; when a warm opposition was made, both to the whole plan of restriction, and to each particular article. The conferring of the whole power and patronage of the household upon the queen was especially objected to, as setting up a party in the court opposed to the administration of the regent; it being well known that an entire change of ministers was contemplated by the prince, whilst her Majesty would naturally be inclined to favour those who had conferred upon her such high authority. The resolutions, however, after several divisions, were agreed to, and ordered to be delivered at a conference to the

lords. In the upper house, they underwent a discussion similar to that in the commons; but being at length voted, a protest against them was signed by no less than fifty-seven of the peers.

Mr. Pitt now proposed, that a committee be appointed to wait on the prince of Wales with the resolutions which had been agreed to by parliament, and endeavour to know whether his royal highness was willing to accept of the regency on the terms therein proposed. This motion was not carried without some severe animadversions from the opposition, on the want of respect with which the prince had been treated: a similar motion passed the lords, and the two committees presented the resolutions to the prince and the queen. The answer received from his royal highness contained an assurance, that his duty to the king, his regard for the interests of the people, and his respect for the wishes of the two houses of parliament, outweighing every other consideration, he would undertake the weighty trust proposed to him, in conformity with the resolutions, though sensible of the difficulties that must attend its execution in the peculiar circumstances in which it was committed to his charge, and of which he was acquainted with no other example.

Hitherto the two houses had sat to deliberate merely in convention, but it was now necessary to adopt measures for their acting as a deliberative body; and for this purpose lord Cambden, as president of the council, moved, that letters patent under the great seal be empowered to be issued by the authority of the two houses in the usual form, appointing commissioners to open the parliament. This being carried in the house of lords, and, after a warm debate, acquiesced in by the commons, Mr. Pitt, on the 3rd of February, moved for leave to bring in the regency bill, which being granted, it was read for the first time. This bill consisted of thirty-two clauses, many of which were subjects of debate; but as it never passed into a law, it is unnecessary to trace it in its progress. Whilst it was under discussion in the house of lords, the lord chancellor, on the 19th of February, after observing that it appeared, from the reports of the physicians, that his majesty for some time past was in a state of convalescence, and that the accounts just received affirmed the improvement to be progressive, said, that in this situation of things he conceived that they could not possibly proceed with the bill before them, and therefore moved for an adjournment. On the 24th, the lord chancellor acquainted the house, that he had on that day attended his majesty by his express command, and had found him to be perfectly recovered. A farther adjournment now took place till March 10th, when the commons with their speaker attending at the bar of the house of lords, the chancellor informed them that the king had issued a commission, authorizing the commissioners appointed by former letters patent to hold that parliament, to open the same. This being done, the chancellor acquainted them, that his majesty being recovered, and now capable of attending to public affairs, had commanded the commissioners to convey his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of attachment to his person, and of concern for the honour of his crown and the good government of his dominions.—Other topics were then alluded to, as in an usual speech from the throne, and congratulatory addresses were unanimously voted in both houses. This was the termination of the public proceedings in an emergency which will ever stand as an event of high moment in the constitutional history of this country.

The national rejoicings on the happy event of the king's recovery exceeded every thing hitherto witnessed. Illuminations of a more splendid kind than had ever been exhibited, were universal throughout the kingdom. A day of general thanksgiving was appointed, and it was observed with unusual solemnity; and the king in person, attended by the royal family, the great officers of state, and both houses of parliament, went in grand procession to the cathedral church of St. Paul's, to acknowledge the divine clemency in his majesty's restoration.

Before the subject of the king's indisposition is finally dismissed, however, it seems proper to advert briefly to the proceedings which took place in the parliament of Ireland on this affecting occasion. The session was opened on

the 5th of February, by the marquis of Buckingham, lord-lieutenant, who informed the houses of his majesty's indisposition, and acquainted them that he had directed all the necessary documents to be laid before them. The secretary then moved in the house of commons, that the house should, on the Monday se'nnight, resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of his majesty's health. This motion, being regarded in no other light than that of procuring a delay, to prevent the Irish parliament from coming to any resolutions on the subject, prior to the determinations of the British parliament, it was vehemently opposed as derogatory to the independence of that kingdom; and a motion by Mr. Grattan for the house to meet on the ensuing Wednesday, was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-eight to seventy-four. On that day Mr. Conolly moved, that an address should be presented to the prince of Wales, requesting him to take on himself the government of that kingdom during his majesty's incapacity, which, after a stormy debate, was carried without a division. The earl of Charlemont moved for a similar address in the house of lords, which passed by a majority of nineteen votes; and both houses waited on the lord-lieutenant with their address, requesting him to transmit it to England, which he refused to do. The result was, the appointment, by both houses, of a deputation for the purpose of presenting the address. Mr. Grattan further moved a vote of censure on the lord-lieutenant for his refusal, which was carried by one hundred and fifteen to eighty-three; and also votes of supply for two months only, which were carried. The deputies arrived in London time enough to present their address to the prince of Wales, who returned them his warmest thanks, at the same time informing them of the king's convalescent state, and of his hopes that within a few days his majesty would be able to resume the functions of government.

The summer of 1789 will always be memorable in the annals of Europe, for having given birth to events of greater importance to the civilized world than any that are recorded in modern history. Causes that had long been operating in secret, and gradually increasing in force, now manifested themselves in the most stupendous effects. It was in this year that the great revolution in France began to shew itself; an occurrence which has ever since rendered the affairs of that country, not only the most interesting political spectacle afforded by modern history, but the hinge upon which the principal public events of all Europe have turned. It has, in a very especial manner, influenced the state of Great Britain; so that from this time it becomes absolutely necessary to entwine a thread of French history with the whole fabric of the annals of the reign of George III.

The British parliament had sat so late during the last session, that the members were not convened till the 21st of January, 1790, when the sitting was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the internal commotions that disturbed the tranquillity of the different parts of Europe were lamented in a general way; but a persuasion was expressed, that all would be sensible of the blessings which this nation derived from its excellent constitution. His majesty informed them, that during the recess of parliament he had been under the necessity of adopting measures for preventing the exportation, and facilitating the importation, of corn. The addresses were voted without opposition or debate; and an act of indemnity was proposed and unanimously carried respecting the order of council in reference to grain.

The first weeks of the session glided on without any remarkable parliamentary discussion; but occasion being soon after given in the house of commons to speak of the revolution which had recently taken place in France, which Mr. Fox mentioned in terms of warm commendation, Mr. Burke rose, and in a speech of considerable length employed the powers of his eloquence in a severe and opprobrious censure of the principles and conduct of that event, which drew forth great applause from the ministerial side of the house. He was replied to by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, who defended the principle of the revolution, while they joined in detestation of the outrages by which it had been accompanied. Mr. Pitt and several other members expressed their entire concurrence with Mr. Burke, and their sense of the obligations

he had conferred on his country by the part he had taken. These differences of opinion spread through the kingdom, and parties began to take their respective ground with a spirit of hostility far more acrimonious than that which pervaded the country during the American war. Still it was hoped that England would take no part in the internal concerns of France; and when the army estimates were brought under consideration, February 9th, the military establishments proposed were nearly the same as in the former year.

On the 15th of May the public was surprised by a message from his majesty to parliament, containing information of acts of violence having been committed on two vessels belonging to his subjects, on the north-western coast of America, by a Spanish naval officer. A subject of the British government had purchased from the Indian chief to whom the district belonged, the privilege of establishing a small settlement for the purposes of commerce at Nootka Sound, on the coast of California. In May or June 1789, two English vessels were seized in that bay by the commander of a Spanish frigate, who made the crews prisoners, took possession of the lands on which the buildings for a settlement were erected, pulling down the British flag and hoisting the Spanish in its stead, with a declaration, that all the lands comprised between Cape Horn and the 60th degree of north latitude belonged to his catholic majesty. Negotiations respecting this affair had been carried on between the two courts, but had not produced an accommodation; and the king's message on the occasion expressed a determination to support the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people. The house of commons unanimously voted an address to the king, corresponding to this resolution, and passed a vote of credit for a million. Vigorous preparations for war were made on both sides; but the Spaniards not choosing to proceed to extremities, the dispute was adjusted by a convention, in which Spain agreed to restore the settlement at Nootka Sound, and to make reparation for the injury sustained. It was further stipulated, that British subjects should enjoy a free navigation and the rights of fishery in the Pacific Ocean and South Seas, with a proviso, in order to prevent smuggling, that they should not come within ten leagues of any part of the coast already occupied by Spain. On the 10th of June the session was terminated by a speech from the throne; and on the following day the parliament was dissolved.

The new parliament resumed its sittings in the month of February, 1791, and on the 21st Mr. Mitford, an eminent barrister, moved in the house of commons, with the previous sanction of government, for leave to bring in a bill to relieve the English catholics from the legal penalties still existing and in force against them. This proposed act of toleration was however confined to such of that denomination as should subscribe a certain declaration or protest against the assumed authority of the pope, drawn up in terms to which it could scarcely be expected that the majority of catholics could conscientiously assent. Mr. Fox objected to the bill, he said, not for what it did, but for what it did not contain. He entreated that the bill might be made general: let the statute-book, said this great statesman and friend of civil and religious liberty, be revised, and strike out all those laws which attach penalties to mere opinions. Mr. Burke, too, joined in reprobating the absurdity and iniquity of those statutes, which impose penalties on any man for worshipping his Creator in his own way, as though he were thereby guilty of treason against the state. The minister commended these sentiments, but doubted the prudence of acting upon them at the present moment; and the bill was carried in its original shape and form.

In the course of the session, Mr. Fox, ever active in the cause of liberty, brought the subject of libels before the consideration of parliament, and moved for leave to bring in a bill to ascertain the rights of juries in cases of that description. With respect to the pretended distinction between law and fact, Mr. Fox remarked, that when a man was accused of murder, a crime consisting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty; and this was also the case in felony, and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception—the single anomaly. He contended, that if

the jury had no jurisdiction over libels, the counsel who addressed them on either side as to the criminality of the publication were guilty of a gross and insolent sarcasm; and he put the matter in a luminous point of view, by adverting to the law of treason. It was admitted on all hands, that a writing might be an overt act of treason. In this case, were the court of king's bench to say to the jury, "You are only to consider whether the criminal published the paper—you have nothing to do with the nature of it—you have no concern with the question, whether it correspond to the definition of treason or not,"—would an Englishman, he asked, endure it, that death should be inflicted, without a jury having an opportunity of delivering their sentiments whether the individual was or was not guilty of the crime with which he was charged? The bill passed the commons, but on its examination in the upper house it was opposed on the second reading by the lord chancellor, under a pretext that it was too late in the session to discuss a measure of such importance. The principle of the bill was ably defended by those great law authorities, Camden and Loughborough, with whom lord Grenville also concurred; but the bill was finally postponed.

The evidence of the slave trade being at length closed, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 18th of April, brought forward his long expected motion for its abolition. He introduced the subject by a copious and masterly display of the arguments in favour of that measure. The crimes and villainies to which this horrid traffic had given rise, were detailed with a minuteness which placed, not merely the persons actually engaged in it, but even human nature itself, in a light the most degrading and detestable. After an affecting detail of the crimes and atrocities connected with this infernal traffic, the history of which, Mr. Wilberforce contended, with all the eloquence of feeling and of truth, was written in characters of blood—he added, "let us turn our eyes for relief from this disgraceful scene to some ordinary wickedness!" In conclusion, he moved for a bill to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the British colonies. But the time for obtaining relief, and vindicating the claims of humanity and justice, was not yet arrived, for the motion was negatived by a majority of seventy-five voices. To qualify this *veto*, however, a bill was now introduced and passed, for chartering a company for the purpose of cultivating West Indian and other tropical products at Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa, by the use of free negroes; an experiment which in process of time promises to be productive of the most beneficial results.

It had long been a subject of complaint, that the great and extensive province of Canada continued under a government in the highest degree despotic and arbitrary; but a variety of excuses were pleaded to vindicate the continuance of the evil. Mr. Pitt, however, during this session, in pursuance of an intimation from the royal speech, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain parts of the act respecting the government of Canada passed in the fourteenth year of his majesty's reign; and to enact further provisions for its better government. By the intended bill, the province was to be divided into two distinct governments, by the appellation of Upper and Lower Canada. In each of them, councils nominated by the sovereign, and houses of assembly chosen by the people, were to be established. The *habeas corpus* act formed a fundamental law of their constitution; and by a very important clause, the British parliament was restrained from imposing taxes of any kind, except such as might be necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and to guard against the abuse of this power, the produce of such taxes was to be at the disposal of the respective provincial legislatures. Upon the whole, this bill contained a noble charter of liberty, and reflected great honour on the minister who proposed it, as well as on the assembly which adopted it.

The clauses in the bill which militated against the general principle of it, were opposed by Mr. Fox with extraordinary animation and ability. The great object of all popular assemblies, said he, was, that the people should be fairly and fully represented; but when the assembly of one province was to consist of only sixteen, and the other of thirty persons, they deluded the

people by a mockery of representation. That these representatives, too, should be elected for the term of seven years, he reprobated as equally inconsistent with freedom. Even in England, where the frequent return of elections was attended with so much real inconvenience, the propriety of the septennial bill was justly doubted; but in a country so differently circumstanced as Canada, there could be no possible objection, he thought, to annual, or at most to triennial elections. Another strong ground of objection with Mr. Fox was, that the legislative councils were unlimited as to numbers by any other restriction than the pleasure of the king; to whom a power was also reserved of annexing to certain honorary and titular distinctions, an hereditary right of sitting in council. As to hereditary honours, or hereditary powers, continued Mr. Fox, to say they were good or not, as a general proposition, was difficult; but he saw nothing so good in them as to warrant their introduction into a country where they were not known. He did not think it wise to destroy them where they existed; but to create them where they did not exist, appeared to him exceedingly unwise, nor could he account for it except upon the principle, that, Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and to revive in the West that spirit of chivalry which had fallen into so much disgrace in a neighbouring country.

These hints and allusions were sufficiently intelligible to awaken the indignation of Mr. Burke, who, on the recommitment of the bill, May 6th, rose, as he said, to speak to its general principle. He enlarged upon the importance of the act which they were about to perform. The first consideration was, the competency of the house to such an act. A body of rights, said the honourable gentleman, commonly called "*THE RIGHTS OF MAN*," had been lately imported from a neighbouring kingdom. The principle of this new code was, that all men were by nature free, and equal in respect of their rights. If this code therefore were admitted, the power of the house could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada to chuse a constitution for themselves. The practical effects of this system might be seen in St. Domingo, and the other French islands. They were happy and flourishing till they heard of "*the rights of man*." As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open—hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the country. Mr. Burke then commenced an attack upon the constitution and government of France, launching out into the most violent invectives against them, for which he was repeatedly called to order, and at length compelled to sit down.

When the tumult excited by this philippic had subsided, Mr. Fox, with moderation and firmness, defended his former sentiments relative to the French revolution, and repeated, that he thought it upon the whole one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind. In saying this, however, he wished to be understood as referring only to the revolution, and not to the constitution, which still remained to be improved by experience and accommodated to circumstances. As to the rights of man, which Mr. Burke had ridiculed as visionary, they were, he contended, the basis of the British constitution. Our statute-book recognised the original inherent rights of the people as men, which no prescription could supersede, no accident remove or obliterate! These had once been the principles of his right honourable friend, from whom he had learned them. That gentleman had remarked, with equal energy and emphasis, that he knew not how to draw a bill of indictment against a whole people! Having been taught by him that no revolt of a nation was caused without provocation, he could not help rejoicing at the success of a revolution resting upon the same basis with our own—the immutable and unalienable rights of man.

Mr. Burke rose again, and in vehement terms, insisted that he was perfectly in order; for that the discussion of the Quebec bill was a proper opportunity for putting the country on its guard against those dangerous doctrines which prevailed in France, and which had found so many advocates in

our own country. He observed, that he had on many occasions before this differed from Mr. Fox, without the loss of friendship between them. But there was something in the accursed French revolution that envenomed every thing— Here he was interrupted by Mr. Fox, who remarked that “there was no loss of friendship.” Mr. Burke insisted that there was—he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty, and *their friendship was at an end.*

The attention of the house was now fixed on Mr. Fox, who rose to reply, but his feelings were too powerfully excited for some time to allow him to proceed. All the ideas so long cherished of gratitude, esteem, and affection, rushed upon his susceptible and generous mind, and the tears were observed to steal involuntarily down his cheek. A profound and expressive silence pervaded the whole house. At length, recovering himself, Mr. Fox said, that however recent events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, for such he must still call him, he could not so easily consent to relinquish and dissolve that intimate connexion which had for twenty-five years subsisted between them. He hoped Mr. Burke would think on past times; and whatever expressions of his had caused offence, that he would at least believe, such was not his intention. These concessions, however, made no visible impression on Mr. Burke; and from that day a schism took place in the politics of the opposition party, which was productive of very important consequences.

The spirit of party raged this year with redoubled violence throughout the kingdom, towards which, indeed, food was constantly administered by the passing events of the French revolution. The unhappy state of anarchy and confusion into which that country was now plunged, gave rise to a succession of changes in the government, which one party among us detested as subversive of all legitimate authority and wholesome subordination, and the other rejoiced in, as the demolition of old prejudices and usurpations, and an assertion of the true principles of civil society. The anniversary of July the 14th was celebrated in various places with no worse consequences than the aggravation of political animosity; but in Birmingham it was the occasion of a dreadful riot. The populace of that town collected in a great mob, and, uncontrolled by the magistrates, burned to the ground some places of worship belonging to the Socinian class of dissenters, and the dwelling-houses also of several of them. In particular, the house, books, papers, and apparatus of Dr. Priestley were consumed, and himself compelled to become a fugitive in order to preserve his life. This tumult, after raging four days, and extending its direful effects over the adjacent populous district, was quelled by military force. Many of the rioters were apprehended and brought to trial, but three only were capitally punished.

The latter months of the year were passed over in gloomy silence, and the parliament was not convened till the 31st of January, 1792. The speech from the throne announced the marriage of his royal highness the duke of York with the daughter of the king of Prussia; and intimated, that the general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, which induced his majesty to hope for an immediate reduction of both the naval and military establishments of the country, and to afford the hope of a gradual relief from a part of the existing taxes. The debates on the address, and several succeeding discussions in both houses, principally turned upon the line of policy pursued by the ministry in their interference in the quarrel between Turkey and Russia, and in the hostility they had displayed towards the latter power. Mr. Jenkinson, (the present earl of Liverpool) in a maiden speech, much admired for its extensive views of the existing state of Europe, as bearing upon this country, remarked, that the strength and influence of France being at an end, we certainly had no further danger to apprehend from that once formidable rival; but a power had succeeded to France, no less deserving of attention from its restless politics and ambitious views, and that power was Russia.

The subject of the abolition of the slave trade was again brought before the commons this session, and all the force of argument was now brought to

bear upon it on both sides, in the different discussions that it underwent. The house having resumed itself into a committee on the subject, Mr. Wilberforce, the active and zealous friend of the oppressed Africans, after a minute exposure of the evils and cruelties attending that odious traffic, moved for its immediate and total abolition. He was supported in the debate by both Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, who spoke in favour of the motion as it stood; others supported the trade throughout; while a third class, among whom Mr. Henry Dundas was the leader, pleaded for a gradual abolition, which was carried by a majority of sixty-eight votes. On a following day the subject was resumed, in order to fix the date at which its total cessation should take place. Much of the same ground was again gone over, and the advocates of slavery endeavoured to defer the abolition as long as possible; but a compromise being agreed on, the term was fixed for the 1st of January, 1796.

The resolutions of the commons being carried up to the lords, it appeared that there was much less anxiety about the abolition in that assembly than in the lower house. After a debate, in which the ministerial lords in general spoke against the measure, and even a prince of the blood, the duke of Clarence, avowed himself a friend to the slave trade, a motion was carried for the appointment of a committee to hear evidence on the subject at the bar of that house;—thus the means were given for an indefinite protraction of the decision. During this session of parliament, however, the bill which Mr. Fox had introduced the preceding year, authorizing juries to pronounce a verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matter put to issue in cases of libel, but which had been postponed at the instance of the lord chancellor, was again brought in by him, and notwithstanding the opposition of the law lords, it was carried, and received the royal assent.

Whilst the dread of that spirit of innovation which the French revolution had fostered, operated as a motive with many to oppose every thing in the shape of reform, there were others who thought that the safest and most rational method would be to conciliate the nation by concession in the matter of parliamentary reform. With this immediate object in view, a society was accordingly now formed under the name of "The Friends of the People," comprehending a number of persons of high character and consequence, among whom were about thirty members of parliament. They published their resolutions on this subject with great freedom; and Mr. Grey, on the 30th of April, gave notice in the house of commons, of his intention to bring forward the object which the society had in view in the ensuing session. Mr. Pitt now took the alarm, and inveighed against Mr. Grey's declaration with great warmth. He also took occasion to announce the change of his opinions on this topic, since experience had taught him the danger of altering the established forms of government. And the still more effectually to discountenance every attempt, by writing or association, to excite discontent with any thing sanctioned by the forms of the constitution, a royal proclamation was issued on the 21st of May for preventing seditious meetings and publications, in which magistrates were enjoined to oppose them by all legal means, and the people were strongly exhorted to submission.

These steps occasioned an almost unprecedented ferment throughout the country, and they were generally considered to have been occasioned by Paine's pamphlet, entitled "The Rights of Man," which, at this time, had become a great favourite with the community, and in order to give it the more extensive circulation, it was printed in the cheapest possible forms. When an address was moved in the house of commons, in consequence of the proclamation, several extracts were read from that production, to shew its dangerous tendency; while, on the other hand, it was remarked that a whole year had elapsed since its publication, and that if it were really of so noxious a quality, ministers had been highly culpable in not noticing it at an earlier moment. This address, which passed, and the tenor of which was highly loyal, became the model of a great number of others, which were sent up from every part of the country. Prosecutions were now instituted against a great number of persons who were concerned in circulating obnoxious

publications, and among others, Thomas Paine himself, who, to avoid the effects consequent on a conviction, prudently took refuge in France, to the affairs of which country, I must now once more direct your attention.(1)

LETTER XXIV.

State of affairs in France, political and military.—General confederacy of the powers of Europe against France.—Dumouriez's exploits in Belgium and Holland.—Reverses of the army.—Struggles of the Mountainists and Girondists.—Conspiracy of the 10th of March.—Insurrection in La Vendée.—Defection of Dumouriez.—Fall of the Girondists.—Triumph of the Mountainists.—Death of the Queen, &c. &c. 1793—4.

THE death of Louis XVI. rendered the parties irreconcilable, and augmented the external enemies of the revolution. The Republicans had to combat all Europe, to struggle with the numerous classes of malecontents, and with one another. But the Mountainists, who then directed the popular movements, believed themselves already too deeply engaged not to carry things to extremities. To terrify the enemies of the revolution—to excite the fanaticism of the populace by harangues, by the presence of dangers, and by insurrections—to trust every thing to the mob, both the government and the safety of the republic—to communicate to it the most ardent enthusiasm, in the name of liberty, of equality, and of fraternity; to preserve it in this violent state of crisis, in order that they might avail themselves of its passions and its strength: such was the plan of Danton, and of the Mountainists, who had elected him as their chief. It was he who augmented the popular effervescence along with the growing dangers of the republic, and who established under the name of revolutionary government, in place of true liberty, the despotism of the multitude. Robespierre and Marat went still farther, and attempted to erect into a durable government, what Danton had only regarded as a transitory one. The latter was only a political chief, whereas the others were genuine sectaries, of whom the first was ambitious, the other fanatical.

The Mountainists by the catastrophe of the 21st of January had obtained a great victory over the Girondists, who had a system of politics far more rigid than their own, and who wished to save the revolution, without staining it with blood. But their humanity, and their spirit of justice were useless, or rather injurious to them. They were accused of being enemies to the people, because they raised their voice against their excesses; with being accomplices of the tyrant, because they wished to save Louis XVI.; and with betraying the republic, because they recommended moderation. It was with these reproaches that the Mountainists pursued them even into the midst of the convention, from the 21st of January to the 31st of May, and the 2nd of June. The Girondists were for a long time supported by the Centre, which ranged itself on the side of the party on the right against the murders and the anarchy prevailing, and on the side of the left as far as regarded measures of public safety. This mass, which properly speaking, formed the spirit of the convention, displayed some courage, and balanced the power of the Mountain and the Commune, as long as it possessed among its members the intrepid and eloquent Girondists, who carried with them into their prisons and upon the scaffold, all the firmness and the generous sentiments of the assembly to which they belonged.

The military situation of France had been hitherto cheering. Dumouriez had just crowned the brilliant campaign of Argonne, by the conquest of Belgium. After the retreat of the Prussians, he had gone to Paris, in order to

(1) New Annual Register, 1783—1793.—Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George III.—Dr. Bissett's History of the Reign of George III.—Erskine's Causes and Consequences of the War with France.—Woodfall's Debates in Parliament, &c. &c.

concert the invasion of the Austrian Low Countries. He returned to the army on the 20th of October, 1792, and began the attack on the 28th. The plan which had been attempted so unsuccessfully, and with such a want of men and means in the beginning of the war, was resumed and executed with superior forces. Dumouriez at the head of the Belgian army, which was forty thousand strong, marched from Valenciennes upon Mons, supported on his right by the army of Ardennes, consisting of nearly sixteen thousand men, under general Valence, who came from Givet upon Namur; and on his left by the army of the North, which consisted of eighteen thousand men, under general Labourdonnaie, who advanced from Lille upon Tournai. The Austrian army, posted before Mons, looked for the attack in its entrenchments. Dumouriez defeated the Austrians completely; and the victory of Jemappes opened Belgium to the French, and began in Europe the ascendancy of the French armies. After his victory of the 6th of November, Dumouriez entered as a conqueror into Mons; on the 14th into Brussels; and on the 28th into Liège: Valence took Namur, Labourdonnaie obtained possession of Antwerp, and by the middle of December the invasion of the Low Countries was entirely achieved. The French army, now commander of the Meuse and the Scheldt, took up its winter-quarters, after having driven the Austrians beyond the Roër, whom it might have driven beyond the Lower Rhine.

From this moment dated the hostilities between Dumouriez and the Jacobins; a decree of the convention of the 15th of December abrogated the Belgian customs, and organized the country in a democratical shape. The Jacobins sent on their part agents into Belgium, to propagate the revolution there, and to establish clubs in the country similar to those of the mother society; and the Flemings, who had received the French with enthusiasm, were cooled by the requisitions demanded of them, by the general pillage and the intolerable anarchy which the Jacobins brought along with them. All the party which had opposed the Austrian dominion, and which hoped to be free under the protection of France, found their rule much severer, and regretted having called them in, or supported them. Dumouriez, who had framed plans for the independence of the Flemings, and of ambition for himself, returned to Paris to complain of such impolitic conduct as it regarded conquered countries. He now changed his behaviour, which had been hitherto equivocal. He had omitted no method of keeping well with the two factions; he had ranged himself under the banners of neither, in the hope of making use of the right through his friend Genouë, and of the Mountain through Danton and Lacroix, and thought to dazzle both the one and the other by the splendour of his victories. But in his second journey he attempted to arrest the progress of the Jacobins, and to save Louis XVI; and having failed of success, he returned to the army to commence his second campaign, extremely discontented, and determined to make his new victories serve to suspend the revolution and to change its system of government.

All the French frontiers were to be attacked at this time by the powers of Europe. The military successes of the revolution, and the catastrophe of the 21st of January, had caused the greater part of the governments till then undecided or neutral, to enter into the coalition. England, which had been long prepared for a rupture, seized this occasion for appearing on the theatre of hostilities. The Tower of London was stored with arms; a fleet was ready to sail from Spithead, the ministers had obtained about three millions and a half sterling for extraordinary services.

On learning the fate of Louis XVI, the cabinet of Saint James's recalled their minister lord Gower, and brought Holland along with it into the rupture with France. Spain had just undergone a change of ministry; the famous Godoy, duke of Alcudia, and afterwards prince of Peace, had been placed at the head of the government. That power broke with the republic after vainly interceding for Louis XVI, and having estimated its neutrality at the price of the king's life. The Germanic confederation had entirely agreed upon war; and Bavaria, Sussia, and the Elector Palatine, joined the opinion of the belligerent circles of the empire. Naples followed the example of the Holy See, which had already declared itself; and there remained no longer

any other states neutral than Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey. Russia was still occupied with her second division of Poland.

The republic was thus menaced on all sides by all the best disciplined troops in Europe. It was soon to combat fifty-five thousand Austro-Sardinians from the Alps; fifty thousand Spaniards from the Pyrenees; sixty-six thousand Austrians or Imperials reinforced by thirty-eight thousand Anglo-Batavians on the Lower Rhine and in Belgium; thirty-three thousand four hundred Austrians between the Meuse and the Moselle; one hundred and twelve thousand six hundred Russians, Austrians, Prussians and Imperials, on the Middle and Upper Rhine. In order to make head against so many enemies, the convention ordered a levy of three hundred thousand men. This measure for the defence of the exterior was accompanied by a party measure of defence for the interior of the country. At the moment, when the newly-raised battalions were to quit Paris, and when they presented themselves to the assembly, the Mountain required that an extraordinary tribunal should be established for the support of the revolution within, which these battalions were preparing to defend on the frontiers. This tribunal composed of nine members, was to judge without jury and without appeal. The Girondists opposed with all their might an institution at once so arbitrary and so redoubtable, but in vain; for they seemed to favour the enemies of the republic, in rejecting a tribunal ordained to punish them. All that they gained by their opposition, was the introduction of a jury, the removal of violent partisans, and the weakening of its action, as long as they had any influence in the state.

The principal efforts of the coalition were directed against the vast frontier, which stretches from the north sea to Huningen. The prince of Cobourg was to attack, at the head of the Austrians, the French army upon the Roër and the Meuse, and to penetrate into Belgium, while the Prussians, on another point, were to march against Custine, to give him battle, to surround Mayence, and to renew the preceding invasion after taking it. These two armies of operation were upheld in their intermediate positions by considerable forces. Dumouriez, who was filled with his own ambitious plans of re-action, at a time when no one ought to have thought of any thing but the dangers with which France was surrounded, proposed to establish the monarchy of 1791, in spite of the convention and of Europe. What Bouillé could not do for absolute royalty, nor La Fayette for the constitutional throne, at a time far more propitious, Dumouriez believed he could execute with his own power for an annihilated constitution, and a monarchy without partisans. Instead of remaining neutral between the factions, as circumstances obliged a general to do, and even as an ambitious man ought to have done, Dumouriez preferred breaking with all parties, in order to govern them. He thought of forming a party without France; of penetrating into Holland by means of the Batavian republicans, who were opposed to the stadtholder and the influence of the English cabinet; of delivering Belgium from the rule of the Jacobins, and re-uniting the two countries into a single independent state; and to give themselves a political protectorate after having acquired all the glory of a conqueror. He was then to intimidate parties, to gain over his troops, to march upon the capital, dissolve the convention, shut up the popular meetings, re-establish the constitution of 1791, and give back a king to France.

This project, which was impossible amidst the great shock of the revolution, and of Europe, appeared easy to the violent and adventurous Dumouriez. Instead of defending the line of army which was menaced from Mayence to the Roër, he threw his forces to the left of the enemy's operations, and entered Hollaud at the head of twenty thousand men. He proposed, by a rapid march, to transport his troops to the centre of the United Provinces, to take fortresses as he retreated, and to be rejoined at Nimeguen by twenty-five thousand men under general Miranda, who was in the mean time to have rendered himself master of Maestricht. An army of forty thousand men was to observe the movements of the Austrians, and protect him on the right.

Dumouriez vigorously advanced in his expedition against Holland ; he took Breda and Gertruydenberg, and prepared for passing the Biesbos, and taking Dorft. But in the mean time the army on the right experienced the greatest disasters on the lower Meuse. The Austrians assumed the offensive, passed the Roër, and beat Miazinski at Aix-la-Chapelle ; made Miranda raise the blockade of Maestricht, which he had in vain bombarded ; crossed the Meuse, and put entirely to rout the French army which had joined between Tirlemont and Louvain. Dumouriez received orders from the executive council to quit Holland with all speed, and to take the command of the troops in Belgium ; he was accordingly obliged to obey, and thus to lose a part of his wildest, yet dearest hopes.

The Jacobins, on receiving the intelligence of all these reverses, became far more intractable than ever. Being unable to conceive the idea of a defeat without treachery, especially after the brilliant and unexpected victories of the former campaign, they attributed all military disasters to the combinations of party. They denounced the Girondists, ministers and generals, whom they believed to have joined with each other to ruin the republic, and they determined upon their ruin. Rivalry mingled with suspicion, and they were as eager to overcome an exclusive dominion as to defend a territory which was threatened : they commenced with the Girondists. As the multitude was not yet accustomed to the idea of proscribing their representatives, they at first resorted to a plan for getting rid of them ; they resolved to murder them in the convention when they should all be assembled ; and they fixed the night of the 10th of March for the execution of their plan. The assembly had adopted permanent sittings, on account of the dangers, with which the commonwealth was surrounded. The previous evening it was decided at the club of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, to sound the tocsin, to shut the barriers and to march in two divisions on the convention, and the houses of the ministers. At the hour agreed on they set out ; but several circumstances prevented the conspirators from succeeding. The Girondists, who had been prepared to expect the attack, did not go to the nightly sitting : the sections made some opposition to the plot, and Bournonville, minister at war, marched against them at the head of a battalion of the federates of Brest : all these unforeseen obstacles, joined to the rain, which did not cease to fall the whole night, dispersed the conspirators. The following day Vergniaud denounced the committee of insurrection which had projected these murders, required that the executive council should be charged with making inquiry into the conspiracy of the 10th of March, to examine the registers of the clubs, and to arrest the members of the insurrectionary committee. " We are marching," said he, " from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. A great number of our citizens have gone the length of confounding seditious insurrections with the great insurrection of liberty, of regarding the insolence of robbers as the explosion of energetic minds, and robbery as a measure calculated to secure the general safety. We have witnessed the developement of the strange system of liberty from which maxims such as these are drawn. You are free, but think like us, lest we denounce you to the vengeance of the people : you are free, but bow your heads before the idol to which we offer incense, or we will denounce you to the vengeance of the people : you are free, but you are to join with us in persecuting men whose probity and understandings we dread, or we denounce you to the vengeance of the people ! Citizens, it is to be feared that the revolution, like Satan, may devour its own children, and engender, at length, despotism, with all its attendant calamities." These prophetic words produced some effect on the assembly ; but the measures proposed by Vergniaud led to nothing.

The Jacobins had been arrested for a moment in their course by the ill success of their first enterprise against their adversaries ; but the insurrection of La Vendée took place, and restored all their boldness. The war of La Vendée was an inevitable event in the revolution. This country, which was backed by the sea and the Loire, traversed by few roads, and covered with villages, hamlets, and castlewards, had maintained its ancient state of

feudal existence. In La Vendée there was neither education nor civilization, because there was no middle class; and there was no middle class, because there were few or no towns. The class of the peasants had not at this time acquired any other ideas than those communicated to it by the priests, and had kept its interests undivided from those of the nobles. These men, simple, robust, and devoted to the ancient order of things, understood nothing of a revolution, which was the result of opinions and wants altogether unknown to their situation. The nobles and the priests finding themselves a strong party in this quarter of the country, did not emigrate; and there it was that in reality existed the partisans of the old régime, because there it was that its doctrines and its society were to be found. It was certain that sooner or latter France and La Vendée, countries so different, and which had nothing in common but their language, should be in a state of war with each other: it was certain that the two kinds of fanaticism, the monarchical, and that which believed in the popular sovereignty, that of the priesthood, and that of human reason, should raise their banners against each other, and bring about the triumph either of the old or new state of civilization.

Partial troubles had arisen at various times in La Vendée. In 1792 the Count de la Rouairie had proposed a general rising, which had only failed in consequence of his own arrest; but every thing was prepared for an insurrection, when the recruiting of the army by three hundred thousand men was undertaken: that levy became the signal of revolt. The Vendéans beat the gendarmerie at Saint Florens, and first took for their chiefs at divers points, Cathelineau the waggoner, Charette an officer in the navy, and Stofflet the game-keeper. In a short time the insurrection spread throughout the whole country: nine hundred communes rose up at the sound of the tocsin, and then the noble chiefs Bonchamps, Lescure, Larochejaquelin, D'Elbée, and Talmont, joined the others. The troops of the line and the battalions of the national guard which marched against the insurgents were beaten. General Maréc was overthrown at Saint Vincent, by Stofflet; general Gauvilliers at Beaupreau, by D'Elbée and Bonchamps; general Quétineau at Aubiers, by Larochejaquelin; and general Ligonniér, at Cholet. The Vendéans, now become masters of Châtillon, Bressuire, and Vihiers, determined, before pushing their advantages farther, to give themselves a sort of organization. They formed three bodies, consisting of from ten to twelve thousand men each, after the distribution of the Vendean territory into three branches of command; the first under Bonchamps kept by the banks of the Loire, and received the name of *the army of Anjou*; the second placed in the centre was called *the grand army*, and was commanded by D'Elbée; and the third in Lower La Vendée, became *the army of the Marsh*, under Charette. The insurgents established a council to decide the operations, and chose Cathelineau generalissimo. These arrangements, and that disposition of the country, allowed of ranging the insurgents in regiments, of dismissing them to their fields, or recalling them to serve under their banners.

The news of this formidable rising made the convention take still more rigorous measures with regard to the priests and the emigrants. It outlawed the priests and nobles who participated in any assembling of persons, and took away the arms of all who had belonged to the privileged classes. The old emigrants were banished for life; they were not allowed to re-enter France under pain of death; and all their properties were confiscated. On the door of each house the names of all who inhabited it were to be written; and the revolutionary tribunal, which had been adjourned, commenced its terrible functions.

At the same time intelligence arrived of new disasters in the French armies. Dumouriez, on his return to the army of Belgium, concentrated his forces, in order to oppose the Austrian general the prince of Cobourg. His troops were in a state of discouragement, and wanted every thing: he addressed to the convention a threatening letter against the Jacobins who denounced him. After having inspired his army with some of the confidence it formerly had in its own success, by means of some small advantages, he hazarded a general engagement at Nerwind, and lost the battle. Belgium

was evacuated; and Dumouriez, placed between the Austrians and the Jacobins, beaten by the one, and attacked by the other, recurred to the culpable method of a defection, in order to realize his former projects. He had conferences with colonel Mack, and arranged with the Austrians to march upon Paris to re-establish the monarchy, while he was to quit them upon the frontier, leaving them several strong places as a guarantee. It is likely that Dumouriez meant to place upon the throne the young duke of Chartres, who had distinguished himself in that campaign; while the prince of Cobourg hoped that if the counter-revolution reached that point, it would go farther, and re-establish the son of Louis XVI. and the ancient monarchy together. The Jacobins were very soon informed of the intentions of Dumouriez, who took no pains to conceal them; whether it was that he wished to sound his troops, or to terrify his enemies, or whether he abandoned himself to the usual levity of his disposition, is uncertain. In order to make themselves still more certain of the facts, the club of the Jacobins sent to him a deputation, consisting of three of its members, called Proly, Pereira, and Dubuisson. On being admitted into the presence of Dumouriez, they obtained of him more acknowledgments than they had even expected. "The convention," said he, "is an assembly of seven hundred and thirty-five tyrants. As long as I hold four inches of steel, I shall not allow it to reign and to pour forth human blood, by means of the revolutionary tribunal which it has just created." "As to the republic," added he, "it is but an empty word; I believed in it for three days; but since the affair of Jemappes, I have regretted every success I have obtained in so bad a cause. There is but one way of saving the country, and that is by the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791, and a king." "Are you in your senses, general?" cried Dubuisson: "the French hold the name of royalty, and the sound of the name of Louis XVI., in horror."—"But what matters the name?" "Of what consequence is it whether the king is called Louis, James, or Philip?" "And your means, where are they?" "My army—yes, my army will accomplish all this; and from my camp, or the security of a fortified place, will tell you that it demands a king." "But your project compromises the safety of the prisoners in the Temple." "The last of the Bourbons must be slain, even those at Coblenz, before France will want a king: and if Paris added this murder to those with which it is already dishonoured, I should immediately march upon the capital." After declaring himself with all this want of precaution, Dumouriez commenced the execution of his impracticable design: he found himself in a position truly difficult, his soldiers were sincerely attached to him, but they were also devoted to their country. He was bound to give up strong places of which he was not the master, and it was to be supposed that the generals under his orders would act with regard to him as he had himself acted with La Fayette. His first attempt was not encouraging. After establishing his camp at Saint Amand, he wished to seize upon Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes; but in this attempt he failed. This piece of ill success led him to hesitate, and prevented him from commencing the attack.

As soon as the convention was informed of his projects, it summoned him to its bar: he refused to obey, but did not yet hoist the standard of revolt. The convention immediately dispatched four of its representatives, Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, together with the minister at war, Bourdonville, to bring him before them or to arrest him in the midst of his army. Dumouriez received the commission at the head of his staff: they presented to him the decree of the convention, which he read, and returned it to them, saying that the state of his army did not admit of his quitting it. He offered to resign his post, and promised that at a calmer time, he would himself demand an investigation into his conduct, and give an explanation both of his designs and his actions. The commissaries entreated him to submit, alleging the example of the ancient Roman generals: "We are always wrong when we quote," said he, "and we degrade the history of the Romans, when we give the example of their virtues as an excuse for our crimes. The Romans did not murder Tarquin—the Romans had a well regulated

“republic and good laws: they had neither a club of Jacobins, nor a revolutionary tribunal. We live in a time of anarchy, a band of tigers desire my head, and I do not wish to give it them.”—“Citizen general,” said Camus, “will you obey the decree of the national convention, and go to Paris?”—“Not now.”—“Well then I declare you suspended from your functions: you are no longer general; and I command you to be taken into custody.” “This is too much!” cried Dumouriez: and ordered some German hussars to seize the commissaries whom he delivered as hostages to the Austrians. After this act of revolt, it was no longer possible to hesitate. Dumouriez made a new attack upon Condé, but it was as unsuccessful as the former: he wished to seduce the army to follow him in his defection, but it deserted him. The soldiers were much more likely to prefer the republic to their general; for the attachment to the revolution was now in all its strength, and the civil power in all its energy. Dumouriez experienced in declaring himself against the convention the same fate which La Fayette had undergone when he declared himself against the constituent assembly. Dumouriez passed into the Austrian camp with the duke of Chartres, colonel Thouvenot, and two squadrons of Berchiny; the rest of his army joined the camp at Famars, and united with the troops under the command of Dampierre.

The convention on learning the arrest of the commissaries, established itself permanently, declared Dumouriez a traitor to his country, authorized every citizen to treat him as an outlaw, set a price upon his head, decreed the famous Committee of Public Safety, and banished the duke of Orleans and all the Bourbons from the republic. Though the Girondists on this occasion had attacked Dumouriez as angrily as the Mountainists, they were nevertheless accused of being accomplices in his desertion; and thus was a new complaint added to all the rest. Their enemies daily became more powerful, and it was in moments of public danger that they were especially redoubtable. Till now in the long struggle which had been going on between the two parties, they had gained the victory on all points: they had stopped the prosecutions relating to the massacres of September: they had supported the usurpations of the commune: they had first obtained the trial and then the execution of Louis XVI: through their intrigues the pillages of February and the conspiracy of the 10th of March had remained unpunished: they erected the revolutionary tribunal, in spite of the Girondists: by means of repeated insults they had driven Roland from the ministry: and they had triumphed over Dumouriez. It now only remained for them to take away from the Girondists their last asylum, the assembly: this they began to attempt on the 10th of April, and they finished the work on the 2nd of June.

Robespierre attacked by name, Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Pétion, and Gensonné, in the convention, and Marat denounced them in the popular assemblies. He wrote in his quality of president of the Jacobins an address to the departments, in which he called for “*the thunder of petitions and accusations against the traitors and unfaithful delegates who had desired to save the tyrant by voting his imprisonment or the appeal to the people.*” The right side and the plain of the convention felt that it was requisite to combine their forces. Marat was sent before the revolutionary tribunal. This intelligence excited the loudest rumours among the clubs, the mob, and the commune. In revenge the mayor (Pache) came in the name of the thirty-five sections and of the council-general to demand the expulsion of the principal Girondists. Young Boyer Fonfrède required to be included in the proscription of his colleagues, and the members of the right and of the plain rose up crying out—*All! all of us!* This petition though declared calumnious, was the beginning of attacks from without against the convention, and prepared the minds of all for the ruin of the Gironde.

The accusation of Marat was far from intimidating the Jacobins, who accompanied him to the revolutionary tribunal. Marat was acquitted and carried in triumph into the assembly. From this moment the avenues to the hall were occupied by audacious Sans-cullottes, and the tribunes of the Jacobins trampled upon those of the convention. The clubbists and the hirelings

of Robespierre continually interrupted the orators of the right, and disturbed the deliberations: while out of doors all means were sought for to get rid of the Girondists. Henriot, commandant of the Sans-culotte section, excited for this purpose the battalions which were ready to depart for La Vendée. Guadet then saw that it was useless any longer to confine matters to complaints or harangues: he mounted the tribune and said: "Citizens, while virtuous men confine themselves to lamenting over the misfortunes of their country, conspirators are endeavouring to ruin it. Like Cæsar they say—*Let them speak and let us act!* Well, then—do so too. The evil lies in the impunity of the conspirators of the 10th of March, in the existence of the authorities of Paris—authorities at once desirous of money and of power. "Citizens, it is still time: you may yet save your country and your honour which is compromised. I propose to annul the authorities of Paris, to replace within twenty-four hours the municipality by the presidents of the sections, to assemble the proxies of the convention at Bourges with the shortest possible delay, and to dispatch our decree into the departments by expresses." This motion of Guadet served for a moment to surprise the Mountain. If the measures proposed had been adopted on the instant, the dominion of the commune and the projects of the conspirators were gone for ever: but it is also probable that the parties would have taken some steps, that civil war would have spread, that the convention would have been dissolved by the assembly of Bourges, all centre of action destroyed, and that the revolution would not have been strong enough to resist its own internal struggles, and the attacks of Europe: and this is what was feared by the moderate part of the assembly. In terror of anarchy if the commune was not repressed, and of the counter-revolution, if the multitude was not confined, the moderate party wished to maintain a balance between the two extremities of the convention. This party composed the committees of General Surety and Public Safety; it was directed by Barrère, who like all well-meaning men of weak character, was the supporter of moderate measures, until terror made him an instrument of cruelty and tyranny. Instead of the decisive measures of Guadet, he proposed to name an extraordinary commission of twelve members charged with the examination of the conduct of the municipality, to discover the authors of the plots carried on against the national representation, and to secure their persons. This middle course was adopted: but it left the commune undisturbed, and the commune necessarily triumphed over the convention.

The commission of twelve spread alarm among the members of the commune by its inquiries; it discovered a new conspiracy, which was to break out on the 22nd of May; ordered the arrest of several conspirators, among others, the secretary of the commune, Hébert, author of *Père Duchêne*, who was seized in the very midst of the municipality. The commune, which at first was in a state of stupefaction, now took measures of opposition. From this time there were no longer plots—there were insurrections. The council general, encouraged by the Mountainists, surrounded itself with the agitators of the capital: it spread a report that the twelve wished to purge the convention, and replace the tribunal which had acquitted Marat by a counter-revolutionary tribunal. The Jacobins, the Cordeliers, and the sections, now established themselves permanently. On the 26th of May the agitation began to be felt; and on the 27th it became strong enough to lead the commune to open the attack. The commune presented itself to the convention, and demanded the liberty of Hébert, and the suppression of the twelve. It was followed by the deputies from the sections, which expressed the same wish; and the hall was surrounded by large assemblages. The section of the city even ventured to require that the twelve should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal. Isnard, president of the assembly, replied in a tone of solemnity, "Listen to what I am now about to say. If once the convention is degraded; if ever, through one of these insurrections, which have so frequently taken place since the 10th of March, and of which the magistrates have not given notice to the assembly, it happened that a blow was struck at the national representation, I tell you, in the name of the

"whole of France, that Paris would be annihilated; yes, all France would take vengeance on the attempt, and soon it would be necessary to inquire on which bank of the Seine the capital once stood." This reply became the signal of a great tumult. "I declare to you also," cried Danton, "that so much impudence begins to be insufferable; we will resist you." Then turning towards the right—"No more truces between the Mountain and the cowards who wished to save the tyrant."

The greatest confusion now reigned in the hall; the tribunes uttered cries against the right—the Mountainists broke out into menaces; every moment the deputations succeeded each other from without, and the convention saw itself surrounded by an immense multitude. Some sectionaries of the Mail and the Butte des Moulins, commanded by Raffit, had placed themselves in the passages and avenues to defend it. The Girondists fought as long as they could against the deputations and the Mountain. Threatened from within, and besieged from without, they attempted to make use of that violence to excite the indignation of the assembly. But Garat, the minister of the interior, deprived them of even that resource; and on being called to render an account of the state of Paris, he assured the meeting that the convention had nothing to fear; and the opinion of Garat, who passed for impartial, and whose conciliating disposition sometimes led him to take equivocal steps, emboldened the members of the Mountain. Isnard was compelled to quit the chair; Héault de Séchelles replaced him; and this was the signal of victory to the Mountainists. The new president replied to the petitioners whom Isnard had till then kept down—"The force of reason and the force of the people is the same thing: you ask us for a magistrate and justice; the representatives of the people will render it to you." It was too late; the right side was cast down; several of its members had departed; the petitioners had thrust themselves from the bar into the seats of the representatives, and these mixed with the Mountainists, amidst cries and disorder, they all voted together the suppression of the twelve, and the enlargement of the prisoners. It was at half-past twelve, among the plaudits of the tribunes and the people, that the decree was carried.

The next day the members of the right regained the field of battle in the convention; they resumed the discussion on the decree of the preceding evening, as being illegally carried amidst tumult, and by force, and the commission was re-established. "You did yesterday," said Danton, "a great act of justice; but I tell you, that if the commission preserves the tyrannical power it has exercised;—if the magistrates of the people are not restored to their functions;—if our good citizens have yet to dread arbitrary arrests—then, after having proved to you that we surpass our enemies in prudence and wisdom, we will surpass them also in boldness and in revolutionary vigour." Danton was afraid to resume the combat, for he dreaded the triumph of the Mountainists as much as that of the Girondists; accordingly he wished by turns to prevent the 31st of May, and to moderate its results; but he found himself reduced to join his own party during the combat, and to be silent after the victory.

The agitation, which had been somewhat calmed by the suppression of the twelve, became threatening on the news of their re-establishment. The tribunes of the sections and popular societies, echoed with invectives, cries of danger, and appeals to the insurrection. Hebert, after quitting prison, repaired to the commune. There was placed on his head a crown, which he placed upon the head of Brutus, and then flew to the Jacobins, to call for vengeance upon the twelve. Upon this, Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette, and Pache joined to organize a new movement. The insurrection was modelled on that of the 10th of August; the 29th of May was employed in preparing the public mind for it. On the 30th, the members of the electoral body, the commissaries of the clubs, and deputies from the sections, assembled at the Evêché, declared themselves in a state of insurrection, annulled the council-general of the commune, and afterwards restored it, making the members take a new oath. Henriot received the title of commandant-general of the armed forces, and the Sans-culottes had forty thou-

per day, as long as they remained under arms. After these arrangements were decided on, early in the morning of the 31st, the tocsin was sounded, the *général* beat, the troops assembled and marched upon the convention, which for some time had held its sittings in the palace of the Tuileries.

The assembly had been sitting for some time; it had met at the sound of the tocsin. The minister of the interior, the administrators of the department, and the mayor of Paris, had been successively called to the bar. Garat had reported the agitation of Paris, but appeared to feel no dread of dangerous consequences from it. Lhuillier, in the name of the department, had assured the assembly that it was merely "a moral insurrection!" Pache, the mayor, came last, and in a most hypocritical manner, disclosed the operations of the insurgents; he pretended to have employed all his efforts to maintain order; he assured the assembly that the guard of the convention had been doubled, and that he had forbidden the alarm-guns to be fired. However, at the very moment he was speaking, the report of a gun was heard at a distance. The general surprise and agitation were extreme. Cambon requested that all the assembly would join to avert the general danger; he implored the tribunes to be silent. "In such extraordinary circumstances," said he, "the only method of defeating the designs of ill-meaning persons is to cause the national convention to be respected." "I demand," said Thuriot, "that the commission of twelve be annulled on the instant." "And I demand," said Talien, "that the sword of the law be raised to smite the conspirators who shelter themselves in the very bosom of the convention." The Girondists on their side required that the audacious Henriot should be brought to their bar, for having fired the alarm-guns without the order of the convention. "If there is any struggle now," said Vergniaud, "the result will be the ruin of the republic, let either party gain the victory. Let all our members swear to die at their posts." The whole assembly then rose, and supported the opinion of Vergniaud. Danton flew to the tribune: "Annul the commission of twelve," cried he, "the cannon has fired. If you are political legislators, so far from blaming the explosion of Paris, you will turn it to the profit of the republic, by reforming your errors, and cancelling the commission." And hearing some murmurs, he continued, "It is to those who possess some political talents that I address myself, and not to those foolish persons who allow their passions only to speak. I say to them, consider the greatness of your object: it is to save the people from their enemies, from aristocrats, and from its own fury. If a few really dangerous men, no matter to what party they belong, wished afterwards to prolong a movement which would be useless when you had rendered justice to yourselves, Paris itself would reduce them into their proper insignificance. I demand in coolness the pure and simple suppression of the commission, under its political view." The commission was violently attacked on one side, and feebly defended on the other. Barrère and the committee of Public Safety, who had created it, proposed its suppression for the sake of peace, and in order to prevent the assembly from being put at the mercy of the multitude. The moderate Mountainists were disposed to stop at this measure, when the deputations arrived. The members of the department, those of the municipality, and the commissaries of the sections, on being admitted to the bar, not only demanded the suppression of the twelve, but likewise the chastisement of its members and of all the Girondist chiefs.

The Tuileries were now blocked up by the insurgents, and the presence of their commissaries in the hall of the convention emboldened the extreme Mountainists, who wished to destroy the Girondist party. Robespierre, their chief and their orator, then addressed the assembly: "Citizens, let us not lose this day in vain clamours and in insignificant measures: this day is, perhaps, the last in which despotism may combat tyranny! Let the faithful representatives of the people unite to secure its happiness!" He urged the convention to follow the plan suggested by the petitioners, rather than that proposed by the committee of Public Safety. "Conclude, then" cried Vergniaud. "I do, and against you! against you who after the revo-

“ lution of the 10th of August wished to bring to the scaffold those who had accomplished it! against you who have never ceased to provoke the destruction of Paris! against you who wished to save the tyrant! against you who conspired with Dumouriez! against you who pursued with fury the same patriots whose heads Dumouriez demanded! against you whose criminal projects of vengeance have provoked the very cries of indignation of which you now wish to make a crime in those who are your victims! Well then, my conclusion is a decree of accusation against all the accomplices of Dumouriez and those pointed out by the petitioners! Notwithstanding the violence of this attack, the party of Robespierre did not obtain the victory. The insurrection had been only raised against the twelve; and the committee of Public Safety which proposed its suppression, carried the day against the commune. The assembly adopted the decree of Barrère which annulled the twelve, put the public force in permanent requisition and which to content the petitioners, charged the committee of Public Safety with investigating the plots they had denounced. As soon as the multitude which surrounded the assembly was informed of these measures, they received them with acclamations, and dispersed.

But the conspirators were not satisfied with this half triumph: they had gone on the 31st of May still farther than on the 27th: and on the 2nd of June, they went still farther than on the 31st of May. The insurrection became instead of a *moral* one as they styled it, *personal*: that is to say, it was no longer directed against a power, but against *deputies*: it escaped Danton and the Mountain, and it fell to Robespierre, Marat, and the commune. On the night of the 31st a Jacobin deputy said: “ That there had only been one half done, that the business ought to be finished, and that the people should not have time to cool.” Henriot offered to place the armed force at the disposal of the club. The insurrectional committee openly established itself near the convention. The whole of the 1st of June was devoted to the preparation of a grand movement. The commune wrote thus to the sections: “ Citizens keep yourselves prepared: the dangers of your country impose this upon you as a law.” In the evening Marat, who was the principal actor in the 2d of June, went to the Hôtel de Ville, mounted the clock, and sounded the tocsin: he advised the members of the council never to yield until they had obtained a decree of accusation against the *traitors* and the *statesmen*. Some deputies met in the convention, and the conspirators proceeded thither to demand a decree against the proscribed; but they were not yet sufficiently strong to force it from the convention.

The whole night passed away in preparations: the tocsin sounded, the *générale* was beat, and the crowds assembled. On Sunday morning, towards eight o'clock, Henriot presented himself to the council-general, and declared to his accomplices *in the name of the insurgent people*, that they would not lay down their arms till they had obtained the arrest of the conspirators among the deputies. He next put himself at the head of the vast multitudes who were in the square of the Hôtel de Ville, harangued them and gave them the signal to depart. It was near ten when the insurgents arrived on the Place de Carrousel. Henriot surrounded the palace with devoted bands, and very soon the convention was surrounded by twenty thousand men, of whom the greater number did not know what they were required to do, and felt themselves more inclined to defend than to attack the deputation.

The greater part of the proscribed had remained absent from the assembly. Some who were resolved to keep up their courage to the end, had come to brave the storm for the last time. As soon as the sitting commenced, the intrepid Lanjuinais mounted the tribune: “ I demand,” said he, “ to be allowed to ask why the *générale* is now beating in every part of Paris?” He was instantly interrupted by cries of *Down! Down! He wants a civil war! He wants the counter-revolution! He calumniates Paris! He insults the people!* In spite of the menaces, outrages, and cries of the Mountain and the tribunes, Lanjuinais denounced the projects of the commune and of the factions: his courage augmented with the danger. “ You accuse us,” said he,

“with calumniating Paris! Paris is pure; Paris is good, Paris is oppressed “by tyrants who seek for blood and dominion!” These words became the signal of the most violent tumults, several Mountainist deputies rushed to the tribune in order to drag Lanjuinais from it, but he clung to it, and in the tone of the most generous courage, cried out: “I require all the revolutionary authorities of Paris to be annulled: I demand that all those who desire to arrogate to themselves a new authority contrary to the law be outlawed, and that every citizen be authorized to treat them accordingly.” He had scarcely finished when the insurgent petitioners came to demand his arrest and that of his colleagues. “Citizens,” said they in conclusion, “the people is tired to see its happiness postponed: it leaves it yet a moment in your hands: save it then, or we declare that the people will save themselves!”

The right called for the order of the day on the petition of the insurgents. The convention passed to the order of the day. Upon this the petitioners left the hall in a threatening attitude, the men quitted the galleries, the cry was heard *To arms!* and a great noise was going on without. “Save the people from itself,” said a Mountainist, “and save your colleagues by decreeing their provisional arrest.” “No! no!” replied the right and even a party of the left; “We will all share their fate!” cried Lareveillere Lepaux. The committee of Public Safety charged with the report, and terrified at the greatness of the danger, proposed as on the 31st of May a measure in appearance conciliatory, which should satisfy the insurgents without entirely sacrificing the proscribed. “The committee addresses itself,” said Barrere, “to the patriotism and the generosity of the members accused: it asks of them the suspension of their power, by representing to them that it is the only means of staying the divisions which afflict the republic and of bringing back peace to it.” Several among them supported that measure. Isnard suspended himself: Lanthomas, Dussaulx, and Fauchet, followed his example. Lanjuinais did not agree with him. “I have, I believe, till this moment,” said he, “discovered some courage; therefore neither look for suspension or dismissal as far as I am concerned.” Here he was violently interrupted, but he continued: “When the ancients,” said he, “prepared a sacrifice, they crowned the victim with flowers and garlands, when they conducted it to the altar: the priest immolated, but did not insult it.” Barbaroux was as firm as Lanjuinais. “I have sworn,” said he, “to die at my post; and I will keep my vow.” The conspirators of the Mountain, themselves rose up against the proposition of the committee. Marat said that those who made sacrifices ought to be pure: and Billaud Varennes demanded the judgment of the Girondists and not their suspension.

While this debate was taking place, a deputy from the Mountain (Lacroix) hastily entered the hall, rushed to the tribune, declared that he had been insulted at the doors, that he had been prevented from leaving the house, and that the convention was no longer free. A great number of the Mountainists showed their indignation at the conduct of Henriot and his troops. Danton said that “the outraged national majesty should be vigorously avenged.” Barrere proposed that the convention should present itself to the people; “Representatives,” said he, “command your own freedom, suspend your sitting, and make the bayonets which now surround you, bend before you.” The whole of the convention then rose, and marched out, preceded by its ushers, and with the president at its head, who wore his head covered in token of his distress. On arriving at a passage which led to the Place de Carrousel, they found Henriot on horseback with a sabre in his hand. “What demands the people?” said the president Hérault de Séchelles to him, “the convention is only occupied with its welfare.” “Hérault,” replied Henriot, “the people is not risen up to listen to phrases, it demands that twenty-four criminals be given up to it.” “Let us all be given up,” cried those who surrounded the president. Henriot then turned to his party, and cried, *Cannoniers to your guns!* Two cannons were immediately pointed at the convention, which drew back, entered the garden and crossed it; and then presented itself at several avenues which were all equally

closed. Every where the soldiers were under arms; Marat went up and down their ranks; he excited and encouraged the insurgents: "No weakness," said he, "and quit not your posts until they shall have been given up to you." The convention then entered the hall, overwhelmed with the sense of its own impotence and the uselessness of its efforts, and altogether subdued. The arrest of the proscribed was no longer opposed. Marat, the real dictator of the assembly, decided completely on the fate of its members. "Dussaulx," said he, "is an old dotard, incapable of being a chief of a party; Lanthénas is a poor blockhead whom nobody cares about; Ducos holds but a few erroneous opinions, and is unqualified to be the chief of a counter-revolution. I demand that these be excepted, and that they be replaced by Valazé." Accordingly Dussaulx, Lanthénas, and Ducos were retrenched from the list, and the name of Valazé added to it. The list was thus composed, though half of the assembly took no part in the decree.

The following are the names of those illustrious individuals who were proscribed of the Girondists. Gensonné, Guadet, Brissot, Gorsas, Pétion, Vergniaud, Salles, Barbaroux, Chambon, Buzot, Birotteau, Lidon, Rabaud, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Lehardy, Lesage, Louvet, Valazé, Lebrun the minister for foreign affairs, and Clavière, minister for contributions. The members of the twelve arrested were Kervelegan, Gardien, Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, Boileau, Bertrand, Vigée, Molleveau, Henri-Larivière, Gommère, and Bergonin. The convention placed them in a state of detention at their own houses, and under the safe guard of the people. Immediately the countersign which had held the convention prisoners was given, and the multitude dispersed: but it must also be said that from this time there was no freedom in the assembly.

Thus fell the party of the Gironde, a party which was illustrious for the great talents and courage of its members: a party which honoured the rising republic by its horror of blood, its hatred of crime, its disgust at anarchy, its love of order, of justice, and liberty; a party which was unfortunately placed between the middle class whose revolution it had combated, and the multitude whose dominion it rejected. Condemned to inactivity, this party could only adorn the certainty of defeat by a courageous struggle, and by a bold death. At that time its end might have been foreseen with certainty, it had been driven from post to post; from the Jacobins by the invasion of the Mountainists; from the commune by the dismissal of Pétion; from the ministry by the retreat of Roland and his colleagues; and from the army by the defection of Dumouriez. It had no longer any hold but on the convention; there it retrenched itself, struggled and was overcome. Its enemies attempted by turns against it both plots and insurrections. Their plots gave rise to the Commission of twelve, which appeared to give a momentary advantage to the Gironde, but which only the more violently excited its adversaries. The latter put the multitude in motion, and carried away from the Girondists first their authority, by destroying the Commission of twelve, and then their political existence by proscribing their chiefs.

That the Girondists would not submit to their defeat, and that an insurrection of the departments against the Mountain and the commune of Paris, would be the consequence of the 31st of May, was to be expected. It was the only remaining experiment, for them to make. They tried it; but this decisive measure was marked by the same want of concert which had occasioned the loss of their cause in the assembly.

After the 2nd of June, all the moderate men of the party remained under the decree of arrest, and the residue withdrew to a distance. Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Fonfrède, were among the first: Pétion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Buzot, Lanjuinais, amongst the second. They retired to Evreux in the department of the Eure, where Buzot had great influence, and thence to Caen in the Calvados. They made this town the centre of insurrection. Brittany lost no time in joining it. The insurgents, under the name of the Assembly of the Departments convened at Caen, collected an army, gave the command to general Wimphen, arrested the Mountainists Romme and Prieur de la Marne, commissaries of the convention, and prepared to march to

Paris. From Caen it was that a beautiful and brave young maiden, Charlotte Corday, set off to punish Marat, the principal author of the proceedings of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June. She thought to save the republic by sacrificing herself: but the tyranny did not hang upon one man; it depended upon a party, and the state of violence in which the republic was placed. Charlotte Corday, (1) after having effected her generous but useless enterprise, died with an unalterable serenity and a modest courage, accompanied with the satisfaction of having performed what she conceived was a noble action. But Marat became, after his assassination, an object of still greater enthusiasm than he had been during his lifetime. He was invoked in the public squares; his bust was seen in all popular assemblies; and the convention was forced to grant him the honours of the Pantheon.

At the same time Lyons rose up, Marseilles and Bordeaux took arms, and more than sixty departments joined the insurrection. These measures soon caused a general rising of all parties; and the royalists availed themselves of the movements which the Girondists had commenced. Lyons became the centre of the insurrection of the royalists. This city was strongly attached to the ancient order of things: its manufactures in silk, and embroidery in gold and silver, rendered it dependent on the higher classes: it was necessary therefore to declare in good time against a social innovation which confounded old relations, and which, in degrading the nobility and clergy, destroyed its trade. Thus Lyons in 1790, even under the constituent assembly, when the emigrant princes were in its neighbourhood (at the court of Turin) had made attempts at insurrection. Although these attempts, directed by the nobility and clergy, had been repressed, the spirit still remained the same. There, as elsewhere, after the 10th of August, a revolution by the multitude, and the establishment of its government, had been attempted. Châlier, a fanatical imitator of Marat, was at the head of the Jacobins, the sans-culottes, and the municipality of Lyons. His audacity had increased since the massacres of September and the 21st of January. Nothing however had yet been decided between the lower class of republicans and the middle class of royalists, one of whom possessed the seat of power in the municipality, and the other in the sections. But the contest having become more violent towards the end of May, they fought, and the sections prevailed. The municipality was besieged and taken by storm. Châlier, who withdrew himself, was taken, and some time afterwards executed. The sections not being yet in a situation to throw off their dependence on the convention, excused themselves for what had occurred, by the necessity in which the Jacobins and the members of the municipality had placed them of resorting to violence. The convention, whose existence depended on its boldness, would not listen to them. During these transactions the events of June took place, the insurrection of the Calvados became generally known, and the Lyonese, thus encouraged, no longer hesitated to raise the standard of revolt. They put their city in a state of defence; they raised fortifications, formed an army of twenty thousand men, received emigrants amongst them, gave the command of their forces to the royalist Précy and to the marquis de Virieux, and concerted their intended operations with the king of Sardinia.

The revolt of Lyons was the more to be feared by the convention, because, being in the centre of France, it was supported by the south, which took arms, whilst the west was also in motion. At Marseilles the news of the 31st of May had raised the partisans of the Gironde. Rebecqui had resorted thither in great haste; the sections had become re-united; the mem-

(1) Some of the answers of this heroic girl, when before the revolutionary tribunal, are as follow:—"What was your design in killing Marat?"—"To put an end to the troubles of France."—"Is it long since you formed this project?"—"Since the affair of the 31st of May, the day of the proscription of the deputies of the people."—"From you learned from the journals that Marat was an anarchist?"—"Yes, I know that it was he who corrupted France. I have killed," said she, raising her voice to a high pitch, "one man, to save a hundred thousand; a depraved wretch, to save the innocent; a ferocious monster, to procure peace to my country. I was a republican before the revolution, and I never wanted energy."

bers of the revolutionary tribunal were put out of the protection of the law ; the two representatives, Baux and Antihoul, were arrested ; and an army of ten thousand men raised to march against Paris. These measures proceeded from the royalists, who, as in other places, only waiting for an opportunity of restoring their party, had at first presented themselves under the semblance of republicans, and had ended by acting in their own character. They seized upon the sections ; and then the commotion no longer operated in favour of the Girondists, but of the counter-revolutionists. On perceiving the new direction of the insurrection, Rebecqui had thrown himself in despair into Marseilles. The insurgents took the road to Lyons, and their example was quickly followed by Toulon, Nismes, Montauban, and the principal towns of the south. In the Calvados the insurrection became distinguished by the same character of royalism, as soon as the marquis de Puisaye had, at the head of some troops, introduced himself into the ranks of the Girondists. The towns of Bordeaux, Nantes, Brest, and L'Orient, were favourable to those of the Gironde who were proscribed on the 2nd of June, and some actually declared for them ; but they afforded no effectual aid ; for they were either restrained by the Jacobin party, or diverted by the necessity of opposing the royalists in the west.

The latter, during this almost general rising of the departments, extended their enterprises. The Vendéans, after their first victories, had seized upon Bressuire, Argenton, and Thouars. Being entirely masters of their own country, they formed the design of occupying the frontiers, and of opening the road to the revolutionary part of France, as well as a communication with England. On the 6th of June the Vendean army, composed of forty thousand men, under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet, and Larochejaquelin, marched upon Saumur, which they carried with great spirit. They next prepared to attack and take Nantes, to secure the possession of their own country, and make themselves masters of the river Loire. Cathelineau departed from Saumur at the head of the Vendean troops, leaving a garrison there ; he took Angers, passed the Loire, made a feint of marching upon Tours and Mons, and then threw himself on the side of Nantes, which he attacked on the right bank, whilst Charette was to attack it on the left.

Every thing seemed to conspire to overthrow the convention. Its armies were beaten in the north and at the Pyrenees : at the same moment it was threatened by the Lyonese in the centre, the Marseillois in the south, the Girondists in one part of the west, and the Vendéans in the other. That military re-action which, after the brilliant campaign of Argonne and the Netherlands, had taken place in consequence more especially of the disagreement between Dumouriez and the Jacobins, and between the army and the government, had become much more decided since the defection of the general-in-chief. There was no longer agreement in their operations, ardour in the troops, or concert between the convention, now occupied with its own quarrels, and the dispirited generals. The wreck of Dumouriez's army had been collected together at the camp of Famars, under the command of Dampierre ; but they were compelled, after a defeat, to retire under the walls of Bouchain. Dampierre was killed. From Dunkirk to Givet, the frontier was threatened by a superior force. Custine was suddenly recalled from the Moselle to the army of the north ; but his presence did not re-establish affairs. Valenciennes, the key of France, was taken ; Condé shared the same fate ; and the army, driven from one position to another, retired behind the Scarpe in front of Arras, the last post for retreat between them and Paris. In another quarter Mayence, suffering from famine, and briskly pressed by the enemy, lost all hope of being relieved by the army of the Moselle, which was then reduced to a state of inaction ; and despairing of being able to hold out any longer, it capitulated. The situation of the republic could not be worse.

The convention was in some measure taken by surprise. It was disorganized, because it had just issued from a struggle ; and the government of the victors had not yet had sufficient time to become established. After the 2nd of June, before the danger became so pressing in the departments and

upon the frontiers, the Mountain had sent commissioners from all parts, and had begun to occupy itself with the constitution which had been so long expected, and from which it hoped so much. The Girondists had been desirous of having it decreed before the 21st of January, so that, by substituting the order of law for a state of revolution, they might save Louis XVI. They made a similar attempt before the 31st of May, that they might avert their own proscription. But the Mountainists had twice diverted the assembly from this discussion by two strokes of policy,—the sentence of Louis XVI., and the banishment of the Girondists: Being now masters of the field, they hastened to bring back the republicans to their party by decreeing the constitution. Héroult de Séchelles was the legislator of the Mountain, as Condorcet had been of the Gironde. In a few days this new constitution was adopted by the convention, and submitted to the acceptance of the primary assemblies. With the ideas which then prevailed on the subject of democratic government, its nature may be easily conceived. The constituents were looked upon as aristocrats: the law which they had established was considered as an infraction on the rights of the people—because it imposed conditions upon the exercise of political rights; because it did not establish the most absolute equality; because, by its provisions, deputies and magistrates were to be named by the electors, and the electors by the people; because in certain cases it limited the sovereignty of the nation, excluding a part of the active citizens from great public offices, and the lowest grade of the people from the functions of active citizens; lastly, instead of fixing population as the sole basis of rights, it was combined in all its operations with wealth. The constitutional law of 1793 established the pure government of the multitude: not only were the people acknowledged to be the source of all power, but the exercise of that power was delegated to them. A government without limits; an extremely rapid succession in the magistracy; direct elections, without any delegation, in which every one joined; primary assemblies, which met at an appointed time without being convened, which named representatives and controlled their acts; a national assembly annually renewed, and which was, properly speaking, nothing more than a committee of the primary assemblies:—such was this constitution. As it made over the government to the multitude, as it placed the power in a disorganized body, it would have been at all times impracticable; but at a period of general warfare it was peculiarly so. The faction of the Mountain, instead of extreme democracy, stood in need of the most absolute dictatorship. The constitution was no sooner made than suspended; and the revolutionary government, whilst they were amending it, was maintained until the peace.

During the discussion of the constitution, and when it was sent to the primary assemblies, the Mountain learned the extent of the danger with which it was threatened. Having to unite three or four parties in the interior, to put an end to civil wars of various kinds, to repair the disasters of the army, and to repel the whole of Europe, these bold men were not intimidated at their situation. The representatives of forty-four thousand municipalities came to accept the constitution. Having, when admitted to the bar of the assembly, signified the consent of the people, they demanded the *arrest of all suspected persons, and a general rising of the people*. "Very well," exclaimed Danton, "let us consent to their wish! The deputies of the primary assemblies have begun to exercise amongst us the system of terror. I demand that the convention—which ought now to feel its whole dignity, for it has just been clothed with the whole authority of the nation—I demand that, by a decree, it invest the commissioners of the primary assemblies with the right to report the state of arms, of provisions, and of ammunition, to make an appeal to the people, to excite the energy of the citizens, and to put four hundred thousand men in requisition. It is by the sound of our cannon that we must make our constitution known to our enemies! This is the time to take that great and last oath, that we will die or annihilate the tyrants!" The oath was immediately taken by every one of the deputies and citizens in the hall. A few days afterwards, Barrere, in the name of the committee of Public Safety

—which was revolutionarily composed, and which became the centre of operations, and the power which governed the assembly—proposed still more general measures. “Liberty,” said he, “is become the creditor of every citizen; the industry of some, the fortune of others, are due to her; these owe her their counsels, those their arms—all owe her their blood. Thus, then, every Frenchman, each sex, all ages, are called by their country to the defence of liberty. Every physical and moral faculty, all the powers of policy or industry, belong to her; every metal, all the elements, are her tributaries. Let every one occupy his post in the national and military commotion which is now preparing. The young men shall fight; the married men shall forge arms, transport the baggage and artillery, and prepare the provisions; the women shall make clothes and tents for the soldiers, and extend their kind offices to the wounded in the hospitals. Children shall manufacture lint for them; and the old men shall resume the occupation which they had amongst the ancients, shall cause themselves to be carried into the public places, where they shall excite the courage of the youthful warriors, infuse into all a hatred of kings, and propagate the unity of the republic. The national buildings shall be converted into barracks, the market-places into workshops; cellars shall be used for preparing saltpetre; all the saddle-horses will be required for the cavalry, all the carriage-horses for the artillery; fowling-pieces, bayonets, and pikes, shall be appropriated for the service of the interior. The republic is nothing more than a great city besieged; France must be nothing more than one vast camp.” The measures proposed by Barrère were instantly decreed: all Frenchmen from eighteen to twenty-five years of age took arms; the armies were recruited by levies of men, and contributions of provisions were levied for their support. The republic had soon forty armies, and twelve hundred thousand soldiers. France became on the one hand a camp and a workshop for the republicans, and on the other a prison for the disaffected. In marching against their avowed enemies, they determined to secure their secret ones; and the famous *law of the suspected* was carried. Strangers were arrested on account of their plots; and the partisans of the constitutional monarchy or of a moderate republic were imprisoned, that they might be secured until the peace. This at the present time was but a measure of precaution. Merchants, citizens, the middling class, furnished prisoners after the 31st of May, as the nobility and clergy had done after the 10th of August. A revolutionary army of six thousand soldiers and one thousand artillerymen was created for the interior. Every poor citizen was allowed forty sous a day, that he might assist in the assemblies of the sections. Certificates of citizenship were delivered, that they might be assured of the opinions of those who co-operated in the revolutionary movement. They placed the public functionaries under the inspection of the clubs, and formed a revolutionary committee in each section; on every side they presented a bold front, both to their enemies abroad and the insurgents at home.

Those of the Calvados were easily subdued; at the first onset at Vernon the insurgent troops took to flight. Wimphen attempted to rally them, but without success. The moderate class, who had joined in the defence of the Gironde, exhibited little ardour, and rendered no effectual aid. When the constitution was generally adopted by the departments, this class availed itself of that opportunity to acknowledge its error in having supposed that it was rising against a factious minority. This retraction occurred at Caen, which had been the centre of the revolt. The commissioners of the Mountain did not stain their first victory by executions. On the other side, general Carteaux, at the head of some troops, marched against the army of the southern sections: he remained master of the field in two engagements, pursued it to Marseilles, and entered the town at its heels. Provence would have been subdued like the Calvados, if the royalists, who had sought refuge in Toulon after their defeat, had not called the English to their assistance, and placed in their hands this key of France. Admiral Hood took possession of the town in the name of Louis XVII., whom he proclaimed

king, disarmed the fleet, transported thither eight thousand Spaniards by sea, occupied the surrounding forts, and compelled Carteaux, who was advancing against Toulon, to fall back upon Marseilles.

Notwithstanding this reverse, the Constitutionalists had contrived to isolate the insurrection, and thus effected an important object. The commissioners of the Mountain had made their entrance into the revolted capitals: Robert Lindet into Caen, Talien into Bordeaux; Barras and Fréron into Marseilles. There were only two towns to take, Toulon and Lyons. They ceased to fear a concerted attack from the south, the west, and the centre; and in the interior all their enemies were upon the defensive. Lyons was besieged by Kellermann, the general of the army of the Alps; three corps pressed the town on all sides. The old soldiers of the Alps, the revolutionary battalions, and the newly-levied troops, poured in every day to the assistance of the assailants; but the Lyonese defended themselves with a courage derived from despair. At first they relied upon the aid of the southern insurgents; but the latter having been driven back by Carteaux, the Lyonese turned their last hopes to the side of the Piedmontese army, who attempted a diversion in their favour; but they were beaten by Kellermann. Being more warmly pressed, their first positions were carried. Famine made its appearance amongst them, and their courage fell. The royalist leaders, convinced of the uselessness of longer resistance, quitted the town; and the republican army entered its walls, where they awaited the orders of the convention. Some months afterwards Toulon itself, defended by seasoned troops and formidable fortifications, fell into the hands of the republicans. The battalions of the army of Italy, reinforced by those whom the defeat of the Lyonese rendered disposable, attacked the town with great ardour. After repeated attacks, and prodigies of valour and skill, they made themselves masters of it: the capture of Toulon completed what that of Lyons had begun.

The convention was every where victorious. The Vendéans had failed in their enterprise against Nantes, after having experienced the loss of many men, and of their commander Cathelineau. This was the last of their aggressive operations; and from that period the fortune of the Vendean insurrection declined. The royalists re-passed the Loire, abandoned Saumur, and resumed their old cantonments: they were however still very formidable; and the republicans who pursued them were once more defeated on Vendean ground.

General Biron, who had succeeded Berruyer, continued the war by small bodies of troops with great disadvantage. His moderation and his bad system of attack occasioned his being superseded by Canclaux and Rossignol, who were not however more successful. There were two chiefs, two armies, and two centres of operation; one at Nantes and the other at Saumur, places under the influence of different parties. General Canclaux could not agree with general Rossignol, nor the commissary of the moderate party of the Mountain, Philippeaux, with Bourlotte, the commissary of the committee of Public Safety; and this attempt at invasion failed, like the former: ones, from want of concert in their measures and union in their operations. The committee of Public Safety soon supplied a remedy in appointing Lescure commander-in-chief, and in introducing war on a larger scale into La Vendée. This new method, seconded by the garrison of Mayence, consisting of seventeen thousand veterans who, being no longer able to serve against the coalition after their capitulation, were employed in the interior, changed the face of the war. The royalists experienced four successive defeats; two at Châtillon, and two at Cholet. Lescure, Bonchamps, and d'Elbée, were mortally wounded; and the insurgents, totally defeated in Upper Vendée, fearing, if they took refuge in the Lower, that they should be exterminated, decided upon quitting their country, to the number of eighty thousand. This emigration across Brittany, in which they hoped to effect an insurrection, proved fatal to them. Repulsed before Granville, completely routed at Mons, they were destroyed at Savenay; and of the wreck of this vast emigration, a few thousand men, with difficulty, re-entered La

Vendée. These irreparable disasters of the royalist cause, the capture of the island of Noirmoutiers from Charette, the dispersion of the troops of this chief, and the death of La Rochejacquelin, rendered the republicans masters of the country. The committee of Public Safety thinking, not without cause, that its enemies, although subdued, were not disposed to submission, adopted a terrible system of extermination, to prevent their recovering themselves. General Thurreau surrounded the reduced La Vendée with sixteen entrenched camps; twelve columns, known by the name of the *infernal columns*, scoured the country with fire and sword, explored the woods, carried off those who were collected together, and spread terror throughout this unfortunate country.

The foreign armies had also been driven from the frontiers which they had invaded. After having taken Valenciennes and Condé, blockaded Maubeuge and Le Quesnoy, the enemy had marched upon Cassel, Hondscoote, and Furnes, under the command of the duke of York. The committee of Public Safety, dissatisfied with Custines, who was also suspected to be a Girondist, replaced him by general Houchard. The enemy, until that period victorious, was defeated at Hondscoote, and forced to retreat. A military re-action commenced with the decisive measures of the committee of Public Safety. Houchard himself was dismissed. Jourdan took the command of the army of the north, gained the important victory of Watignies against the prince of Cobourg, forced the enemy to raise the siege of Maubeuge, and re-assumed the offensive on this frontier. The same was effected upon all the other frontiers. The memorable campaign of 1793 and 1794 was opened: what Jourdan did with the army of the north, Hoche and Pichegru did with the army of the Moselle, and Kellermann with that of the Alps. The enemy was every where repulsed and every where held in. The same thing which occurred after the 10th of August, took place after the 31st of May. The harmony which had been interrupted between the generals and the leaders of the assembly was re-established; the revolutionary action, which had abated, again increased; and victory, suspended during this long period, returned to them.

During the continuance of this war, the committee of Public Safety abandoned itself to the most terrible executions. Armies destroy only on the field of battle: it is a different thing with parties who, in violent situations, fearing that the struggle may be renewed even after victory, fortify themselves against new attempts by the most inexorable rigour. "The name of Lyons," said Barrère, "ought no longer to exist. You will call it *Villeneuve*;" *Affranchis* (freed town); and upon the ruins of this infamous city a monument shall be raised which will attest the crime and the punishment of the "enemies of liberty. A single word will speak the whole: *Lyons made war against Liberty—Lyons is no more.*" In order to realize this frightful denunciation, the committee sent Collot-d'Herbois, Fouché, and Conthon into this devoted town, who demolished its buildings and butchered the inhabitants with cannon. The insurgents of Toulon experienced from their representatives, Barras and Fréron, almost a similar fate. At Caen, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, the executions were less general and less violent; for they were proportioned to the importance of the insurrection, which was interior and not connected with foreign enemies.

In the centre, the dictatorial government aimed a blow at the highest and most distinguished in all the parties with which they were engaged. The condemnation of the queen, Marie Antoinette, was directed against Europe; that of the *twenty-two*, against the Gironde; that of the enlightened Bailly, against the old Constitutionals; lastly, that of the duke of Orleans, against certain members of the Mountain who were supposed to have entered into a combination to effect his elevation. The unfortunate widow of Louis XVI. was the first who was sent to the scaffold by the sanguinary tribunal of the revolution. Those who were proscribed on the 2nd of June very soon followed: she perished on the 16th of October, and the Girondist deputies on the 31st. There were among the *twenty-two*, Brissot, Vergniaud, Genouillon, Fonfrède, Ducos, Valazé, Lassoche, Sillery, Gardien, Carra, Duprat,

Beauvais, Duchâtel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Boileau, Lehardy, Antiboul, and Vigée. Seventy-three of their colleagues, who had protested against their arrest, were also imprisoned; but they durst not inflict upon them the same punishment. During the debates, these illustrious accused displayed the most calm and sustained courage. The eloquent voice of Vergniaud was heard for an instant, but in vain. Valazé, on hearing his sentence, dispatched himself with a poniard; and Lasource exclaimed to the judges—"I die at a moment when the people have lost their reason; you will die the day they shall recover it." The prisoners went to their punishment with all the stoicism of that time.

Almost all the chiefs of the Girondist party experienced an unhappy fate. Salles, Guadet, and Barbaroux, were discovered in the caves of Saint Emilion near Bourdeaux, and they perished upon the popular scaffold. Petion and Buzot, after having wandered about for some time, put an end to their own existence: they were found dead in a field, half devoured by wolves. Rabaud St. Etienne was betrayed by an old friend. Madame Roland was also condemned, and displayed the courage of a Roman matron. Her husband, on hearing of her death, quitted his place of concealment, and killed himself upon the highway. Condorcet, who was outlawed, some time after the 2nd of June, was discovered as he was flying from the executioner, and he only escaped the scaffold by the aid of poison. Louvet, Kervelegan, Lanjuinais, Henri La Rivière, Le Sage, Le Revilliere Lepeaux, were the only persons who awaited in secure retreat the end of this furious tempest.

LETTER XXV.

Dreadful state of France after the fall of the Girondists.—Complete reign of Terror.—Change of the Calendar.—Impious proceedings of the Convention—in the Abolition of Public Worship.—Projects of Robespierre,—who is at length opposed, defeated, and put to death.—A. D. 1794.

ON the fall of the party of the Gironde, the revolutionary government was formed. Before the 31st of May, the supreme power was neither in the ministry, in the commune, nor in the convention. The committee of Public Safety, which had been some time created in order to provide for the defence of the revolution by urgent and extraordinary measures, was an institution already in existence. Having received its appointment during the struggles between the two powerful parties, the Gironde and the Mountain, it had been composed of neutral conventionalists until the 31st of May; but at this time it became composed of ultra-members of the Mountain. Barrère remained, but Robespierre was chosen a member, and his party governed it by St. Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes. The tyrant now took upon himself that department which related to public opinion and the police. His associates distributed the remaining departments amongst themselves. St. Just took that of the *surveillance*, and denunciation of parties. Couthon that of violent propositions which required being mitigated in form:—the other two directed the proconsulships in the departments. Carnot filled the office of minister-at-war, whilst Cambon had the charge of the finances. Barrère was the daily orator and perpetual eulogist of the dictatorial committee. Below was placed, as an auxiliary in the details of the revolutionary administration, and in measures of minor importance, the committee of General Safety, composed in the same spirit as the great committee, having also twelve members re-eligible every three months, and perpetual in their functions. In the hands of these men, the whole revolutionary force was placed. Thus was created that terrible power which first destroyed the enemies of the Mountain, afterwards the Mountain and the commune, and which only ended in destroying itself.

One of the first measures of this new order of things was to establish an

entirely new era; to change the divisions of the year, the names of the months, and of the days. In place of the Christian calendar, they substituted that of the republican,—for the week, the decade, making every tenth day instead of Sunday, the day of rest. The new era was dated from the 22nd of September 1792, the epoch of the foundation of the republic. They had twelve equal months, consisting of thirty days each, which commenced on the 22nd of September, in the following order: Vendemaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, for the autumn; Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, for the winter; Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, for the spring; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor, for the summer. The five supernumerary days were thrown to the end of the year, to complete the whole, and they were called the Sans-Culotteides. The constitution of 1793 led to the republican calendar, and the republican calendar to the abolition of public worship, of which we shall presently speak. It will, however, be previously necessary to give you some account of a new contest which arose between the authors themselves of the catastrophe of the 31st of May.

The commune and the Mountain had effected the existing revolution in despite of the Girondists, and the committee alone had profited by it. During the five months of which we have been speaking, from June to November, the committee, having taken every measure of defence, had naturally become the first power in the republic. The contest having in some degree terminated, the commune aspired to rule the committee, and the Mountain determined not to be ruled by it.

The three distinguished champions who assumed the front in the Jacobin ranks, were Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. The first was pioniarded by Charlotte Corday, an enthusiastic young person, who had nourished, in a feeling betwixt lunacy and heroism, the ambition of ridding the world of a tyrant. Danton and Robespierre, reduced to a duumvirate, might have divided the power betwixt them. But Danton, far the more able and powerful-minded man, could not resist temptations to plunder and to revel; and Robespierre, who took care to preserve proof of his rival's speculations, a crime of a peculiarly unpopular character, and from which he seemed to keep his own hands pure, possessed thereby the power of ruining him whenever he should find it convenient. Danton married a beautiful woman, became a candidate for domestic happiness, withdrew himself for some time from state affairs, and quitted the stern and menacing attitude which he had presented to the public during the earlier stages of the revolution. Still his ascendancy, especially in the club of Cordeliers, was formidable enough to command Robespierre's constant attention, and keep awake his envy, which was like the worm that dieth not, though it did not draw down any indication of his immediate and active vengeance. A power, kindred also in crime, but more within his reach for the moment, was first to be demolished, ere Robespierre was to measure strength with his great rival.

This third party consisted of those who had possessed themselves of official situations in the commune of Paris, whose civic authority, and the implement which they commanded, in the revolutionary army, commanded by Roussin, gave them the power of marching, at a moment's warning, upon the convention, or even against the Jacobin club. It is true, these men, of whom Hébert, Chaumette, and others, were leaders, had never shown the least diffidence of Robespierre, but, on the contrary, had used all means to propitiate his favour. But the man whom a tyrant fears, becomes, with little farther provocation, the object of his mortal enmity. Robespierre watched, therefore, with vigilance, the occasion of overreaching and destroying this party, whose power he dreaded; and, singular to tell, he sought the means of accomplishing their ruin in the very extravagance of their revolutionary zeal, which shortly before he might have envied, as pushed farther than his own. But Robespierre did not want sense; and he saw with pleasure Hébert, Chaumette, and their followers, run into such inordinate extravagancies, as he thought might render his own interference desirable, even to those who most disliked his principles, most abhorred the paths by which he had climbed to power, and most feared the use which he made of it.

It was through the subject of religion that this means of ruining his opponents, as he hoped, arose. A subject which one would have thought so indifferent to either, came to be on both sides the occasion of quarrel between the commune of Paris and the Jacobin leader. But there is a fanaticism of atheism, as well as of superstitious belief; and a philosopher can harbour and express as much malice against those who persevere in believing what he is pleased to denounce as unworthy of credence, as an ignorant and bigoted priest can bear against a man who cannot yield faith to dogmata which he thinks insufficiently proved. Accordingly, the throne being totally annihilated, it appeared to the philosophers of the school of Hebert, that in totally destroying such vestiges of religion and public worship as were still retained by the people of France, there was room for a splendid triumph of liberal opinions. It was not enough, they said, for a regenerate nation to have dethroned earthly kings, unless she stretched out the arm of defiance towards those powers which superstition had represented as reigning over boundless space.

An unhappy man, named Gobet, constitutional bishop of Paris, was brought forward to play the principal part in the most impudent and scandalous farce ever acted in the face of a national representation.

It is said that the leaders of the scene had some difficulty in inducing the bishop to comply with the task assigned him, which, after all, he executed, not without present tears and subsequent remorse. But he did play the part prescribed. He was brought forward in full procession, to declare to the convention, that the religion which he had taught so many years, was, in every respect, a piece of priestcraft, which had no foundation either in history or sacred truth. He disowned, in solemn and explicit terms, the existence of the Deity to whose worship he had been consecrated, and devoted himself in future to the homage of liberty, equality, virtue, and morality. He then laid on the table his episcopal decorations, and received a fraternal embrace from the president of the convention. Several apostate priests followed the example of this prelate.

The gold and silver plate of the churches was seized upon and desecrated; processions entered the convention, travestied in priestly garments, and singing the most profane hymns; while many of the chalices and sacred vessels were applied by Chaumette and Hebert, to the celebration of their own impious orgies. The world, for the first time, heard an assembly of men, born and educated in civilization, and assuming the right to govern one of the finest of the European nations, uplift their united voice to deny the most solemn truth which man's soul receives, and renounce unanimously the belief and worship of a Deity. For a short time the same mad profanity continued to be acted upon.

One of the ceremonies of this insane time stands unrivalled for absurdity, combined with impiety. The doors of the convention were thrown open to a band of musicians; preceded by whom, the members of the municipal body entered in solemn procession, singing a hymn in praise of liberty, and escorting, as the object of their future worship, a veiled female, whom they termed the Goddess of Reason. Being brought within the bar, she was unveiled with great form, and placed on the right hand of the president; when she was generally recognized as a dancing girl of the opera, with whose charms most of the persons present were acquainted, from her appearance on the stage, while the experience of individuals was farther extended. To this person, as the fittest representative of that reason whom they worshipped, the national convention of France rendered public homage.

This impious and ridiculous mummery had a certain fashion; and the installation of the Goddess of Reason was renewed and imitated throughout the nation, in such places where the inhabitants desired to show themselves equal to all the heights of the revolution. The churches were, in most districts of France, closed against priests and worshippers—the bells were broken and cast into cannon—the whole ecclesiastical establishment destroyed—and the republican inscription over the cemeteries, declaring death to

be perpetual sleep, announced to those who lived under that dominion, that they were to hope no redress even in the next world.

Intimately connected with these laws affecting religion, was that which reduced the union of marriage, the most sacred engagement which human beings can form, and the permanence of which leads most strongly to the consolidation of society, to the state of a mere civil contract of a transitory character, which any two persons might engage in, and cast loose at pleasure, when their taste was changed, or their appetite gratified. If fiends had set themselves to work to discover a mode of most effectually destroying whatever is venerable, graceful, or permanent in domestic life, and of obtaining at the same time an assurance that the mischief which it was their object to create, should be perpetuated from one generation to another, they could not have invented a more effectual plan than the degradation of marriage into a state of mere occasional cohabitation, or licensed concubinage. Sophie Arnould, an actress famous for the witty things she said, described the republican marriage as the sacrament of adultery.

These anti-religious and anti-social regulations did not answer the purpose of the frantic and inconsiderate zealots by whom they had been urged forward. Hebert and Chaumette had outrun the spirit of the time, evil as that was, and had contrived to get beyond the sympathy even of those, who, at heart as vicious and criminal as they, had still the sagacity to fear, or the taste to be disgusted with, this overstrained tone of outrageous impiety. Perhaps they might have other motives for condemning so gross a display of irreligion. The most guilty of men are not desirous, generally speaking, totally to disbelieve and abandon all doctrines of religious faith. They cannot, if they would, prevent themselves from apprehending a future state of retribution; and little effect as such feeble glimmering of belief may have on their lives, they will not in general willingly throw away the slight chance, that it may be possible, on some occasion, to reconcile themselves to the church or to the Deity. This hope even to those on whom it has no salutary influence, resembles the confidence given to a sailor, during a gale of wind, by his knowing that there is a port under his lee. His purpose may be never to run for the haven, or he may judge there is great improbability that by doing so he should reach it in safety; yet still, such being the case, he would esteem himself but little indebted to any one who should blot the harbour of refuge out of the chart. To all those who, in various degrees, received and believed the great truths of religion, on which those of morality are dependent, the professors of those wild absurdities became objects of contempt, dislike, hatred, and punishment.

The spirit of re-action increased, and was strengthened by Robespierre's influence now thrown into the scale against the commune. The principal leaders in the commune, many of whom seem to have been foreigners, and among the rest the celebrated Anacharsis Clootz, were arrested, the 22nd of March, 1794.

The case of these men was singular, and would have been worthy of pity had it applied to any but such worthless wretches. They were accused of almost every species of crime, which seemed such in the eyes of a Sans-Culotte. Much there was that could be only understood metaphysically, much there was of literal falsehood, but little or nothing like a distinct or well-grounded accusation of a specific criminal fact. The charge bore, that they were associates of Pitt and Cobourg, and had combined against the sovereignty of the people—loaded them with the intention of thereby starving Paris—with that of ridiculing the convention, by a set of puppets dressed up to imitate that scarce less passive assembly—and much more to the same purpose, consisting of allegations that were totally unimportant, or totally unproved. But nothing was said of the rivalry to Robespierre, which was the true cause of their trial, and as little of their revolutionary murders, being the ground on which they really deserved their fate. Something was talked of pillage, at which Roussin, the commandant of the revolutionary army, lost all patience. "Do they talk to me of pilfering?" he says—"Dare they accuse such a man as I am, of a theft of bed and bodily linen?"

“Do they bring against me a charge of petty larceny—against me, who have had all their throats at my disposal?”

The accused persons were convicted and executed, to the number of nineteen. From that time the city of Paris lost the means of being so pre-eminent in the affairs of France, as her commune had formerly rendered her. The power of the magistracy was much broken by the reduction of the revolutionary army, which the convention dissolved as levied upon false principles, and as being rather a metropolitian than a national force, and one which was easily applied to serve the purposes of a party.

The Hebertists being removed, Robespierre had yet to combat and defeat a more formidable adversary. The late conspirators had held associations with the club of Cordeliers, with which Danton was supposed to have particular relations, but they had not experienced his support, which in policy he ought to have extended to them. He had begun to separate his party and his views too distinctly from his old friends and old proceedings. He imagined, falsely as it proved, that his bark could sail as triumphantly upon waves composed only of water, as on those of blood. He and others seem to have been seized with a loathing against the continued acts of cruelty, as if they had been gorged and nauseated by the constant repetition. Danton spoke of mercy and pardon; and his partisan, Camille Desmoulins, in a very ingenious parody upon Tacitus, drew a comparison between the tyrants and informers of the French Jacobin government, and those of the Roman imperial court. The parallels were most ably drawn, and Robespierre and his agents might read their own characters in those of the most odious wretches of that odious time. From these aggressions, Danton seemed to meditate the part which Tallien afterwards adopted, of destroying Robespierre and his power, and substituting a mode of government which should show some regard at least to life and to property. But he was too late in making his movement; Robespierre was beforehand with him; and, on the morning of the 31st of March, the Parisians and the members of the convention hardly dared whisper to each other, that Danton, whose name had been as formidable as the sound of the tocsin, had been arrested like any poor ex-noble, and was in the hands of the fatal lictors.

There was no end of exclamation and wonder; for Danton was the great apostle, the very Mahomet of Jacobinism. His gigantic stature, his huge and ferocious physiognomy, his voice which struck terror in its notes of distant thunder, and the energies of talent and vehemence mingled, which supplied that voice with language worthy of its deep tones. were such as became the prophet of that horrible and fearful sect. Marat was a madman, raised into consequence only by circumstances,—Robespierre a cold, creeping, calculating hypocrite, whose malignity resembled that of a paltry and second-rate fiend,—but Danton was a character for Shakespeare or Schiller to have drawn in all its broad lights and shades; or Bruce could have sketched from him a yet grander *Ras Michael* than he of *Tigre*. His passions were a hurricane, which furious, regardless, and desolating in its course, had yet its intervals of sunshine and repose. Neither good by nature, nor just by principle or political calculation, men were often surprised at finding he still possessed some feelings of generosity, and some tendency even towards magnanimity. Early habits of profligate indulgence, the most complete stifier of human virtue, and his implication at the beginning of his career with the wretched faction of Orléans, made him, if not a worse, certainly a meaner villain than nature had designed him; for his pride must have saved him from much, which he yielded to from the temptations of gross indulgence, and from the sense of narrow circumstances. Still, when Danton fell under Robespierre, it seemed as if the mousing-owl had hawked at and struck an eagle, or at least a high-soaring vulture. His avowed associates lamented him of course; nay, Legendre and others, by undertaking his defence in the convention, and arrogating for him the merit of those violent measures which had paved the way to the triumph of Jacobinism, showed more consistency in their friendship than these ferocious demagogues manifested on any other occasion.

Danton, before his fall, seemed to have lost much of his sagacity as well as energy. He had full warning of his danger from La Croix, Westermann, and others; yet took no steps either for escape or defence, though either seemed in his power. Still his courage was in no degree abated, or his haughty spirit tamed; although he seemed to submit passively to his fate with the disheartening conviction, which often unmans great criminals, that his hour was come.

Danton's process was, of course, a short one. He and his comrades, Camille Desmoulins, Westermann, and La Croix, were dragged before the revolutionary tribunal, a singular accomplishment of the prophecy of the Girondist, Boyer Fonfrede. This man had exclaimed to Danton, under whose auspices that engine of arbitrary power was established, "You insist, then, upon erecting this arbitrary judgment-seat? Be it so; and, like the tormenting engine devised by Phalaris, may it not fail to consume its inventors?" As judges, witnesses, accusers, and guards, Danton was now surrounded by those who had been too humble to aspire to be companions of his atrocities, and held themselves sufficiently honoured in becoming his agents. They looked on his unstooping pride and unshaken courage, as timid spectators of a lion in a cage, while they still doubt the security of the bars, and have little confidence in their own personal safety. He answered, to the formal interrogatories concerning his name and dwelling, "My dwelling will be soon with annihilation—my name will live in the pantheon of history." Camille Desmoulins, Herault les Sechelles, Fabre d'Eglantine, men of considerable literary talent, and amongst the few Jacobins who had any real pretension to such accomplishments, shared his fate. Westermann was also numbered with them, the same officer who directed the attack on the palace of the Tuileries on the 10th of August, and who afterwards was distinguished by so many victories and defeats in La Vendée, that he was called, from his activity, the scourge of that district.

Their accusation was, as in all such cases at the period, an olla podrida, if we can be allowed the expression, in which every criminal ingredient was mixed up; but so incoherently mingled and assembled together, so inconsistent with each other, and so obscurely detailed in the charge and in the proof, that it was plain that malignant falsehood had made the gruel thick and slab. Had Danton been condemned for his real crimes, the doom ought, in justice, to have involved judges, jurors, witnesses, and most of the spectators in the court.

Robespierre became much alarmed for the issue of the trial. The Convention showed reviving signs of spirit; and when a revolutionary deputation demanded at the bar, that death should be the order of the day, and reminded them, that, had they granted the moderate demand of three hundred thousand heads, when requested by the philanthropic, and now canonized Marat, they would have saved the republic the wars of La Vendée, they were received with discouraging murmurs. Tallien, the president, informed them, that not death, but justice, was the order of the day; and the petitioners, notwithstanding the patriotic turn of their modest request, were driven from the bar with execrations.

This looked ill; but the power of Robespierre was still predominant with the revolutionary tribunal, and after a gallant, and unusually long defence, (of which no notice was permitted to appear in the *Moniteur*,) Danton and his associates were condemned, and carried to instant execution. They maintained their firmness, or rather hardenedness of character to the last; and when Danton observed Fabre d'Eglantine beginning to look gloomy, he cheered him with a play on words: "Courage, my friend," he said, in his deep sullen tone of voice; "we are all about to take up your trade—*Nous allons faire des vers*." The sufferers on this occasion, were men whose accomplishments and talents attracted a higher degree of sympathy than that which had been given to the equally eloquent but less successful Girondists. Even honest men looked on the fate of Danton with some regret, as when a furious bull is slain with a slight blow by a crafty Tauridor; and many men of good feelings had hoped, that the cause of order and security might at

least have been benefited, in some degree, by his obtaining the victory in a struggle with Robespierre. Those, on the other hand, who followed the fortunes of the latter, conceived his power had been rendered permanent, by the overthrow of his last and most formidable rival, and exalted in proportion. Both were deceived in their calculations. The predominance of such a man as Danton, might possibly have protracted the reign of Jacobinism, even by rendering it somewhat more endurable; but the permanent, at least the ultimate success of Robespierre, was becoming more impossible, from the repeated decimations to which his jealousy subjected his party. He was like the wild chief, Lope d'Aguirre, whose story is so well told by Southey, who, descending the great river Orellana with a party of buccaneers, cut off one part of his followers after another, in doubt of their fidelity, until the remainder saw no chance for escaping a similar fate, unless by being beforehand with their leader in murder.

Alluding to Robespierre's having been the instrument of his destruction, Danton had himself exclaimed, "The cowardly poltroon! I am the only person who could have commanded influence enough to save him." And the event showed that he spoke with the spirit of prophecy which the approach of fate has been sometimes thought to confer.

Meanwhile the despot, whose looks made even the democrats of the Mountain tremble, when directed upon them, shrunk himself before the apprehended presence of a young female. Cecile Regnaud, a girl, and, as it would seem unarmed, came to his house and demanded to see Robespierre. Her manner exciting some suspicion, she was seized upon by the body-guard of Jacobins, who day and night watched the den of the tyrant, amidst riot and blasphemy, while he endeavoured to sleep under the security of their neighbourhood. When the young woman was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, she would return no answer to the questions respecting her purpose, excepting that she wished to see what a tyrant was like. She was condemned to the guillotine of course; and about sixty persons were executed as associates of a conspiracy, which was never proved, by deed or word, to have existed at all. The victims were drawn at hazard out of the prisons, where most of them had been confined for months previous to the arrest of Cecile Regnaud, on whose account they were represented as suffering. Many have thought the crime entirely imaginary, and only invented by Robespierre, to represent his person as endangered by the plots of the aristocracy, and attach to himself a part at least of the consequence which Marat had acquired by the act of Charlotte Corday.

A few weeks brought on a sterner encounter than that of the supposed female assassin. The Terrorists were divided among themselves. The chosen and ancient bands of the 10th of August, 2nd of September, and 31st of May, and other remarkable periods of the revolution, continued attached to the Jacobins, and the majority of the Jacobin club adhered to Robespierre; it was there his strength consisted. On the other hand, Tallien, Barras, Legendre, Fouché, and others of the Mountain party, remembered Danton, and feared for a similar fate. The Convention at large were sure to embrace any course which promised to free them from their present thralldom.

The people themselves were beginning to be less passive. They no longer saw the train of victims pass daily to the guillotine, in the Place de la Revolution, with stupid wonder or overwhelming fear, but, on the contrary, with the sullenness of manifest resentment, that waited but an opportunity to display itself. The citizens in the Rue St. Honoré shut up their shops at the hours when the fatal tumbrils passed to the scene of death, and that whole quarter of the city was covered with gloom.

These ominous feelings were observed, and the fatal engine was removed to a more obscure situation, at the Barrier de la Troise, near the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, to the inhabitants of which it was thought a daily spectacle of this nature must be an interesting relief from labour. But even the people of that turbulent suburb had lost some of their republican zeal—the men's feelings were altered. They saw, indeed, blood stream in such quantities,

that it was necessary to make an artificial conduit to carry it off; but they did not feel that they, or those belonging to them, received any advantages from the number of victims, daily immolated, as they were assured, in their behalf. The constant effusion of blood, without plunder or licence to give it zest, disgusted them, as it would have disgusted all but literal cannibals, to whose sustenance, indeed, the revolutionary tribunal would have contributed plentifully.

Robespierre saw all this increasing unpopularity with much anxiety. He plainly perceived that strong as its impulse was, the stimulus of terror began to lose its effect on the popular mind; and he resolved to give it novelty, not by changing the character of his system, but by varying the mode of its application. Hitherto, men had only been executed for political crimes, although the circle had been so vaguely drawn, and capable of such extension when desired, that the law regarding suspected persons, was alone capable of desolating a whole country. But if the penalty of death were to be inflicted for religious and moral delinquencies, as well as for crimes directed against the state, it would at once throw the lives of thousands at his disposal, upon whom he could have no ready hold on political motives, and meant to support, at the same time, his newly assumed character as a reformer of manners. He would also thus escape the disagreeable and embarrassing necessity, of drawing lines of distinction betwixt his own conduct and that of the old friends whom he found it convenient to sacrifice. He could not say he was less a murderer than the rest of his associates, but he might safely plead more external decency of morals. His own manners had always been reserved and austere; and what a triumph would it have been, had the laws permitted him the benefit of slaying Danton, not under that political character which could hardly be distinguished from his own, but on account of the gross speculation and debauchery, which none could impute to the austere and incorruptible Robespierre.

His subordinate agents began already to point to a reformation of manners. Payan, who succeeded Hebert in the important station of Procureur to the commune of the metropolis, had already adopted a very different line from his predecessor, whose style derived energy by printing at full length the foulest oaths, and most beastly expressions, used by the refuse of the people. Payan, on the contrary, in direct opposition to Pere Duchesne, is found gravely advising with the commune of Paris, on a plan of preventing the exposing of licentious prints and works to sale, to the evident danger of corrupting the rising generation.

There exists also a curious address from the convention, which tends to evince a similar purpose in the framer, Robespierre. The guilt of profane swearing, and of introducing the sacred name into ordinary speech, as an unmeaning and blasphemous expletive, is severely censured. The using indecent and vicious expressions, in common discourse is also touched upon; but as this unbounded energy of speech had been so very lately one of the most accredited marks of a true Sans-Culotte, the legislators were compelled to qualify their censure by admitting, that, at the commencement of the revolution, the vulgar mode of speaking had been generally adopted by patriots, in order to destroy the jargon employed by the privileged classes, and to *popularize*, as it was expressed, the general language of society. But these ends being effected, the speech of Republicans ought, it is said, to be simple, manly, and concise, but at the same time free from coarseness and violence.

From these indications, and the tenor of a decree to be hereafter quoted, it seems plain that Robespierre was about to affect a new character, not, perhaps, without the hope of finding a puritanic party in France, as favourable to his ambitious views as that of the Independents was to Cromwell. He might then have added the word *virtue* to liberty and equality, which formed the national programme, and, doubtless would have made it the pretext of committing additional crimes. The decree which we allude to was brought forward by the philanthropic Couthon, who, with his kindness of manner, rendered more impressive by a silver toned voice, and an affectation of extreme gentleness, tendered a law, extending the powers of the revolutionary

Tribunal, and the penalty of death, not only to all sorts of persons who should in any manner or way neglect their duty to the republic, or assist her enemies, but to the following additional classes: All who should have deceived the people or their representatives—all who should have sought to inspire discouragement into good citizens, or to favour the undertakings of tyrants—all who should spread false news—all who should seek to lead astray the public opinion, and to prevent the instruction of the people, or to debauch manners and corrupt the public conscience; or who should diminish the purity of revolutionary principles by counter-revolutionary works, &c. &c. &c.

It is evident, that compared with a law couched in terms so vague and general, so obscure and indefinite, the description of crimes concerning suspected persons was broad sunshine; that there was no Frenchman living who might not be brought within the danger of the decree, under one or other of those sweeping clauses; that a loose or careless expression, or the repetition of an inaccurate article of news, might be founded on as corrupting the public conscience, or misleading the public opinion; in short, that the slightest indulgence in the most ordinary functions of speech might be brought under this comprehensive edict, and so cost the speaker his life.

The decree sounded like a death-knell in the ears of the convention. All were made sensible that another decimation of the legislative body approached; and beheld with terror, that no provision was made in the proposed law for respecting the personal inviolability of the deputies, but that the obnoxious members of the convention, without costing Robespierre even the formality of asking a decree from their complaisant brethren, might be transferred like any ordinary individuals, to the butchery of the revolutionary tribunal, not only by the medium of either of the committees, but at the instance of the public prosecutor, or even of any of their own brethren of the representative body, who were acting under a commission. Ruamps, one of the deputies, exclaimed, in accents of despair, that if this decree were resolved upon, the friends of liberty had no other course left than to blow their own brains out.

The law passed for the night, in spite of all opposition; but the terrified deputies returned to the attack next day. The measure was again brought into debate, and the question of privileges was evasively provided for. At a third sitting the theme was renewed; and, after much violence, the fatal decree was carried, without any of the clogs which had offended Robespierre, and he attained possession of the fatal weapon, such as he had originally forged it.

From this moment there was mortal though secret war between Robespierre and the most distinguished members of the assembly, particularly those who had sate with him on the celebrated Mountain, and shared all the atrocities of Jacobinism. Collot d'Herbois, the demolisher of Lyons, and regenerator of Ville Franchie, threw his weight into the scale against his master; and several other members of both committees, which were Robespierre's own organs, began secretly to think on means of screening themselves from a power, which, like the huge Anaconda, enveloped in its coils, and then crushed and swallowed, whatever came in contact with it. The private progress of this schism cannot be traced; but it is said that the dictator found himself in a minority in the committee of Public Safety, when he demanded the head of Fouché, whom he had accused as a Dantonist in the convention and the Jacobin club. It is certain he had not attended the meeting of the committee for two or three weeks before his fall, leaving his interest there to be managed by Couthon and Saint Just.

Feeling himself thus placed in the lists against his ancient friends the Terrorists, the unfeeling tyrant endeavoured to acquire allies among the remains of the Girondists, who had been spared in contempt more than clemency, and permitted to hide themselves among the neutral party who occupied the plain, and who gave generally their votes on the prudential system of adhering to the stronger side.

Finding little countenance from this timid and long-neglected part of the

legislative body, Robespierre returned to his more steady supporters in the Jacobin club. Here he retained his supremacy, and was heard with enthusiastic applause; while he intimated to them the defection of certain members of the legislature from the true revolutionary course; complained of the inactivity and lukewarmness of the committees of public safety and public security, and described himself as a persecuted patriot, almost the solitary supporter of the cause of his country, and exposed for that reason to the blows of a thousand assassins.

"All patriots," exclaimed Couthon, "are brothers and friends! For my part, I invoke on myself the poniards destined against Robespierre." "So do we all!" exclaimed the meeting, unanimously. Thus encouraged, Robespierre urged a purification of the society, directing his accusations against Fouché and other members of the Mountain; and he received the encouragement he desired.

He next ascertained his strength among the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, and his willing agents among the reformed commune of Paris, which after the fall of Hebert and Chaumette, he had taken care to occupy with his most devoted friends. But still he knew that, in the storm which was about to arise, these out-of-door demagogues were but a sort of tritons of the mianows, compared to Tallien, Fouché, Barras, Collet d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and other deputies of distinguished powers, accustomed to make their voices heard and obeyed amid all the roar of revolutionary tempest. He measured and re-measured his force with theirs; and for more than six weeks avoided the combat, yet without making any overtures for reconciliation, in which, indeed, neither party would probably have trusted the other.

Meantime the dictator's enemies had also their own ground on which they could engage advantageously in these skirmishes, which were to serve as preludes to the main and fatal conflict. Vadier, on the part of the committee of public safety, laid before the convention, in a tone of bitter satirical ridicule, the history of the mystical meetings and formation of a religious sect under Catharine Theot, whose pretensions have been already hinted at. No mention was indeed made of Robespierre, or of the countenance he was supposed to have given to these fanatical intriguers. But the fact of his having done so was well known; and the shafts of Vadier were aimed with such malignant dexterity, that while they seemed only directed against the mystics of whom he spoke, they galled to the quick the High Pontiff, who had so lately conducted the new and singular system of worship which his influence had been employed to ingraft upon the genuine atheism natural to Jacobinism.

Robespierre felt he could not remain long in this situation—that there were no means of securing himself where he stood—that he must climb higher, or fall—and that every moment in which he supported insults and endured menaces without making his vengeance felt, brought with it a diminution of his power. He seems to have hesitated between combat and flight. Among his papers, according to the report of Courtois who examined them, was found an obscure intimation, that he had acquired a competent property, and entertained thoughts of retiring at the close of his horrible career, after the example of the celebrated Sylla. It was a letter from some unknown confidant, unsigned and undated, containing the following singular passage:—"You must employ all your dexterity to escape from the scene on which you are now once more to appear, in order to leave it for ever. Your having attained the president's chair will be but one step to the guillotine through a rabble who will spit upon you as you pass, as they did upon Egalité. Since you have collected a treasure sufficient to maintain you for a long time, as well as those for whom you have made provision, I will expect you with anxiety, that we may enjoy a hearty laugh together at the expense of a nation as credulous as it is greedy of novelty." If, however, he had really formed such a plan, which would not have been inconsistent with his base spirit, the means of accomplishing it were probably never perfected.

At length his fate urged him on to the encounter. Robespierre descended to the convention, where he had of late but rarely appeared, like the far nobler dictator of Rome; and in his case also, a band of senators was ready to poniard the tyrant on the spot, had they not been afraid of the popularity he was supposed to enjoy, and which they feared might render them instant victims to the revenge of the Jacobins. The speech which Robespierre addressed to the convention was as menacing as the first distant rustle of the hurricane, and dark and lurid as the eclipse which announces its approach. Anxious murmurs had been heard among the populace who filled the tribunes, or crowded the entrances of the hall of the convention, indicating that a second 31st of May (being the day on which the Jacobins proscribed the Girondists) was about to witness a similar operation.

The first theme of the gloomy orator was the display of his own virtues and his services as a patriot, distinguishing as enemies to their country all whose opinions were contrary to his own. He then reviewed successively the various departments of the government, and loaded them in turn with censure and contempt. He declaimed against the supineness of the committees of public safety and public security, as if the guillotine had never been in exercise; and he accused the committee of Finance of having *counter-revolutionized* the revenues of the Republic. He enlarged with no less bitterness on withdrawing the artillery-men (always violent Jacobins) from Paris, and on the mode of management adopted in the conquered countries of Belgium. It seemed as if he wished to collect within the same lists all the functionaries of the state, and in the same breath to utter defiance to them all.

The usual honorary motion was made to print the discourse; but then the storm of opposition broke forth, and many speakers vociferously demanded, that before so far adopting the grave inculpations which it contained, the discourse should be referred to the two committees. Robespierre in his turn exclaimed, that this was subjecting his speech to the partial criticism and revision of the very parties whom he had accused. Exculpations and defences were heard on all sides against the charges which had been thus sweepingly brought forward; and there were many deputies who complained in no obscure terms of individual tyranny, and of a conspiracy on foot to outlaw and murder such part of the convention as might be disposed to offer resistance. Robespierre was but feebly supported, except by Saint Just, Couthon, and by his own brother. After a stormy debate, in which the convention were alternately awayed by their fear and their hatred of Robespierre, the discourse was finally referred to the committees, instead of being printed; and the haughty and sullen dictator saw, in the open slight thus put on his measures and opinions, the sure mark of his approaching fall.

He carried his complaints to the Jacobin club, to repose, as he expressed it, his patriotic sorrows in their virtuous bosoms, where alone he hoped to find succour and sympathy. To this partial audience he renewed, in a tone of yet greater audacity, the complaints with which he had loaded every branch of the government, and the Representative body itself. He reminded those around him of various heroic eras, when their presence and their pikes had decided the votes of the trembling deputies. He reminded them of their pristine actions of revolutionary vigour—asked them if they had forgot the road to the convention, and concluded by pathetically assuring them, that if they forsook him, “he stood resigned to his fate; and they should behold with what courage he would drink the fatal hemlock.” The artist, David, caught him by the hand as he closed, exclaiming, in rapture at his elocution, “I will drink it with thee.”

The distinguished painter has been reproached, as having, on the subsequent day declined the pledge which he seemed so eagerly to embrace. But there were many of his original opinion, at the time he expressed it so boldly; and had Robespierre possessed either military talents, or even decided courage, there was nothing to have prevented him from placing himself that very night at the head of a desperate insurrection of the Jacobins and their followers.

Payan, the successor of Hebert, actually proposed that the Jacobins should

instantly march against the two committees, which Robespierre charged with being the focus of the anti-revolutionary machinations, surprise their handful of guards, and stifle the evil with which the state was menaced, even in the very cradle. This plan was deemed too hazardous to be adopted, although it was one of those sudden and master-strokes of policy which Machiavel would have recommended. The fire of the Jacobins spent itself in tumult and threatening, and in expelling from the bosom of their society Collot d'Herbois, Tallien, and about thirty other deputies of the Mountain party, whom they considered as specially leagued to effect the downfall of Robespierre, and whom they drove from their society with execrations, and even blows.

Collot d'Herbois, thus outraged, went straight from the meeting of the Jacobins to the place where the committee of public safety was still sitting, in consultation on the report which they had to make to the convention the next day upon the speech of Robespierre. Saint Just, one of their number, though warmly attached to the dictator, had been intrusted by the committee with the delicate task of drawing up that report. It was a step towards reconciliation; but the entrance of Collot d'Herbois, frantic with the insults he had received, broke off all hope of accommodation betwixt the friends of Danton and those of Robespierre. D'Herbois exhausted himself in threats against Saint Just, Couthon, and their master, Robespierre, and they parted on terms of mortal and avowed enmity. Every exertion was now used by the associated conspirators against the power of Robespierre, to collect, and combine against him the whole forces of the convention, to alarm the deputies of the Plain with fears for themselves, and to awaken the rage of the Mountaineers, against whose throat the dictator now waved the sword, which their short-sighted policy had placed in his hands. Lists of proscribed deputies were handed around, said to have been copied from the tablets of the dictator: genuine or false, they obtained universal credit and currency; and those whose names stood on the fatal scrolls, engaged themselves for protection in the league against their enemy. The opinion that his fall could not be delayed now became general.

This sentiment was so commonly entertained in Paris on the 9th Thermidor, or 27th of July, that a herd of about eighty victims, who were in the act of being dragged to the guillotine, were nearly saved by means of it. The people, in a generous burst of compassion, began to gather in crowds, and interrupted the melancholy procession, as if the power which presided over these hideous exhibitions had already been deprived of energy. But the hour was not come. The vile Henriot, commandant of the national guards, came up with fresh forces, and on the day destined to be the last of his own life, proved the means of carrying to execution this crowd of unhappy and doubtless innocent persons.

On this eventful day Robespierre arrived in the convention, and beheld the Mountain in close array and completely manned, while, as in the case of Catiline, the bench on which he himself was accustomed to sit, seemed purposely deserted. Saint Just, Couthon, Le Bas (his brother-in-law), and the younger Robespierre, were the only deputies of name who stood prepared to support him. But could he make an effectual struggle, he might depend upon the aid of the servile Barrere, a sort of Belial in the convention, the meanest, yet not the least able, amongst those fallen spirits, who, with great adroitness and ingenuity, as well as wit and eloquence, caught opportunities as they arose, and was eminently dexterous in being always strong upon the stroughest, and safe upon the safest side. There was a tolerably numerous party ready, in times so dangerous, to attach themselves to Barrere, as a leader who professed to guide them to safety if not to honour; and it was the existence of this varillating and uncertain body, whose ultimate motions could never be calculated upon, which rendered it impossible to presage with assurance the event of any debate in the convention during this dangerous period.

Saint Just arose, in the name of the committee of public safety, to make after his own manner, not theirs, a report on the discourse of Robespierre

on the previous evening. He had begun an harangue in the tone of his patron, declaring that, were the tribune which he occupied the Tarpeian rock itself, he would not the less, placed as he stood there, discharge the duties of a patriot.—“I am about,” he said, “to lift the veil.”—“I tear it asunder,” said Tallien, interrupting him. “The public interest is sacrificed by individuals, who come hither to speak exclusively in their own name, and conduct themselves as superior to the whole convention.” He forced Saint Just from the tribune, and a violent debate ensued.

Billaud Varennes called the attention of the assembly to the sitting of the Jacobin club on the preceding evening. He declared the military force of Paris was placed under the command of Henriot, a traitor and a parricide, who was ready to march the soldiers whom he commanded against the convention. He denounced Robespierre himself as a second Catiline, artful as well as ambitious, whose system it had been to nurse jealousies and inflame dissensions in the convention, so as to disunite parties, and even individuals, from each other, attack them in detail, and thus destroy those antagonists separately, upon whose combined and united strength he dared not have looked.

The convention echoed with applause every violent expression of the orator, and when Robespierre sprung to the tribune, his voice was drowned by a general shout of “Down with the tyrant!” Tallien moved the denunciation of Robespierre, with the arrest of Henriot, his staff-officers, and of others connected with the meditated violence on the convention. He had undertaken to lead the attack upon the tyrant, he said, and to poniard him in the convention itself, if the members did not show courage enough to enforce the law against him. With these words he brandished an unsheathed poniard, as if about to make his purpose good. Robespierre still struggled hard to obtain audience, but the tribune was adjudged to Barrere; and the part taken against the fallen dictator by that versatile and self-interested statesman, was the most absolute sign that his overthrow was irrecoverable. Torrents of invective were now uttered from every quarter of the hall, against him whose single word was wont to hush it into silence.

The scene was dreadful; yet not without its use to those who may be disposed to look at it as an extraordinary crisis, in which human passions were brought so singularly into collision. While the vaults of the hall echoed with exclamations from those who had hitherto been the accomplices, the flatterers, the followers, at least the timid and overawed assentators to the dethroned demagogue—he himself, breathless, foaming, exhausted, like the hunter of classical antiquity when on the point of being overpowered and torn to pieces by his own hounds, tried in vain to raise those screech-owl notes, by which the convention had formerly been terrified and put to silence. He appealed for a hearing from the president of the assembly, to the various parties of which it was composed. Rejected by the Mountaineers, his former associates, who now headed the clamour against him, he applied to the Girondists, few and feeble as they were, and to the more numerous but equally helpless deputies of the Plain, with whom they sheltered. The former shook him from them with disgust, the last with horror. It was in vain he reminded individuals that he had spared their lives, while at his mercy. This might have been applied to every member in the house; to every man in France; for who was it during two years that had lived on other terms than under Robespierre's permission? and deeply must he internally have regretted the clemency, as he might term it, which had left so many with ungnashed throats to bay at him. But his agitated and repeated appeals were repulsed by some with indignation, by others with sullen, or embarrassed and timid silence.

A British historian must say, that even Robespierre ought to have been heard in his defence: and that such calmness would have done honour to the convention, and dignified their final sentence of condemnation. As it was, they no doubt treated the guilty individual according to his deserts; but they fell short of that regularity and manly staidness of conduct which was due to themselves and to the law, and which would have given to the punishment of the demagogue the effect and weight of a solemn and deliberate sen-

tence, in place of its seeming the result of the hasty and precipitate seizure of a temporary advantage.

Haste was, however, necessary, and must have appeared more so at such a crisis than perhaps it really was. Much must be pardoned to the terrors of the moment, the horrid character of the culprit, and the necessity of hurrying to a decisive conclusion. We have been told that his last audible words, contending against the exclamations of hundreds, and the bell which the president was ringing incessantly, and uttered in the highest tones which despair could give to a voice naturally shrill and discordant, dwelt long on the memory, and haunted the dreams of many who heard him:—"President of assassins," he screamed, "for the last time I demand privilege of speech!"—After this exertion his breath became short and faint; and while he still uttered broken murmurs and hoarse ejaculations, the members of the Mountain called out, that the blood of Danton choked his voice.

The tumult was closed by a decree of arrest against Robespierre, his brother, Couthon, and Saint Just; Le-Bas was included on his own motion, and indeed could scarce have escaped the fate of his brother-in-law, though his conduct then and subsequently, showed more energy than that of the others. Couthon, hugging in his bosom the spaniel upon which he was wont to exhaust the overflowing of his affected sensibility, appealed to his decrepitude, and asked, whether, maimed of proportion and activity as he was, he could be suspected of nourishing plans of violence or ambition.—"Wretch," said Legendre, "thou hast the strength of Hercules for the perpetration of crime." Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, with Henriot, commandant of the national guards, and other satellites of Robespierre, were included in the doom of arrest.

The officers of the legislative body were ordered to lay hands on Robespierre: but such was the terror of his name, that they hesitated for some time to obey, and the reluctance of their own immediate satellites afforded the convention an indifferent omen of the respect which was likely to be paid without doors to their decree against this powerful demagogue. Subsequent events seemed for a while to confirm the apprehensions thus excited.

The convention had declared their sitting permanent, and had taken all precautions for appealing for protection to the large mass of citizens, who, wearied out by the reign of terror, were desirous to close it at all hazards. They quickly had deputations from several of the neighbouring sections, declaring their adherence to the national representatives, in whose defence they were arming, and many (undoubtedly prepared beforehand) were marching in all haste to the protection of the convention. But they heard also the less pleasing tidings, that Henriot, having effected the dispersion of those citizens who had obstructed, as elsewhere mentioned, the execution of the eighty condemned persons, and consummated that final act of murder, was approaching the Tuileries, where they had held their sitting, with a numerous staff, and such of the Jacobinical forces as could hastily be collected.

Happily for the convention, this commandant of the national guards, on whose presence of mind and courage the fate of France perhaps for the moment depended, was as stupid and cowardly as he was brutally ferocious. He suffered himself, without resistance, to be arrested by a few gens d'armes, the immediate guards of the convention, headed by two of its members, who behaved in the emergency with equal prudence and spirit.

But fortune, or the demon whom he had served, afforded Robespierre another chance for safety, perhaps even for empire; for moments which a man of self-possession might have employed for escape, one of desperate courage might have used for victory, which, considering the divided and extremely unsettled state of the capital, was likely to be gained by the boldest competitor.

The arrested deputies had been carried from one prison to another, all the jailors refusing to receive under their official charge Robespierre, and those who had aided him in supplying their dark habitations with such a tide of successive inhabitants. At length the prisoners were secured in the office of the committee of public safety. But by this time all was in alarm amongst

the commune of Paris, where Fleuriot the mayor, and Payan, the successor of Hebert, convoked the civic body, dispatched municipal officers to raise the city and the Fauxbourgs in their name, and caused the tocsin to be rung. Payan speedily assembled a force sufficient to liberate Henriot, Robespierre, and the other arrested deputies, and to carry them to the Hotel de Ville, where about two thousand men were congregated, consisting chiefly of artillerymen, and of insurgents from the suburbs of Saint Antoine, who already expressed their resolution of marching against the convention. But the selfish and cowardly character of Robespierre was unfit for such a crisis. He appeared altogether confounded and overwhelmed with what had passed and was passing around him; and not one of all the victims of the reign of terror felt its disabling influence so completely as he, the despot who had so long directed its sway. He had not, even though the means must have been in his power, the presence of mind to disperse money in considerable sums, which of itself would not have failed, to insure the support of the revolutionary rabble.

Meantime the convention continued to maintain the bold and commanding front which they had so suddenly and critically assumed. Upon learning the escape of the arrested deputies, and hearing of the insurrection at the Hotel de Ville, they instantly passed a decree outlawing Robespierre and his associates, inflicting a similar doom upon the mayor of Paris, the procureur and other members of the commune, and charging twelve of their members, the boldest who could be selected, to proceed with the armed force to the execution of the sentence. The drums of the national guards now beat to arms in all the sections under authority of the convention, while the tocsin continued to summon assistance with its iron voice to Robespierre and the civic magistrates. Every thing appeared to threaten a violent catastrophe, until it was seen clearly that the public voice, and especially amongst the national guards, was declaring itself generally against the Terrorists.

The Hotel de Ville was surrounded by about fifteen hundred men, and cannon turned upon the doors. The force of the assaults was weakest in point of number, but their leaders were men of spirit, and night concealed their inferiority of force.

The deputies commissioned for the purpose read the decree of the assembly to those whom they found assembled in front of the city-hall, and they shrunk from the attempt of defending it, some joining the assailants, others laying down their arms and dispersing. Meantime the deserted group of Terrorists within conducted themselves like scorpions, which, when surrounded by a circle of fire, are said to turn their stings on each other, and on themselves. Mutual and ferocious upbraiding took place among these miserable men. "Wretch, were these the means you promised to furnish?" said Payan to Henriot, whom he found intoxicated and incapable of resolution or exertion; and seizing on him as he spoke, he precipitated the revolutionary general from a window. Henriot survived the fall only: to drag himself into a drain, in which he was afterwards discovered and brought out to execution. The younger Robespierre threw himself from the window, but had not the good fortune to perish on the spot. It seemed as if even the melancholy fate of suicide, the last refuge of guilt and despair, was denied to men who had so long refused every species of mercy to their fellow-creatures. Le Bas alone had calmness enough to dispatch himself with a pistol-shot. Saint Just, after imploring his comrades to kill him, attempted his own life with an irresolute hand, and failed. Couthon lay beneath the table brandishing a knife, with which he repeatedly wounded his bosom, without daring to add force enough to reach his heart. Their chief, Robespierre, in an unsuccessful attempt to shoot himself, had only inflicted a horrible fracture on his under-jaw.

In this situation they were found like wolves in their lair, foul with blood, mutilated, despairing, and yet not able to die. Robespierre lay on a table in an ante-room, his head supported by a deal-box, and his hideous countenance half hidden by a bloody and dirty cloth bound round the shattered chin.

The captives were carried in triumph to the convention, who, without admitting them to the bar, ordered them, as outlaws, for instant execution. As the fatal cars passed to the guillotine, those who filled them, but especially Robespierre were overwhelmed with execrations from the friends and relatives of victims whom he had sent on the same melancholy road. The nature of his previous wound, from which the cloth had never been removed till the executioner tore it off, added to the torture of the sufferer. The shattered jaw dropped, and the wretch yelled aloud, to the horror of the spectators. A masque taken from that dreadful head was long exhibited in different nations of Europe, and appalled the spectator by its ugliness, and the mixture of fiendish expression with that of bodily agony.

Thus fell Maximilian Robespierre, after having been the first person in the French republic for nearly two years, during which time he governed it upon the principles of Nero or Caligula. His elevation to the situation which he held involved more contradictions than perhaps attach to any similar event in history. A low-born, and low-minded tyrant was permitted to rule with the rod of the most frightful despotism, a people whose anxiety for liberty had shortly before rendered them unable to endure the rule of a humane and lawful sovereign. A dastardly coward arose to the command of one of the bravest nations in the world; and it was under the auspices of a man who dared scarce fire a pistol, that the greatest generals in France began their careers of conquest. He had neither eloquence nor imagination; but substituted in their stead a miserable, affected, bombastic style, which, until other circumstances gave him consequence, drew on him general ridicule. Yet, against so poor an orator, all the eloquence of the philosophical Girondists, all the terrible powers of his associate Danton, employed in a popular assembly, could not enable them to make an effectual resistance. It may seem trifling to mention, that in a nation where a good deal of prepossession is excited by amiable manners and beauty of external appearance, the person who ascended to the highest power was not only ill-looking, but singularly mean in person, awkward and constrained in his address, ignorant how to set about pleasing even when he most desired to give pleasure, and as tiresome nearly as he was odious and heartless.

To compensate all these deficiencies, Robespierre had but an insatiable ambition, founded on a vanity which made him think himself capable of filling the highest situation; and therefore gave him daring, when to dare is frequently to achieve. He mixed a false and overstrained, but rather fluent species of bombastic composition, with the grossest flattery to the lowest classes of the people; in consideration of which, they could not but receive as genuine the praises which he always bestowed on himself. His prudent resolution to be satisfied with possessing the essence of power, without seeming to desire its rank and trappings, formed another art of cajoling the multitude. His watchful envy, his long-protracted but sure revenge, his craft, which to vulgar minds supplies the place of wisdom, were his only means of competing with his distinguished antagonists. And it seems to have been a merited punishment of the extravagances and abuses of the French revolution, that it engaged the country in a state of anarchy which permitted a wretch such as we have described, to be for a long period master of her destiny. Blood was his element, like that of the other Terrorists, and he never fastened with so much pleasure on a new victim, as when he was at the same time an ancient associate. In an epitaph, of which the following couplet may serve as a translation, his life was represented as incompatible with the existence of the human race:—

“ Here lies Robespierre—let no tear be shed :
“ Reader, if he had lived, thou hadst been dead.”

LETTER XXVI.

Affairs of Republican France.—Napoleon Buonaparte, his birth and early habits—appointed Lieutenant of Artillery—promoted to the rank of Captain—Siege of Toulon—Buonaparte compels the allied troops to evacuate it—is appointed chief of battalion in the army of Italy—superseded in command—goes to Paris in May 1795 to solicit employment, but is unsuccessful—at length succeeds Menou in the command of the troops of the Convention and is made second in command of the interior—afterwards General in chief—marries Madame Beauharnois—joins the army of Italy, A. D. 1793—6.

WE are now, my son, arrived at that eventful epoch in the history of Modern Europe, when an individual appeared upon its theatre, who was formed by nature and destined by providence to act a most conspicuous part, and by an unexampled career of successful warfare to draw upon himself the admiration of the universe: this individual was Napoleon Buonaparte, of whose origin and early history you will of course be desirous to obtain some little information.

This extraordinary man was a native of the island of Corsica, and according to the best accounts, born on the 15th of August, 1769, at his father's home in Ajaccio. His family was noble, though not of much distinction, and at that time rather reduced in their circumstances. He was the second of thirteen children, eight of whom survived their father, namely, Joseph the eldest, *sometime* king of Spain—Napoleon himself—Lucien who was scarcely inferior to his brother in ambition and talent—Louis, who renounced a crown rather than consent to the oppression of his subjects—Jerome, who was said to be addicted to habits of dissipation—and three sisters, viz. Maria Anne, afterwards grand duchess of Tuscany—Pauline, princess of Borghese—and Carlotta, or Caroline, wife of Murat, and queen of Naples.

The young Napoleon had, of course, the simple and hardy education proper to the natives of the mountainous island of his birth, and in his infancy was not remarkable for more than that animation of temper, and impatience of inactivity, by which children of quick parts and lively sensibility are usually distinguished. On quitting school, he succeeded in obtaining an appointment to the royal military academy at Brienne, an institution maintained at the royal expense, having for its immediate object to train up youths for the engineer and artillery service. Nothing could be more suitable to the nature of young Buonaparte's genius, than the line of study which was thus fortunately opened before him. His ardour for the abstract sciences amounted to a passion, and was combined with a singular aptitude for applying them to the purposes of war, while his attention to pursuits so interesting and exhaustless in themselves, was stimulated by his natural ambition and desire of distinction.

It is said that an early disposition to the popular side distinguished Buonaparte even when at Brienne. Pichegru, afterwards so celebrated, who acted as his monitor in the military school, bore witness to his early principles, and to the peculiar energy and tenacity of his temper. He was long afterwards consulted whether means might not be found to engage the commander of the Italian armies in the royal interest. "It will be but lost time to attempt it," said Pichegru. "I knew him in his youth—his character is inflexible—he has taken his side, and he will not change it."

In 1783, Napoleon Buonaparte, then only fourteen years of age, was selected the inspector of the twelve military schools, with a view to his being sent to have his education completed in the general school of Paris. It was a compliment paid to the precocity of his extraordinary mathematical talent, and the steadiness of his application. While at Paris he attracted the same notice as at Brienne, and among other society frequented that of the cele-

brated Abbé Raynal, to whose literary parties he was also admitted. His appetite for study in every department of science and literature was thus greatly enlarged; and notwithstanding the quantity which he daily read, his memory was sufficiently retentive to retain, and his judgment mature enough to arrange and digest the knowledge which he then acquired; so that he had it at his command during all the rest of his busy life. Plutarch was his favourite author; upon the study of whom he had so modelled his opinions and habits of thought, that general Paoli, the famous Corsican chief, afterwards pronounced him "a young man of an antique cast, and resembling one of the classical heroes."

In his seventeenth year Napoleon Buonaparte received his first commission as second lieutenant in a regiment of artillery, and was almost immediately afterwards promoted to the rank of first lieutenant in the corps quartered at Valence. He mingled with society when he joined his regiment, more than he had been accustomed to do; mixed in public amusements, and exhibited the powers of pleasing which he possessed in an uncommon degree, when he chose to exert them. His handsome and intelligent features, with his active and neat, though slight figure, gave him additional advantages. His manners could scarcely be called elegant, but he made up in vivacity and variety of expression, and frequently in great spirit and energy, what was deficient in grace and polish.

Napoleon has himself recorded that he was a warm patriot during the whole sitting of the national assembly; but that on the appointment of the legislative assembly, he became shaken in his opinions. If so, his original sentiments regained their force; for we shortly afterwards find him entertaining such as went to the extreme heights of the revolution.

Early in the year 1792, Buonaparte became a captain in the artillery by seniority; and in the same year, being at Paris, he witnessed the two insurrections of the 20th of June, and 10th of August, and was accustomed to speak of the insurgents as the most despicable banditti imaginable, and to express with what ease a determined officer could have checked these apparently formidable, but dastardly and unwieldy masses.

The siege of Toulon was the first incident of importance, which enabled Buonaparte to distinguish himself in the eyes of the French government, and of the world at large. A general diffidence, and dread of the proceedings of the Jacobins, joined to the intrigues of the Girondists, had, after the fall of the latter party, induced several of the principal towns in France to take arms against the convention, or rather against the Jacobin party, who had attained the complete mastery in that body, and Toulon taking a more decided step than either Marseilles or Lyons, had declared for the king and the constitution of 1791, and invited the support of the English and Spanish squadrons, who were cruising upon the coast. A disembarkation was made, and a miscellaneous force, hastily collected, of Spaniards, Sardinians, Neapolitans, and English, was thrown into the place.

This was one of the critical periods when vigorous measures, on the part of the allies, might have produced marked effects on the result of the war. Toulon is the arsenal of France, and contained at that time immense naval stores, besides a fleet of seventeen sail of the line ready for sea, and thirteen or fourteen more, which stood in need of refitting. The possession of it was of the last importance, and with a sufficiently large garrison, or rather an army, strong enough to cover the more exposed points without the town, the English might have maintained their footing at Toulon, as they did at a latter period, both at Lisbon and Cadiz. The sea would, by maintaining the defensive lines necessary to protect the roadstead, have been entirely at the command of the besieged; and they could have been supplied with provisions in any quantity from Sicily, or the Barbary States, while the besiegers would have experienced great difficulty, such was the dearth in Provence at the time, in supporting their own army: but to have played this bold game, the presence of an army, instead of a few battalions, would have been requisite, and a general of consummate ability must have held the chief command. This was the more especially necessary, as Toulon, from the nature of the

place, must have been defended by a war of posts, requiring peculiar alertness, sagacity, and vigilance.

On the other hand, there were circumstances very favourable for the defence, had it been conducted with talent and vigour. In order to invest Toulon on the right and left sides at once, it was necessary there should be two distinct blockading armies; and these could scarce communicate with each other, as a steep ridge of mountains, called Pharon, must interpose betwixt them. This gave opportunity to the besieged to combine their force, and choose the object of attack when they sallied; while, on the other hand, the two bodies of besiegers could not easily connect their operations, either for attack or defence.

Lord Mulgrave, who commanded personally in the place, notwithstanding the motley character of the garrison, and other discouraging circumstances, began the defence with spirit. Sir George Keith Elphinstone also defeated the republicans at the mountain-pass, called Ollioulles. The English for some time retained possession of this important gorge, but were finally driven out from it. Cartaux, a republican general, now advanced on the west of Toulon, at the head of a very considerable army, while general Lapoype blockaded the city on the east, with a part of the army of Italy. It was the object of the French to approach Toulon on both sides of the mountainous ridge, called Pharon; but on the east the town was covered by the strong and regular fort of La Malgue, and on the west side of the road by a less formidable work, called Malbosquet. To support Malbosquet, and to protect the entrance to the roadstead and the harbour, the English engineers fortified with great skill an eminence, called Hauteur de Grasse. The height bent into a sort of bay, the two promontories of which were secured by redoubts, named L'Eguillette and Balagniere, which communicated with and supported the new fortification, which the English had termed Fort Mulgrave.

Several sallies and skirmishes took place, in most of which the republicans were worsted. Lieutenant general O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar with reinforcements, and assumed the chief command.

Little could be said for the union of the commanders within Toulon; yet their enterprises were so far successful, that the French began to be alarmed at the slow progress of the siege. The death of provisions was daily increasing, the discontent of the people of Provence was augmented; the Catholics were numerous in the neighbouring districts of Vivarais and Lower Languedoc; and Barras and Freon wrote from Marseilles to the convention, suggesting that the siege of Toulon should be raised, and the besieging army withdrawn beyond the Durance. But while weaker minds were despairing, talents of the first order were preparing to achieve the conquest of Toulon.

Buonaparte's professional qualifications were better vouched than the soundness of his political principles, though these were sufficiently decided. The notes which the inspectors of the Military School always preserve concerning their scholars, described his genius as being of the first order; and to these he owed his promotion to the rank of a brigadier-general of artillery, with the command of the artillery during the siege of Toulon.

When he had arrived at the scene of action, and had visited the posts of the besieging army, he found so many marks of incapacity, that he could not conceal his astonishment. Batteries had been erected for destroying the English shipping, but they were three gun-shots' distance from the point which they were designed to command; red-hot balls were preparing, but they were not heated in furnaces beside the guns, but in the country-houses in the neighbourhood at the most ridiculous distance, as if they had been articles of easy and ordinary transportation. Buonaparte with difficulty obtained general Cartaux's permission to make a shot or two by way of experiment; and when they fell more than half-way short of the mark, the general had no excuse but to rail against the aristocrats, who had, he said, spoiled the quality of the powder with which he was supplied.

The young officer of artillery, with prudence, and at the same time with spirit, made his remonstrances to the member of convention, Gasparin, who

witnessed the experiment, and explained the necessity of proceeding more systematically, if any successful result was expected.

At a council of war, where Gasparin presided, the instructions of the committee of public safety were read, directing that the siege of Toulon should be commenced according to the usual forms, by investing the body of the place, in other words, the city itself. The orders of the committee of public safety were no safe subject of discussion or criticism for those who were to act under them; yet Buonaparte ventured to recommend their being departed from on this important occasion. His comprehensive genius had at once discovered a less direct, yet more certain manner, of obtaining the surrender of the place. He advised, that, neglecting the body of the town, the attention of the besiegers should be turned to attain possession of the promontory called *Hauteur de Grasse*, by driving the besiegers from the strong work of *Fort Mulgrave*, and the two redoubts of *L'Eguilette* and *Balagniere*, by means of which the English had established the line of defence necessary to protect the fleet and harbour. The fortress of *Malbosquet*, on the same point, he also recommended as a principal object of attack. He argued, that if the besiegers succeeded in possessing themselves of these fortifications, they must obtain a complete command of the roads where the English fleet lay, and oblige them to put to sea. They would, in the same manner, effectually command the entrance of the bay, and prevent supplies or provisions from being thrown into the city. If the garrison were thus in danger of being totally cut off from supplies by their vessels being driven from their anchorage, it was natural to suppose that the English troops would rather evacuate Toulon, than remain within the place, blockaded on all sides, until they might be compelled to surrender by famine.

The plan was adopted by the council of war after much hesitation, and the young officer by whom it was projected received full powers to carry it on. He rallied round him a number of excellent artillery officers and soldiers; assembled against Toulon more than two hundred pieces of cannon, well served; and stationed them so advantageously, that he annoyed considerably the English vessels in the roads, even before he had constructed those batteries on which he depended for reducing *fort Mulgrave* and *Malbosquet*, by which they were in a great measure protected.

In the mean while, general Doppet, formerly a physician, had superseded *Cartaux*, whose incapacity could no longer be concealed by his rhodomontading language; and, wonderful to tell, it had nearly been the fate of the ex-doctor to take Toulon, at a time when such an event seemed least within his calculation. A tumultuary attack of some of the young French *Carmagnoles* on a body of Spanish troops which garrisoned *Fort Mulgrave*, had very nearly been successful. Buonaparte galloped to the spot, hurrying his reluctant commander along with him, and succours were ordered to advance to support the attack, when an *aid-de-camp* was shot by Doppet's side; on which the medical general, considering this as a bad symptom, pronounced the case desperate, and, to Buonaparte's great indignation, ordered a retreat to be commenced. Doppet being found as incapable as *Cartaux* was, in his turn, superseded by *Dugommier*, a veteran who had served for fifty years, was covered with scars, and as fearless as the weapon he wore.

From this time the commandant of artillery, having the complete concurrence of his general, had no doubt of success. To insure it, however, he used the utmost vigilance and exertion, and exposed his person to every risk.

One of the dangers that he incurred was of a singular character. An artilleryman being shot at the gun which he was serving, while Napoleon was visiting a battery, he took up the dead man's rammer, and, to give encouragement to the soldiers, charged the gun repeatedly with his own hands. In consequence of using this implement he caught an infectious cutaneous complaint, which, being injudiciously treated and thrown inward, was of great prejudice to his health, until after his Italian campaigns, when he was completely cured by *Dr. Corvissart*; after which, for the first time, he showed that tendency to *emboupoint*, which marked the latter part of his life.

Upon another occasion, while Napoleon was overlooking the construction

of a battery, which the enemy endeavoured to interrupt by their fire, he called for some person who could write, that he might dictate an order. A young soldier stepped out of the ranks, and resting the paper on the breast-work, began to write accordingly. A shot from the enemy's battery covered the letter with earth the instant it was finished. "Thank you—we shall have no occasion for sand this bout," said the military secretary. The gaiety and courage of the remark drew Buonaparte's attention on the young man, who was the celebrated general Junot, afterwards created duke d'Abrantes. During this siege also he discovered the talents of Duroc, afterwards one of his most faithful adherents. In these and many other instances, Buonaparte showed his extensive knowledge of mankind, by the deep sagacity which enabled him to discover and attach to him those, whose talents were most distinguished and most capable of rendering him service.

Notwithstanding the influence which the commandant of artillery had acquired, he found himself occasionally thwarted by the members of the convention, sent upon mission to the siege of Toulon, who latterly were Freron, Ricors, Salicetti, and the younger Robespierre. These representatives of the people, knowing that their commission gave them supreme power over generals and armies, never seem to have paused to consider whether nature or education had qualified them to exercise it with advantage to the public and credit to themselves.

They criticised Buonaparte's plan of attack, finding it impossible to conceive how his operations, being directed against detached fortifications at a distance from Toulon, could be eventually the means of placing the town itself with facility in their hands. But Napoleon was patient and temporizing; and having the good opinion of Salicetti, and some intimacy with young Robespierre, he contrived to have the works conducted according to his own plan.

The presumption of these dignitaries became the means of precipitating his operations. It was his intention to complete his proposed works against Fort Mulgrave, before opening a large and powerful battery, which he had constructed with great silence and secrecy against Malbosquet, so that the whole of his meditated assault might confound the enemy, by commencing at the same time. The operations being shrouded by an olive plantation, had been completed without being observed by the English, whom Buonaparte proposed to attack on the whole line of defence simultaneously. Messrs. Freron and Robespierre, however, in visiting the military posts, stumbled upon this masked battery; and having no notion why four mortars and eight twenty-four pounders should remain inactive, they commanded the fire to be opened on Malbosquet without any farther delay.

General O'Hara, confounded at finding this important post exposed to a fire so formidable and unexpected, determined by a strong effort to carry the French battery at once. Three thousand men were employed in this sally; and the general himself, rather contrary to what is considered the duty of the governor of a place of importance, resolved to put himself at their head. The sally was at first completely successful; but while the English pursued the enemy too far, in all the confidence of what they considered as assured victory, Buonaparte availed himself of some broken ground and a covered way, to rally a strong body of troops, bring up reserves, and attack the scattered English both in flank and rear. There was a warm skirmish, in which Napoleon himself received a bayonet wound in the thigh, by which, though a serious injury, he was not, however, disabled. The English were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and retreated, leaving their general wounded and a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. It is singular, that during his long warfare, Buonaparte was never personally engaged with the British, except in his first, and at Waterloo, his last and fatal battle. The attack upon Acre can scarce be termed an exception, as far as his own person was concerned.

The loss of their commandant, added to the discouragement which began to prevail among the defenders of Toulon, together with the vivacity of the attack which ensued, seem finally to have disheartened the garrison. Five

batteries were opened on Fort Mulgrave, the possession of which Buonaparte considered as ensuring success. After a fire of twenty-four hours, Dugommier and Napoleon resolved to try the fate of a general attack, for which the representatives of the people showed no particular zeal. The attacking columns advanced before day, during a heavy shower of rain. They were at first driven back on every point by the most determined opposition; and Dugommier, as he saw the troops fly in confusion, exclaimed, well knowing the consequences of bad success to a general of the republic, "I am a lost man!" Renewed efforts, however, at last prevailed; the Spanish artillerymen giving way on one point, the fort fell into the possession of the French, who showed no mercy to its defenders.

Three hours, according to Buonaparte, after the fort was taken, the representatives of the people appeared in the trenches, with drawn swords, to congratulate the soldiers on their successful valour, and hear from their commandant of artillery, the reiterated assurance, that this distant fort being gained, Toulon was now their own. In their letter to the convention, the deputies gave a more favourable account of their own exploits, and failed not to represent Ricors, Salicetti, and young Robespierre, as leading the attack with sabre in hand, and, to use their own phrase, showing the troops the road to victory. On the other hand, they ungraciously forgot, in their dispatches, to mention so much as the name of Buonaparte, to whom the victory was entirely to be ascribed.

In the mean time, Napoleon's sagacity was not deceived in the event. The officers of the allied troops, after a hurried council of war, resolved to evacuate Toulon, since the posts gained by the French must drive the English ships from their anchorage, and deprive them of a future opportunity of retreating, if they neglected the passing moment. Lord Hood alone urged a bolder resolution, and recommended the making a desperate effort to regain Fort Mulgrave, and the heights which it commanded. But his spirited counsel was rejected, and the evacuation resolved on; which the panic of the foreign troops, especially the Neapolitans, would have rendered still more horrible than it proved, but for the steadiness of the British seamen.

The safety of the unfortunate citizens, who had invoked their protection, was not neglected even amid the confusion of the retreat. The numerous merchant vessels and other craft, offered means of transportation to all, who, having to fear the resentment of the republicans, might be desirous of quitting Toulon. Such was the dread of the victors cruelty, that upwards of fourteen thousand persons accepted this melancholy refuge. Meantime there was other work to do.

It had been resolved, that the arsenal and naval stores, with such of the French ships as were not ready for sea should be destroyed; and they were set on fire accordingly. This task was in a great measure intrusted to the dauntless intrepidity of sir Sidney Smith, who carried it through with a degree of order, which, every thing considered, was almost marvellous. The assistance of the Spaniards was offered and accepted; and they undertook the duty of scuttling and sinking two vessels used as powder magazines, and destroying some part of the disabled shipping. The rising conflagration growing redder and redder, seemed at length a great volcano, amid which were long distinctly seen the masts and yards of the burning vessels, and which rendered obscurely visible the advancing bodies of republican troops, who attempted on different points to push their way into the place. The Jacobins began to rise in the town upon the flying Royalists;—horrid screams and yells of vengeance, and revolutionary chorusses, were heard to mingle with the cries and plaintive entreaties of the remaining fugitives, who had not yet found means of embarkation. The guns from Malbosquet, now possessed by the French, and turned on the bulwarks of the town, increased the uproar. At once a shock, like that of an earthquake, occasioned by the explosion of many hundred barrels of gunpowder, silenced all noise save its own, and threw high into the midnight heaven a thousand blazing fragments, which descended, threatening ruin wherever they fell. A second explosion took place, as the other magazine blew up, with the same dreadful effects.

This tremendous addition to the terrors of the scene, so dreadful in itself, was owing to the Spaniards setting fire to those vessels used as magazines, instead of sinking them, according to the plan which had been agreed upon. Either from ill-will, carelessness, or timidity, they were equally awkward in their attempts to destroy the dismantled ships intrusted to their charge, which fell into the hands of the French but little damaged. The British fleet, with the flotilla crowded with fugitives which it escorted, left Toulon without loss, notwithstanding an ill-directed fire maintained on them from the batteries which the French had taken.

It was upon this night of terror, conflagration, tears and blood, that the star of Napoleon first ascended the horizon; and though it gleamed over many a scene of horror ere it set, it may be doubtful whether its light was ever blended with those of one more dreadful.

The capture of Toulon crushed all the hopes of resistance to the Jacobins, which had been cherished in the south of France. There was a strong distrust excited against England, who was judged only desirous to avail herself of the insurrection of these unhappy citizens to cripple and destroy the naval power of France, without the wish of effectually assisting the Royalists. This was an unjust belief, but it cannot be denied that there were specious grounds for the accusation. The undertaking the protection of a city in such a situation as that of Toulon, if the measure was embraced at all, should have been supported by efforts worthy of the country whose assistance was implored and granted. Such efforts were not made, and the assistance actually afforded was not directed by talent, and was squandered by disunion. The troops showed gallantry; but the leaders, excepting the naval officers, evinced little military skill, or united purpose of defence.

So many of the citizens of Toulon concerned in the late resistance had escaped, by the means provided by the English, that republican vengeance could not collect its victims in the usual numbers. Many were shot, however, and it has been said that Buonaparte commanded the artillery, by which, as at Lyons, they were exterminated; and also, that he wrote a letter to Frenon and the younger Robespierre, congratulating them and himself on the execution of these aristocrats, and signed Brutus Buonaparte, Sans-culotte. If he actually commanded at this execution, he had the poor apology, that he must do so or himself perish; but, had the fact and the letter been genuine, there has been enough of time since his downfall to prove the truth of the accusation, and certainly enough of writers disposed to give these proofs publicity. He himself positively denied the charge; and alledged that the victims were shot by a detachment of what was called the revolutionary army, and not by troops of the line. This we think highly probable. Buonaparte has besides affirmed, that far from desiring to sharpen the vengeance of the Jacobins, or act as their agent, he hazarded the displeasure of those whose frown was death, by interposing his protection to save the unfortunate family of Chabillant, emigrants and aristocrats, who, being thrown by a storm on the coast of France, shortly after the siege of Toulon, became liable to punishment, by the guillotine, but whom he saved by procuring them the means of escape by sea.

In the mean while the young general of artillery was rapidly rising in reputation. The praises which were suppressed by the representatives of the people, were willingly conferred and promulgated by the frank old veteran, Dugommier. Buonaparte's name was placed on the list of those whom he recommended for promotion, with the pointed addition, that, if neglected, he would be sure to force his own way. He was accordingly confirmed in his provisional situation of chief of battalion, and appointed to hold that rank in the army of Italy. Before joining that army, the genius of Napoleon was employed by the convention in surveying and fortifying the sea-coast of the Mediterranean; a very troublesome task, as it involved many disputes with the local authorities of small towns and villages, and even hamlets, all of whom wished to have batteries erected for their own special protection, without regard to the general safety. It involved him, moreover, as we shall presently see, in some risk with the convention at home.

The chief of battalion discharged his task scientifically. He divided the necessary fortifications into three classes, distinguishing those designed to protect harbours and roadsteads, from such as were intended to defend anchorages of less consequence, and both from the third class, which were to be placed on proper situations, to prevent insults and partial descents on the coast by an enemy superior at sea. Napoleon dictated to general Gourgaud hints on this subject, which must be of consequence to the sea-coasts which need such military defences.

Having made his report to the convention, Buonaparte proceeded to join the head quarters of the French army, then lying at Nice, straitened considerably and hemmed in by the Sardinians and Austrians, who, after some vain attempts of general Brunet to dislodge them, had remained masters of the Col di Tende, and lower passes of the Alps, together with the road leading from Turin to Nice by Saorgio.

Buonaparte had influence enough to recommend with success to the general Dumorbion, and the representatives of the people, Ricors and Robespierre, a plan for driving the enemy out of this position, forcing them to retreat beyond the higher Alps, and taking Saorgio; all which succeeded as he had predicted. Saorgio surrendered, with much stores and baggage, and the French army obtained possession of the chain of the higher Alps, which, being tenable by defending few and difficult passes placed a great part of the army of Italy, (as it was already termed, though only upon the frontier,) at disposal for actual service. While directing the means of attaining these successes, Buonaparte, at the same time, acquired a complete acquaintance with that Alpine country, in which he was shortly to obtain victories in his own name, not in that of others, who obtained reputation by acting on his suggestions. But while he was thus employed, he was involved in an accusation before the convention, which, had his reputation been less for approved patriotism, might have cost him dear.

In his plans for the defence of the Mediterranean, Napoleon had proposed repairing an old state prison at Marseilles, called the fort of Saint Nicholas, that it might serve as a powder magazine. This plan his successor on the station proceeded to execute, and by doing so, gave umbrage to the patriots, who charged the commandant of artillery then at Marseilles, and superintending the work, with an intention to rebuild this fort, to serve as a Bastille for controlling the good citizens. The officer being summoned to the bar of the convention, proved that the plan was not his own, but drawn out by Buonaparte. The representatives of the army in Italy, however, not being able to dispense with his services, wrote to the convention in his behalf, and gave such an account of the origin and purpose of the undertaking, as diverted it of all shade of suspicion, even in the suspicious eye of the committee of public safety.

In the remainder of the year 1794, there was little service of consequence in the army of Italy, and the 9th and 10th Thermidor (27th and 28th of July,) of that year, brought the downfall of Robespierre, and threatened unfavourable consequences to Buonaparte, who had been the friend of the tyrant's brother, and was understood to have participated in the tone of exaggerated patriotism affected by his party. He endeavoured to shelter himself under his ignorance of the real tendency of the proceedings of those who had fallen; an apology which resolves itself into the ordinary excuse, that he found his late friends had not been the persons he took them for. According to this line of defence, he made all haste to disclaim accession to the political schemes of which they were accused. "I am somewhat affected," he wrote to a correspondent, "at the fate of the younger Robespierre; but had he been my brother, I would have poniarded him with my own hand; had I been aware that he was forming schemes of tyranny."

Buonaparte's disclamations do not seem at first to have been favourably received. His situation was now precarious, and when those members were restored to the convention, who had been expelled and proscribed by the Jacobins, it became still more so. The re-action of the moderate party, accompanied by horrible recollections of the past, and fears for the future, be-

gan now to be more strongly felt, as their numbers in the convention acquired strength. Those officers who had attached themselves to the Jacobin party, were the objects of their animosity; and besides, they were desirous to purify the armies as far as possible of those whom they considered as their own enemies, and those of good order; the rather, that the Jacobinical principles still continued to be more favoured in the armies than in the interior.

In May 1795, he came to Paris to solicit employment in his profession. He found himself unfriended and indigent in the city of which he was at no distant period to be the ruler. Some individuals, however, assisted him, and among others the celebrated performer Talma, who had known him while at the military school, and even then entertained high expectations of the part in life which was to be played by "*le petit Bonaparte*."

On the other hand, as a favourer of the Jacobins, his solicitations for employment were resolutely opposed by a person of considerable influence. Aubry, an old officer of artillery, president of the military committee, placed himself in strong opposition to his pretensions. He had been nominated as removed from the artillery service to be placed in that of the infantry. He remonstrated with great spirit against this proposed change; and when, in the heat of discussion, Aubry objected his youth, Buonaparte replied, "that presence in the field of battle ought to anticipate the claim of years."

The president, who had not been much in action, considered his reply as a personal insult; and Napoleon, disdainful farther answer, tendered his resignation. It was not however, accepted; and he still remained in the rank of expectants, but among those whose hopes were entirely dependent upon their merits.

Meantime, his situation becoming daily more unpleasant, Buonaparte solicited Barras and Freron, who, as Thermidoriens, had preserved their credit, for occupation in almost any line of his profession, and even negotiated for permission to go into the Turkish service, to train the Mussulmans to the use of artillery.

The French nation were in general tired of the national convention, which successive proscriptions had drained of all the talent, eloquence, and energy, it had once possessed; and that assembly had become hateful and contemptible to all men, by suffering itself to be the passive tool of the Terrorists for two years, when, if they had shown proper firmness, the revolution of the 9th Thermidor might as well have been achieved at the beginning of that frightful anarchy, as after that long period of unheard-of suffering. The convention was not greatly improved in point of talent, even by the return of their banished brethren; and, in a word, they had lost the confidence of the public entirely. They therefore prepared to gratify the general wish by dissolving themselves; but before they resigned their ostensible authority, it was necessary to prepare some mode of carrying on the government in future.

The Jacobin constitution of 1793 still existed on paper, but although there was an unrepealed law, menacing with death any one who should propose to alter that form of government, no one appeared disposed to consider it as actually in exercise; and notwithstanding the solemnity with which it had been received and ratified by the sanction of the national voice, it was passed over and abrogated as a matter of course, by a tacit but unanimous consent. Neither was there any disposition to adopt the Girondist constitution of 1791, or to revert to the democratic monarchy of 1792, the only one of these models which could be said to have had even the dubious endurance of a few months.

Each of these forms of government had been solemnized by the national oaths and processions customary on such occasions; but the opinion was now universally entertained, that not one of them was founded on just principles, or contained the power of defending itself against aggression, and protecting the lives and rights of the subject. On the other hand, every one not deeply interested in the late anarchy, and implicated in the horrid course of bloodshed and tyranny which was its very essence, was frightened at the idea of

reviving a government, which was a professed continuation of the despotism ever attendant upon a revolution, and which, in all civilized countries, ought to terminate with the extraordinary circumstances by which revolution has been rendered necessary.

It seems to have been in general felt and admitted, that the blending of the executive and legislative power together, as both had been exercised by the existing convention, opened the road to the most afflicting tyranny; and that to constitute a stable government, the power of executing the laws, and administering the ministerial functions, must be vested in some separate individuals, or number of individuals, who should, indeed, be responsible to the national legislature for the exercise of this power, but neither subject to their direct control, nor enjoying it as emanating immediately from their body. With these reflections arose others, on the utility of dividing the legislative body itself into two assemblies, one of which might form a check on the other, tending, by some exercise of an intermediate authority, to qualify the rash rapidity of a single chamber, and obstruct the progress of any individual, who might, like Robespierre, obtain a dictatorship in such a body, and become, in doing so, an arbitrary tyrant over the whole authorities of the states. Thus, loath and late, the French began to cast an eye on the British constitution, and the system of checks and balances upon which it is founded, as the best means of uniting the protection of liberty with the preservation of order. Thinking men had come gradually to be aware, that in hopes of getting something better than a system which had been sanctioned by the experience of ages, they had only produced a set of models, which were successively wondered at, applauded, neglected, and broken to pieces, instead of a simple machine capable, in mechanical phrase, of working well.

Had such a feeling prevailed during the commencement of the revolution, as was advocated by Mounier and others, France and Europe might have been spared the bloodshed and distress which afflicted them during a period of more than twenty years of war, with all the various evils which accompanied that great convulsion. France had then a king; nobles, out of whom a senate might have been selected; and abundance of able men to have formed a lower house, or house of commons. But the golden opportunity was passed over; and when the architects might, perhaps, have been disposed to execute the new fabric which they meditated, on the plan of a limited monarchy, the materials for the structure were no longer to be found.

The fear of a retributive re-action, was now very generally felt in the convention. The Thermidoriens, in particular, who had, killed Robespierre, and now reigned in his stead, had more substantial grounds of apprehension from any counter-revolutionary movement, than even the body of the Representatives at large, many of whom had been merely passive in scenes where Barras and Tallien had been active agents. The timid party of the plain might be overawed by the returning prince; and the members of the Girondists, who could indeed scarce be said to exist as a party, might be safely despised. But the Thermidoriens themselves stood in a different predicament. They were of importance enough to attract both detestation and jealousy; they held power, which must be an object of distrust to the restored monarch; and they stood on precarious ground, betwixt the hatred of the moderate party, who remembered them as colleagues of Robespierre and Danton, and that of the Jacobins, who saw in Tallien and Barras deserters of that party, and the destroyers of the power of the Sans-culottes. They had therefore, just reason to fear, that, stripped of the power which they at present possessed, they might become the unpitied and unaided scapegoats, to expiate all the offences of the revolution.

Still the idea of monarchy was so generally received as the simplest and best mode of once more re-establishing good order and a fixed government, that some statesmen proposed to resume the form, but change the dynasty. With this view, divers persons were suggested by those, who supposed that by passing over the legitimate heir to the crown, the dangers annexed to his rights and claims might be avoided, and the apprehended measures of re-sumption and re-action might be guarded against. The son of the duke of

Orléans was named, but the infamy of his father clung to him. In another wild hypothesis, the duke of York, or the duke of Brunswick, were suggested as fit to be named constitutional kings of France. The Abbé Sieyès himself is said to have expressed himself in favour of the prince last named.

But without regarding the wishes or opinions of the people without doors, the convention resolved to establish such a model of government as should be most likely to infuse into a republic something of the stability of a monarchical establishment; and thus at once repair former errors, and preserve an appearance of consistency in the eyes of Europe.

For this purpose eleven commissioners, chiefly selected among the former Girondists, were appointed to draw up a new constitution upon a new principle, which was to receive anew the universal adhesion of the French by acclamation and oath, and to fall in a short time, under the same neglect which had attended every preceding model. This, it was understood, was to be so constructed, as to unite the consistency of a monarchical government with the name and forms of a democracy.

That the system now adopted by the French commissioners might bear a form corresponding to the destinies of the nation, and flattering to its vanity, it was borrowed from that of the Roman republic, an attempt to imitate which had already introduced many of the blunders and many of the crimes of the revolution. The executive power was lodged in a council of five persons, termed directors, to whom were to be consigned the conduct of peace and war, the execution of the laws, and the general administration of the government. They were permitted no share of the legislative authority.

This arrangement was adopted to comply with the jealousy of those, who, in the individual person of a single director, holding a situation similar to that of the stadtholder in Holland, or the president of the United States, saw something too closely approaching to a monarchical government. Indeed, it is said, Louvet warned them against establishing such an office, by assuring them, that when they referred the choice of the individual who was to hold it, to the nation at large, they would see the Bourbon heir elected. But the inconvenience of this pentarchy could not be disguised; and it seemed to follow as a necessary consequence of such a numerous executive council, either that there would be a schism, and a minority and majority established in that pre-eminent body of the state, where unity and vigour were chiefly requisite, or else that some one or two of the ablest and most crafty among the directors would establish a supremacy over the others, and use them less as their colleagues than their dependants. The legislators, however, though they knew that the whole Roman empire was found insufficient to satiate the ambition of three men, yet appeared to hope that the concord and unanimity of their five directors might continue unbroken, though they had but one nation to govern; and they decided accordingly.

The executive power being thus provided for, the Legislative body was to consist of two councils; one of Elders, as it was called, serving as a house of lords; another of younger, which they termed, from its number, the council of five hundred. Both were elective, and the difference of age was the only circumstance which placed a distinction betwixt the two bodies. The members of the council of five hundred were to be at least twenty-five years old, a qualification which, after the seventh year of the republic, was to rise to thirty years complete. In this assembly laws were to be first proposed; and, having received its approbation, they were to be referred to the council of ancients. The requisites to sit in the latter senate, were the age of forty years complete, and the being a married man or a widower Bachelors though above that age, were deemed unfit for legislation, perhaps from want of domestic experience.

On the whole, the form of the constitution of the year 3, *i. e.* 1795, showed a greater degree of practical efficacy, sense, and consistency, than any of those previously suggested; and in the introduction, though there was the usual proclamation of the rights of man, his duties to the laws and to the social system were for the first time enumerated in manly and forcible language,

intimating the desire of the framers of these institutions to put a stop to the continuation of revolutionary violence in future.

The constitution of the year 3, with all its defects, would have been willingly received by the nation in general, as affording some security from the revolutionary storm, had it not been for a selfish and usurping device of the Thermidorians to mutilate and render it nugatory at the very outset, by engrafting upon it the means of continuing the exercise of their own arbitrary authority. It must never be forgotten, that these conquerors of Robespierre had shared all the excesses of his party before they became his personal enemies; and that when deprived of their official situations and influence, which they were likely to be by a representative body freely and fairly elected, they were certain to be exposed to great individual danger.

Determined, therefore, to retain the power in their own hands, the Thermidorians suffered, with an indifference amounting almost to contempt, the constitution to pass through, and be approved of by, the convention. But, under pretence that it would be highly impolitic to deprive the nation of the services of men accustomed to public business, they procured two decrees to be passed; the first ordaining the electoral bodies of France to choose, as representatives to the two councils under the new constitution, at least two-thirds of the members presently sitting in convention; and the second declaring, that in default of a return of two-thirds of the present deputies, as prescribed, the convention themselves should fill up the vacancies out of their own body; in other words, should name a large proportion of themselves their own successors in legislative power.

These decrees were sent down to the primary assemblies of the people, and every art was used to render them acceptable; but the nation, and particularly the city of Paris, generally revolted at the stretch of arbitrary authority. They recollected, that all the members who had sat in the first national assembly, so remarkable for talent, had been declared ineligible, on that single account, for the second legislative body; and now, men so infinitely the inferiors of those who were the colleagues of Mirabeau, Mounier, and other great names, presumed not only to declare themselves eligible by re-election, but dared to establish two-thirds of their number as indispensable ingredients of the legislative assemblies, which, according to the words and spirit of the constitution, ought to be chosen by the free voice of the people. The electors, and particularly those of the sections of Paris, angrily demanded to know, upon what public services the deputies of the convention founded their title to a privilege so unjust and anomalous.

To sum up the whole, these experienced men of public business, without whose intermediation it was pretended the national affairs could not be carried on, could only shelter themselves from the charge of unbounded wickedness, by pleading their unlimited cowardice, and by poorly alleging that for two years they had sat, voted, and deliberated, under a system of compulsion and terror. So much meanness rendered those who were degraded by it unfit, not merely to rule, but to live; and yet two-thirds of their number were, according to their own decrees, to be intruded on the nation as an indispensable portion of its representatives.

Such was the language held in the assemblies of the sections of Paris, who were the more irritated against the domineering and engrossing spirit exhibited in these usurping enactments, because it was impossible to forget that it was their interference, and the protection afforded by their national guard, which had saved the convention from massacre on more occasions than one.

In the mean while, reports continued to be made from the primary assemblies, of their adhesion to the constitution, in which they were almost unanimous, and of their sentiments concerning the two decrees, authorising and commanding the re-election of two-thirds of the convention, on which there existed a strong difference of opinion. The convention, determined, at all events, to carry through with a high hand the iniquitous and arbitrary measure which they proposed, failed not to make these reports such as they desired them to be, and announced that the two decrees had been accepted by

a majority of the primary assemblies. The citizens of Paris challenged the accuracy of the returns—alleged that the reports were falsified—demanded a scrutiny, and openly bid defiance to the convention. Their power of meeting together in their sections, on account of the appeal to the people, gave them an opportunity of feeling their own strength, and encouraging each other by speeches and applauses. They were farther emboldened and animated by men of literary talent, whose power was restored with the liberty of the press. Finally, they declared their sittings permanent, and that they had the right to protect the liberties of France. The greater part of the national guards were united on this occasion against the existing government; and nothing less was talked of, than that they should avail themselves of their arms and numbers, march down to the Tuileries, and dictate law to the convention with their muskets, as the revolutionary mob of the suburbs used to do with their pikes.

The convention, unpopular themselves, and embarked in an unpopular cause, began to look anxiously around for assistance. They chiefly relied on the aid of about five thousand regular troops, who were assembled in and around Paris. These declared for government with the greater readiness, that the insurrection was of a character decidedly aristocratical, and that the French armies as already repeatedly noticed, were attached to the republic.

The convention had also the assistance of several hundred artillery-men, who, since the taking of the Bastille, had been always zealous democrats. Still apprehensive of the result, they added to this force another of a more ominous description. It was a body of volunteers, consisting of about fifteen hundred men, whom they chose to denominate the sacred band, or the patriots of 1789. They were gleaned out of the suburbs, and from the jails, the remnants of the insurrectional battalions which had formed the body-guard of Hebert and Robespierre, and had been the instruments by which they executed their atrocities. The convention proclaimed them men of the 10th of August—undoubtedly they were also men of the massacres of September. It was conceived that the beholding such a pack of bloodhounds, ready to be let loose, might inspire horror into the citizens of Paris, to whom their very aspect brought so many fearful recollections. It did so, but it also inspired hatred; and the number and zeal of the citizens, compensating for the fury of the Terrorists, and for the superior discipline of the regular troops to be employed against them, promised an arduous and doubtful conflict. Much, it was obvious, must depend upon the courage and conduct of the leaders.

The sections employed, as their commander-in-chief, general Danican, an old officer of no high reputation for military skill, but otherwise a worthy and sincere man. The convention at first made choice of Menou, and directed him, supported by a strong military force, to march into the section Le Pelletier, and disarm the national guards of that district. This section is one of the most wealthy, and of course most aristocratic, in Paris, being inhabited by bankers, merchants, and the wealthiest class of tradesmen, and the better orders in general. Its inhabitants had formerly composed the battalion of national guards des Filles Saint Thomas, the only one which, taking part in the defence of the Tuileries, shared the fate of the Swiss guards, upon the memorable 10th of August. The section continued to entertain sentiments of the same character, and when Menou appeared at the head of his forces, accompanied by La Porte, a member of the convention, he found the citizens under arms, and exhibiting such a show of resistance, as induced him, after a parley, to retreat without venturing an attack upon them.

Menou's indecision showed that he was not a man suited to the times, and he was suspended from his command by the convention, and placed under arrest. The general management of affairs, and the direction of the conventional forces, was then committed to Barras; but the utmost anxiety prevailed among the members of the committees by whom government was administered, to find a general of nerve and decision enough to act under Barras, in the actual command of the military force, in a service so delicate,

and times so menacing. It was then that a few words from Barras, addressed to his colleagues, Carnot and Tallien, decided the fate of Europe for well nigh twenty years. "I have the man" he said, "whom you want; a little Corsican officer, who will not stand upon ceremony."

The acquaintance of Barras and Buonaparte had been formed at the siege of Toulon, and the former had not forgotten the inventive and decisive genius of the young officer, to whom the conquest of that city was to be ascribed. On the recommendation of Barras, Buonaparte was sent for. He had witnessed the retreat of Menou, and explained with much simplicity the causes of that check, and the modes of resistance which ought to be adopted in case of the apprehended attack. His explanations gave satisfaction. Buonaparte was placed at the head of the conventional forces, and took all the necessary precautions to defend the same palace which he had seen attacked and carried by a body of insurgents on the 10th of August. But he possessed far more formidable means of defence than were in the power of the unfortunate Louis. He had two hundred pieces of cannon, which his high military skill enabled him to distribute to the utmost advantage. He had more than five thousand regular forces, and about fifteen hundred volunteers. He was thus enabled to defend the whole circuit of the Tuileries; to establish posts in all the avenues by which it could be approached; to possess himself of the bridges, so as to prevent co-operation between the sections which lay on the opposite bank of the river; and finally, to establish a strong reserve in the Place Louis Quinze, or, as it was then called, Place de la Revolution. Buonaparte had only a few hours to make all these arrangements, for he was named in place of Menou late on the night before the conflict.

On the 13th Vendemiaire, corresponding to the 5th of October, the civil affray, commonly called the day of the sections, took place. The national guards assembled, to the number of thirty thousand men and upwards, but having no artillery. They advanced by different avenues, in close columns, but every where found the most formidable resistance. One large force occupied the quays on the left bank of the Seine, threatening the palace from that side of the river. Another strong division advanced on the Tuileries, through the street of St. Honoré, designing to debouche on the palace, where the convention was sitting, by the Rue de l'Echelle. They did so, without duly reflecting that they were flanked on most points by strong posts in the lanes and crossings, defended by artillery.

The contest began in the Rue St. Honoré. Buonaparte had established a strong post with two guns at the Cul-de-Sac Dauphine, opposite the church of St. Roche. He permitted the imprudent Parisians to involve their long and dense columns in the narrow street without interruption, until they established a body of grenadiers in the front of the church, and opposite to the position at the Cul-de-Sac. Each party, as usual, throws on the other the blame of commencing the civil contest for which both were prepared. But all agree that the firing commenced with musketry. It was instantly followed by discharges of grape-shot and cannister, which, pointed as the guns were, upon thick columns of the national guards, arranged on the quays and in the narrow streets, made an astounding carnage. The national guards offered a brave resistance, and even attempted to rush on the artillery, and carry the guns by main force. But a measure which is desperate enough in the open field, becomes impossible when the road to assault lies through narrow streets, which are swept by the cannon at every discharge. The citizens were compelled to give way. By a more judicious arrangement of their respective forces different results might have been hoped; but how could Danican in any circumstances have competed with Buonaparte? The affair, in which several hundred men were killed and wounded, was terminated as a general action in about an hour; and the victorious troops of the convention, marching into the different sections, completed the dispersion and disarming of their opponents, an operation which lasted till late at night.

The convention used this victory with the moderation which recollection of the reign of terror had inspired. Only two persons suffered death for the day of the sections. One of them, La Fond, had been a garde de corps, was

distinguished for his intrepidity, and repeatedly rallied the national guard under the storm of grape-shot. Several other persons having fled, were in their absence capitally condemned, but were not strictly looked after; and deportation was the punishment inflicted upon others. The accused were indebted for this clemency chiefly to the interference of those members of convention, who, themselves exiled on the 31st of May, had suffered persecution, and learned mercy.

The convention showed themselves at the same time liberal to their protectors. General Berruyer, who commanded the volunteers of 1789, and other general officers employed on the day of the sections, were loaded with praises and preferment. But a separate triumph was destined to Buonaparte, as the hero of the day. Five days after the battle, Barras solicited the attention of the convention to the young officer, by whose prompt and skilful dispositions the Tuileries had been protected on the 13th Vendemaire, and proposed that they should approve of general Buonaparte's appointment as second in command of the army of the interior, Barras himself still remaining commander-in-chief. The proposal was adopted by acclamation. The convention retained their resentment against Menou, whom they suspected of treachery; but Buonaparte interfering as a mediator, they were content to look over his offence.

After this decided triumph over their opponents the convention ostensibly laid down their authority, and retiring from the scene in their present character, appeared upon it anew in that of a primary assembly, in order to make choice of such of their members as, by virtue of the decrees of two-thirds, as they were called, were to remain on the stage, as members of the legislative councils of elders and five hundred.

The directory consisted of Barras, Sieyes, Reubel, Latourneur de la Manche, and Reveilliere Lepaux, to the exclusion of Tallien, who was deeply offended. Four of these directors were reformed Jacobins, or Thermidoriens; the fifth, Reveilliere Lepaux, was esteemed a Girondist. Sieyes, whose taste was rather for speculating in politics than acting in them, declined what he considered a hazardous office, and was replaced by Carnot.

The nature of the insurrection of the sections was not ostensibly royalist. but several of its leaders were of that party in secret, and, if successful, it would most certainly have assumed that complexion. Thus, the first step of Napoleon's rise commenced by the destruction of the hopes of the house of Bourbon, under the reviving influence of which twenty years afterwards, he was obliged to succumb. But the long path which closed so darkly, was now opening upon him in light and joy. Buonaparte's high services, and the rank which he had obtained, rendered him now a young man of the first hope and expectation, mingling on terms of consideration among the rulers of the state, instead of being regarded as a neglected stranger, supporting himself with difficulty, and haunting public offices and bureaux in vain, to obtain some chance of preferment, or even employment.

From second in command, the new general soon became general-in-chief of the army of the Interior, Barras having found his duties as a director were incompatible with those of military command. He employed his genius, equally prompt and profound, in improving the state of the military forces; and, in order to prevent the recurrence of such insurrections as that of the 13th Vendemaire, or day of the sections, and as the many others by which it was preceded, he appointed and organized a guard for the protection of the representative body.

Meantime circumstances, which we will relate according to his own statement, introduced Buonaparte to an acquaintance, which was destined to have such influence on his future fate. A fine boy, of ten or twelve years old, presented himself at the levee of the general of the interior, with a request of a nature unusually interesting. He stated his name to be Eugene Beauharnois, son of the ci-devant vicomte de Beauharnois, who, adhering to the revolutionary party, had been a general in the republican service upon the Rhine, and falling under the causeless suspicion of the committee of public safety, was delivered to the revolutionary tribunal. and fell by its sentence

just four days before the overthrow of Robespierre. Eugene was come to request of Buonaparte, as general of the interior, that his father's sword might be restored to him. The prayer of the young supplicant was as interesting as his manners were engaging, and Napoleon felt so much interest in him, that he was induced to cultivate the acquaintance of Eugene's mother, afterwards the empress Josephine.

This lady was a Creolian, the daughter of a planter in St. Domingo. Her name at full length was Marie Joseph Rose Tascher de la Pagerie. She had suffered her share of revolutionary miseries. After her husband, general Beauharnois, had been deprived of his command, she was arrested as a suspected person, and detained in prison till the general liberation, which succeeded the revolution of the 9th Thermidor. While in confinement, madame Beauharnois had formed an intimacy with a companion in distress, madame Fontenai, now madame Tallien, from which she derived great advantages after her friend's marriage.

With a remarkably graceful person, amiable manners, and an inexhaustible fund of good humour, madame Beauharnois was formed to be an ornament to society. Barras, the Thermidorion hero, himself an ex-noble, was fond of society, desirous of enjoying it on an agreeable scale, and of washing away the dregs which Jacobinism had mingled with all the dearest interests of life. He loved show and pleasure, too, and might now indulge both without the risk of falling under the suspicion of incivism, which, in the reign of terror, would have been incurred by any attempt to intermingle elegance with the enjoyments of social intercourse. At the apartments which he occupied, as one of the directors, in the Luxembourg palace, he gave its free course to his natural taste, and assembled an agreeable society of both sexes. Madame Tallien and her friend formed the soul of these assemblies, and it was supposed that Barras was not insensible to the charms of madame Beauharnois,—a rumour which was likely to arise, whether with or without foundation.

When madame Beauharnois and general Buonaparte became intimate, the latter assures us, and we see no reason to doubt him, that although the lady was two or three years older than himself, yet being still in the full bloom of beauty, and extremely agreeable in her manners, he was induced, solely by her personal charms, to make her an offer of his hand, heart, and fortunes—little supposing, of course, to what a pitch the latter were to arise.

The marrying madame Beauharnois was a mean of uniting his fortune with those of Barras and Tallien, the first of whom governed France as one of the directors; and the last, from talents and political connexions, had scarcely inferior influence. He had already deserved well of them for his conduct on the day of the sections, but he required their countenance to rise still higher; and without derogating from the bride's merits, we may suppose her influence in their society corresponded with the views of her lover.

It is, however, certain, that he always regarded her with peculiar affection; that he relied on her fate, which he considered as linked with and strengthening his own; and reposed, besides, considerable confidence in Josephine's tact and address in political business. She had at all times the art of mitigating his temper, and turning aside the hasty determinations of his angry moments, not by directly opposing, but by gradually parrying and disarming them. It must be added to her great praise, that she was always a willing, and often a successful advocate, in the cause of humanity.

They were married on the 9th of March 1796; and the dowry of the bride was the chief command of the Italian armies, a scene which opened a full career to the ambition of the youthful general. Buonaparte remained with his wife only three days after his marriage, hastened to see his family, who were still at Marseilles, and, having enjoyed the pleasure of exhibiting himself as a favourite of fortune, in the city which he had lately left in the capacity of an indigent adventurer, proceeded rapidly to commence the career to which fate called him, by placing himself at the head of the Italian army.

LETTER XXVII.

Affairs of Great Britain from the commencement of the war with France,—sends an army into Flanders,—subsidizes Prussia,—has a dispute with America,—bad state of her domestic politics.—Lord Howe defeats the French fleet,—ill success of the Duke of York,—miseries of his retreating army,—he returns to England with the wreck of his army.—Austria subsidized.—English expedition to the coast of France,—tumultuous proceedings in the British metropolis.—Lord Malmesbury sent to Paris to negotiate a Peace,—its failure, &c.—A. D. 1793—1796.

IN the grand drama that was at this time acting on the theatre of the world, all the powers of Europe were unhappily called to sustain a part: but France was unquestionably the prime actor, and her history must therefore be allowed to take the precedence of that of every other country. It would nevertheless, be unpardonable in an English historian, to pass over unheeded the transactions of his own country during this fearful crisis, and therefore you must allow me, my dear Philip to carry you back to the commencement of the year 1793, the period when Great Britain declared war against the French republic.

We may now be allowed to say that it had been happy for England, and for the continental states also, had she stood aloof at this awful crisis, as a mere spectator of the horrid tragedy, occupying an attitude of self-defence. Secure in her insulated situation, and garrisoned by her wooden walls, she might have bid defiance to the volcano, and remained secure amid the tempest. It was her policy also to remain at peace; but, unhappily, at this time, the sympathies of the different parties in England was so powerfully excited by the state of things on the continent, that the dictates of sound reason could no longer be heard; and the wickedness of the ruling party in France was certainly calculated to awaken the horror of men in an extraordinary degree: the consequence was that the original friends of the revolution became mute; and the once sacred name of liberty itself became offensive; the alarmists rose suddenly in number and force; clamours and indignation sprang up in every quarter; and amidst a wild uproar of false terrors and of virtuous sympathy, the nation was plunged headlong into a state of war.

It must indeed be admitted, that the conduct of those persons in France, who had risen to power, was not much calculated to conciliate the good opinion of the British government. The presumptuous confidence inspired by the success of her arms, led her rulers to volunteer assistance to such other countries as were dissatisfied with their political condition; and a letter from the minister of marine, addressed to all friends of liberty in the sea-ports, contained the following passage which, among others, was quoted and unadverted upon by Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons: "The king and his parliament mean to make war against us: will the English republicans suffer it? already these freemen show their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French. Well; we will fly to their succour; we will make a descent in the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren: their tyrannical government shall soon be destroyed."

At the meeting of parliament 1793, the formation of a republic in France, the proceedings against the unhappy Louis, and the active correspondence kept up between some societies in England and the French revolutionists, excited general attention, and seriously alarmed both the court and the aristocracy. Besides convening the two houses of parliament at an earlier period than usual, the king had called out a considerable part of the militia, as if the country were threatened with imminent danger. And in the speech

from the throne, the two houses were requested, without delay, to adopt such measures as might be necessary for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

To prevent the intrusion of foreign emissaries of sedition, a seasonable bill was brought forward by lord Grenville; and while it was in its progress, M. Chauvelin, the French chargé d'Affaires, sent a note to the minister, intimating the wish of the executive council of France, to preserve peace and amity with Great Britain; at the same time, lamenting the apparent disinclination of the English cabinet to a friendly agreement. The recall of lord Gower from Paris, the refusal of acknowledging M. Chauvelin as a minister of the republic, the stoppage of the supplies of corn, and the encouragement supposed to be given by England to Austria and Prussia, had alarmed and disgusted the French. An application, therefore, was now made for an unequivocal answer to a plain question: "Whether the French were to consider Great Britain as a neutral or a hostile power?" Some explanations were also offered on the part of France, regarding two obnoxious decrees; but they were not satisfactory to the English secretary, who hinted that the conduct of France was such as to preclude the neutrality of the nations around her; and admonished her, if she really wished to preserve peace with Great Britain, "to show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights."

In a note from the executive council, reference was made to the conduct of the king of Spain, who had treated with a minister of the republic, and adjusted a convention of neutrality; and it was hoped, that Great Britain would not scruple to follow the example of a power of the first rank! Further explanations of the disputed points were also offered by M. Chauvelin. It was affirmed, that the idea of encouraging sedition was by no means entertained by the framers of that decree, which promised assistance in the cause of liberty; that the expression of the general will of any country was a very different thing from sedition, which was only the commotion or rising of a small number against the majority of a nation; that when Henry IV. of France, and the English queen Elizabeth, supported the Dutch against Philip II., they were not considered as promoters of sedition; and that it was the duty of one state to grant assistance, when the greater part of a community wished to reform or improve its government.

To these observations, lord Grenville replied in a spirited tone. He considered them to be accompanied with menacing intimations, and, consequently, as involving new grounds of offence, which would prove a bar to every kind of negotiation. The pretended explanations, he said, were no better than insults; and the motives which had induced his sovereign to prepare for violent extremities, still existed in full force; nor would the preparations be discontinued, or omitted, so long as the French retained that turbulent and aggressive spirit, which threatened danger to every country in Europe.

While these discussions between lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin were pending, intelligence was received of the condemnation and public execution of Louis XVI., and every sentiment of abhorrence towards the French republic was now kindled into a flame. The first political result was an order from his majesty, transmitted by lord Grenville, for the departure of M. Chauvelin from the kingdom, within eight days. On the 28th of January, 1793, a message from the king was sent down to parliament, acquainting both houses that he had directed copies of several papers, received from M. Chauvelin, and the answers to them, to be laid before them, together with a copy of the order now mentioned; and also, that he thought it necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces both by sea and land.

The British government now resolved to send a body of troops into the Netherlands, to act in concert with the allied powers on the continent, and his royal highness the duke of York was vested with the command of both

the British and Hanoverian armies. The troops left London on the 23th of February, 1793, accompanied by Greenwich by the king and queen, and others of the royal family, where they embarked, and proceeding to the coast of Holland, landed at Helvoetsluis, from whence they marched to join the combined army. The commencement of the campaign was attended with considerable success on the part of the allies. The French were defeated at the battle of Famars, in which their general, Dampierre, was killed, and on which occasion the British guards performed prodigies of valour. On the 10th of July, after a blockade of three months, the town of Condé surrendered to the Austrians. Its capture was soon followed by that of Valenciennes, which after sustaining a destructive and murderous siege of seven weeks, surrendered by capitulation, on the 20th of July, to the duke of York. Encouraged by this success, his royal highness proceeded without delay, to the attack of Dunkirk. The French camp of Ghiveldt was abandoned at his approach. He then advanced to attack the outposts of Dunkirk, and after a sharp action, attended with considerable loss on both sides, the French were driven into the town. In this action the famous Austrian general, Dalton, was killed, with several other distinguished officers. On the following day (25th of August) the siege was regularly formed, and every thing seemed to promise a successful issue; but it was not long ere the hopes conceived from this expedition were found to be illusory. A considerable naval armament from England, was to have co-operated in the siege; but from some unexplained cause, it was not able to sail so soon as the time fixed on. In the mean while, the enemy's gun boats were anchored so near the shore, as to be able, with ease, to enfilade the British encampment. By the destructive fire thus kept up, great numbers of valuable officers, as well as privates, were killed; and the garrison, consisting of twenty thousand men, made frequent and vigorous sorties. The French, in the mean time, had a camp at Mont Cassel, and their troops collecting in great numbers, defeated the covering army under general Freytag. Thus, the want of a naval co-operation, the annoyance of the enemy's gun-boats, the strength of the garrison, and a formidable French army under general Houchard, menacing the camp of the besiegers, formed a combination of obstacles which all their skill and courage were inadequate to surmount. The allies, oppressed by a superiority of force, after having, for the space of a fortnight, persevered in the siege, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, and fought several actions, in which they had sustained very considerable loss, were compelled to abandon the enterprise, leaving behind them a numerous train of artillery, consisting of thirty-five twenty-four pounders, besides mortars and howitzers, with about five hundred barrels of gunpowder, and other military stores. In this disastrous retreat, which began on the 8th of September, the duke of York, who is said to have behaved with the greatest intrepidity and coolness, exposing himself to every danger incident to his situation, was on the point of being surrounded and made prisoner by the enemy; and his brother, the duke of Cambridge, was actually in the hands of the enemy, for a short time, on the 14th of September, but not being recognized by them, he fortunately made his escape. General Houchard was impeached by the convention, and guillotined, for neglecting to improve his advantages in this instance, as it was confidently asserted, that he had it in his power to capture the whole of the allied army.

The retreat of the allies from before Dunkirk, and also from Maubeuge, which took place about the same time, gave an unfavourable turn to the state of their affairs in Flanders: all their posts from Nieuport to Maubeuge were attacked. The seasonable intervention of sir Charles Grey, with a body of troops originally destined for the West Indies, saved Nieuport; and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, after defeating the enemy in several partial engagements, made himself master of Quesnoy, thus securing winter quarters for his army. He was, however, defeated near Maubeuge, and his designs on that place were rendered abortive. With these reverses of fortune, the success of the allies on the Belgic frontier may be said to have terminated.

On the Rhine, general Wurmser, at the head of an army of Austrians and

Prussians, after forcing the lines of Weissembourg, reduced Haguenau and Fort Louis, and drove the French under the cannon of Strasburg; but here the tide of success began to turn. The republicans, strongly re-inforced from the interior, compelled Wurmser, and the duke of Brunswick to retreat: the former towards Haguenau, the latter to Lanturn, at the latter of which places, the duke repulsed the French with considerable loss. From this success, however, he reaped but little advantage; for the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, under Pichegru and Hoche, attacked the Austrian general Wurmser, near Haguenau, and after various assaults and repulses, carried all the lines and redoubts at the point of the bayonet. Two other engagements in similar situations, and equally destructive, in which the French were victorious, obliged the Austrians to repossess the Rhine. The republicans, availing themselves of their advantages, retook Weissembourg, and the prince of Hohenlohe raised the siege of Landau, and retreated to Mentz. Thus terminated the campaign of 1793, of which the commencement had raised such brilliant hopes and expectations. At one time, the combined armies were penetrating into France, at different points of the frontier, from Strasburg to Dunkirk, and the southern provinces of the republic were in open insurrection; but at the end of the year, the allies were every where repulsed, and Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, reduced under the power of the constitution.

On the meeting of the British parliament, 21st of Jan. 1794, the speech from the throne, adverted to the existing state of affairs in France, and characterized the government as a system which openly violated every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion. The extraordinary efforts made by that country during the last campaign, was said to be founded solely on the usurpation of power, which rendered the existing rulers absolute masters of peoples' lives; and the system they had adopted was represented as tending rapidly to exhaust the natural strength of the country. The speech was warmly applauded by the supporters of administration, and the amendments to the corresponding addresses, in which his majesty was requested to avail himself of the earliest opportunity for concluding an honourable peace, were rejected by large majorities. The minister and his supporters contended, that the government of France was hostile, intractable, and such as precluded the possibility of negotiation; that its oppressive nature must speedily work its own cure, and accomplish the views of the allies: it would drive the people of France into despair, and exhaust, by its excessive exertion, the energies of the country. And when France should be delivered from its yoke, and a government of a different description should re-instate good faith and moderation in the nation, then, and not till then, would it be safe to repose confidence in their treaties or practicable to obtain them.

In answer to this, it was contended by Mr. Fox and his friends, that the atrocities of the French were neither the true causes of the war, nor a sufficient excuse for continuing it. Nations and their governments, it was contended, made treaties and kept their faith, not from motives of morality, but of self-preservation. Did we assert that the French would not negotiate? It was prejudging the case, for we had not tried them. Was it assumed that France would not abide by any treaties into which she might enter, because she was hostile and ambitious? She always had been hostile and ambitious, and yet she had kept her engagements. Our object in the war was said to be security; but what 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 think to place a king upon the throne of France? The ministers durst not avow the design. Did we look to the chapter of accidents to produce a counter-revolution? If so, we declared ourselves embarked in a war which might endure as long as France had an existence. But the resources of France, it was contended on the ministerial side of the house, were tottering

in their last decline. Our financiers had predicted the immediate ruin of their credit. To expose the fallacy of this hope, the most important part of Mr. Fox's speech at the opening of the session was directed. The French, it had been said, were without money and without commerce—they must trust to unaccredited assignats to provide for their future campaigns. But a nation may be so situated, said Mr. Fox,—it may have its pride and its energies so unusually excited, as to set at defiance the common rules of calculation; and such was the case with France; a nation so powerful by nature, and so fertile in invention, that she could rely on those 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 gold nor assignats, yet they overturned the Roman empire, as Rome, in its comparative poverty, had overcome Carthage.

These few remarks will enable you, my son, to form your estimate of the state of political parties in your own country at this eventful crisis; but the subject is one on which we cannot dwell minutely. Though little encouraged by the past to hope for success, yet the minority renewed their efforts against the continuance of the war. In the house of peers, the marquis of Lansdowne resumed the subject on the 17th of February, and detailed the numerous and cogent reasons that should induce England 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 military passion. The incongruous host with whom England is now leagued against France exhibits a very different aspect. Far from being enthusiastic in a common cause, they are captiously attached to their individual interests, and equally at variance with each other. Austria is ambitious, and Prussia jealous of Austria: they have no cementing principles 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 rich in credit, can scarcely raise a million at double the usual interest. Russia alone of all the allies of Britain, is strong and able; but what reason have we to expect her promises to be realized? Peace, we are told, is not to be concluded with such men as the present rulers of France; but the same plea was urged 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 and security for the future, which was said to be 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 paltry island, or a settlement which we might receive for a compensation." All these were weighty considerations, certainly, but they were thrown away upon the British government at that time.

The landing of a body of Hessian troops on the Isle of Wight, at this juncture, ostensibly with the view of recruiting them from the fatigues of a voyage from Germany, till a projected expedition should take place, became a subject of warm debate in both houses. The opposition contended, that such an introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, without the previous consent of parliament, was absolutely illegal: whilst the minister and his friends maintained that there was no precise law on the subject, and that nothing unconstitutional had been done in the case: they consequently refused to accept the bill of indemnity which was tendered them.

Great Britain having now embarked in the war, and from an accessory become a principal, found it necessary to subsidize the continental powers. Accordingly, on voting the army estimates for the year, 1794, a treaty which the British government had entered into with Prussia was now submitted to

the notice of parliament. The public had already received several intimations that the king of Prussia was little disposed to a further prosecution of hostilities against France. Commissioners from each of those powers had met at Frankfort, and the formality with which they assembled, and the secrecy with which they negotiated, gave intimation of something more serious than a pretended exchange of prisoners. On the Prussian side of the negotiation general Kalkreuth was employed, an officer deep in the confidence of his sovereign. It was generally believed in Britain, that as Prussia had begun the war from the hope of dismembering France, she would recede from the coalition the moment she found that object impracticable. The court of Berlin acted on this occasion with its characteristic policy. Before it ventured to declare its intention of abandoning the coalition, application was made to the diet of Ratisbon for a part of the expenses that would be incurred for the defence of the Germanic states; and in default of remuneration from the diet, Great Britain appeared to be the only quarter from which 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; assigning as his reasons, the unconquerable resources of the French, and the exhausted state of his own treasury.

Mr. Pitt brought forward the subject of the Prussian alliance, on the 30th of April, when he stated the inadequate finances of that power, and the necessity there existed of aiding by a British subsidy the resources of that country, and purchasing the use of Prussian soldiers in the present contest. He proposed that the sum of two millions and a half, sterling, should be voted to enable the king of Prussia to keep the field. The subject was warmly debated, and Mr. Fox proposed that the sum should be reduced to one million and a half, reproaching prodigality towards so faithless an ally as the king of Prussia. England had taken up arms, he asserted, as the accessories of that prince, who had now artfully made her the principal in the quarrel, and was moreover extorting from her the price of her own imprudence in standing at the head of the alliance, compelling her to be pay-mistress of the whole. The subsidy however was voted.

At this time the British government became involved in a contention with the United States of America, which was ultimately attended with serious effects. Soon after the breaking out of the war with France, orders were issued for detaining all American vessels freighted with corn to France, confiscating their cargoes, but paying for them and the freight. This measure was resented by the Americans as an infraction of their independence; but their complaint was disregarded, and shortly after an order was issued for seizing all American ships, carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies, and also for obliging American ships sailing from the British islands to give security for landing their cargoes in neutral or British ports. More than six hundred American vessels were seized in consequence of this order, in the short space of five months.

A further cause of complaint was given to the United States, by the occupation of some forts on the borders of Canada by the British troops, which had been ceded to the Americans in the peace of 1783, and by a conference held with several Indian tribes by lord Dorchester, governor of Canada. The American government showed its resentment of these proceedings by an embargo of thirty days on the British shipping in their ports, and appointed Mr. Jay, chief justice of the United States, its minister for settling the differences between the two countries. He arrived in England during the summer of 1794, and delivered a memorial on the subject, in which, among other topics, there was contained the reiterated complaint of severity exercised on American seamen, and their being compelled to serve on board of English ships of war. His majesty's minister tendered a conciliatory answer, and both parties being pacifically disposed, the dispute was at that time compromised.

Amidst this regard to foreign politics, the parliament and the public found their attention at this time deeply engrossed with the internal affairs

of the nation. The progress of French principles excited very serious alarm in the higher classes of society, and among the friends of all existing establishments, in which the ministers also participated; they accordingly resolved on adopting the most effectual methods for arresting their progress. One of the most prominent causes of apprehension was the formation of societies for the declared purpose of obtaining a legitimate reform in parliament. In Scotland, a party zealous for reform had projected what they called a national convention, and in framing it, had unwisely imitated the titles and proceedings of the French republicans. This naturally attracted the notice of government, and prosecutions were instituted against some of the leading members upon an old Scottish statute concerning leasing-making, or, in modern style, sowing discord between the king and his subjects. The result was that the court of judicature in Edinburgh, and the circuit court of Perth, adjudged to transportation Mr. Muir, a gentleman in the profession of the law, and a Mr. Palmer, a dissenting minister of the class of Unitarians.

There were two principal societies in England at this time, having for their avowed object the procuring of a reform of the representation in parliament: these were the society for constitutional information, and the corresponding society. The agents of government had for some time past kept a watchful eye upon their proceedings; and judging that sufficient grounds existed for supporting a legal charge against them, some of the leading members of both societies were apprehended and committed to the Tower. A message was then delivered from the king to both houses of parliament, informing them that seditious practices had been carried on by societies in London in correspondence with other societies, for the purpose of assembling a convention to represent the people of England; that their papers had been seized, and would be laid before parliament, where an examination of them was recommended, with the adoption of such measures as might appear necessary. The next measure of the minister was to move for a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, which was strongly opposed as a measure unwarranted by any existing necessity; it was however carried; and an address to his majesty was moved, assuring him of their determination to punish the guilty, at the same time investing him with additional power for the suppression of attempts against his government.

A bill of indictment having been found against thirteen members of the reforming societies, the trials commenced with that of Thomas Hardy, who, with his fellow prisoners, was charged with nine overt acts of treason. Few state trials ever excited more anxiety in the public mind than this, it being generally understood, that upon the issue of it would depend the fate, not only of his accomplices, but probably of many more who were within the reach of government. The trial lasted eight days, and ended in the prisoner's acquittal, to the inexpressible joy of all who entertained similar political sentiments, and indeed to the satisfaction of the greater part of the public, who were convinced that the charge went beyond the crime, and that nothing could be more dangerous to the liberties of the country than the attempt now made to extend the doctrine of constructive treason.

On the acquittal of Hardy, the celebrated John Horne Tooke was put upon his trial, which was remarkable for nothing so much as the perfect ease and self-possession of the accused, while the persons whom he summoned as witnesses, among whom was Mr. Pitt himself, were at times not a little disconcerted at his questions. The trial lasted five days, and ended in an acquittal, after a very short deliberation on the part of the jury. A third effort was then made to procure the conviction of John Thelwall, but it terminated, like the former, in disappointment to the prosecutors, on which the crown declined all further attempts, and the remaining prisoners were discharged. Thus concluded an affair which produced an extraordinary sensation, at the moment, and which furnished an additional and very striking proof of the excellence of the English constitution, and the high importance of the trial by jury in criminal cases. We now turn to the naval exploits of Great Britain during the year 1794.

The destruction of the French ships and stores at Toulon, though it had

considerably weakened the power of the republic in the Mediterranean, appeared to be little felt at the port of Brest, the great dépôt on the frontiers of the Atlantic. There the dock-yards and arsenals resounded with the notes of war and preparation ; and every republican breast was inspired with the hope of being able, ere long, to strike a decisive blow against the navy of England. The British channel fleet, though it had lain at anchor during the winter months, was ready for a start, the moment intelligence should arrive from the numerous cruisers off the French coast, that the Brest fleet had put to sea. However, as the spring advanced, exclusive of that of fighting the enemy, other things rendered it necessary that lord Howe should quit the port ; one was to convoy the East and West India merchant ships clear of the channel ; the other, to intercept a French fleet that was expected to return from the ports of the United States of America, richly laden with the produce of the West India islands, particularly with provisions and stores of which France stood much in need.

Early in the month of May, the different outward bound fleets were ready for sea, and convoyed by lord Howe as far as the Lizard Point, when, committing them to the protection of rear-admiral Montague, who with six ships of seventy-four guns each and two frigates was to have the further charge of them, his lordship, with a fleet now reduced to twenty-six sail of the line, immediately steered for Ushant, from whence he dispatched two of his frigates to look into the port of Brest, and watch the motions of the enemy's fleet. The reconnoitring ships, while standing in towards Mathias Point, plainly saw the French fleet at anchor in Brest water, and returned to lord Howe with the intelligence, who concluding that if they put to sea it would be to afford protection to the immense fleet then expected from America, steered direct for the latitude through which the latter would in all probability pass.

On the 16th of May, the grand fleet of France, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line and sixteen frigates and sloops, under the joint command of admiral Villaret, and the conventional deputy Jean Bon Saint André, sailed from the port of Brest ; and no sooner did lord Howe receive intelligence of their being at sea than he pressed his fleet in pursuit of them. On the 20th, the two fleets came in sight of each other, when they proved to be of equal number of ships. The French, however, showed a great desire to avoid an action, and had recourse to a system of manœuvring in order to escape, so that it was not until the 29th that they came into contact. At day light of that morning, the rival fleets were perceived to be about six miles asunder ; and about seven o'clock, when the chasing ships of the preceding night had fallen into their stations in line a-head, lord Howe, with a view of making some impression on the enemy's rear, ordered the ships under his command to tack in succession. A signal was then given to engage and pass through the French line, with permission to fire on the enemy in passing. A partial action was continued through the day and both fleets suffered considerably. The French admiral, however, who from the moment he gained sight of the British fleet on the morning of the 28th until he wore on the following afternoon, having possessed the weather gage of his opponent, had it at his option to bring on a general action at his pleasure ; he nevertheless prudently declined it, and a dense fog coming on, it was not until the morning of the 31st of May that the two fleets had a distinct view of each other. Lord Howe, now determined if possible to prevent their escape and bring them to action ; and accordingly, he issued his orders that each ship should carry commanding sail during the night, and stationed two of his frigates a mile or two to leeward of his own fleet, for the purpose of watching the enemy's motions. The English fleet continued during the night standing to the westward ; and at day-break on the memorable 1st of June, the French fleet was descried about five leagues off, on the starboard, or lee-bow of the British. At seven o'clock the fleets had approximated within four miles of each other ; and soon afterwards a signal was thrown out for each ship to steer for, and engage severally the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line. Some changes now became expedient in the British line, in order that

the French three deckers, and other heavy ships, might be suitably opposed. At a quarter past nine the French van opened a distant fire, which presently extended along the whole French line, and in a short time the British fleet commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of lord Howe's ships made their way through the French line, and engaged their opponents to leeward. The remainder hauled up to windward, and opened their fire at various distances. The ships of the two fleets were now engaged *pell-mell*, and all was smoke and confusion. About ten o'clock, the French admiral in the *Montagne* made sail ahead, followed by his second astern, and afterwards by such others of his ships as, like the *Montagne*, had suffered little in the action.

About noon the firing ceased, and soon afterwards six dismayed French ships, being the nearest at hand, were secured by the British fleet. These were the *Sans Pareil*; the *Juste*; *L'Amerique*; *Impetueux*; *Northumberland*; and *Achille*. The loss on board these six ships alone amounted to about seven hundred killed and six hundred wounded, and the total loss sustained by the French fleet must have been at least double, if not treble that amount. In addition to these six captured vessels, the French line of battle ship, the *Vengeur*, was sunk during the action, after she had been taken possession of by the *Orion*, with nearly half her surviving crew on board. The loss on the part of the British was said to be about three hundred killed and nine hundred wounded. The French admiral having succeeded in securing four crippled ships, put away to the northward, and by six in the evening, with the remnant of his fleet, was completely out of sight. But such was the crippled state of the prizes, and of several ships belonging to the British fleet, that it was not until five o'clock of the morning of the 13th of June, that lord Howe was enabled to anchor at Spithead. From these brilliant naval exploits, however, we must now revert to the military proceedings on the continent of Europe.

The French having completely organized their immense armies, and planned their new system of tactics, which was of a widely extended combination, their forces were, by a judicious admixture of the new levies with the veteran soldiers, rendered tremendously formidable. General Pichegru having remodelled his army advanced against the duke of York from Lisle, while another army compelled the Austrians to retreat towards Mons. His royal highness finding his outposts taken and his front attacked, displayed all the skill of an experienced general; he instantly ordered sixteen squadrons of British cavalry to charge the main body of the enemy, drawn up in a plain fronting his camp. These brave troops soon penetrated the line of French cavalry, cut to pieces three entire regiments of carabineers and put the rest to flight. They were, nevertheless, received with extraordinary firmness by the infantry, the front rank of which, resting the butts of their muskets steadily on the ground, opposed the points of their bayonets to the horses, while the rear lines kept up an incessant firing on their riders. After three successive attacks, supported by the fire of some field-pieces, the French infantry was broken, and a terrible carnage ensued. Thus defeated on the right, the French slackened their cannonade from the front, and their left retreating before the Hanoverians, the victory on the part of the British was complete.

At this time the emperor of Austria, Francis II. disgusted at the reverses which the allies had experienced at the close of the campaign of 1793, and with the view of preventing any jealousies which might spring up among the generals, determined to put himself at the head of the grand army. The Austrians, under general Kaunitz, repulsed the French near Mons, and forced them to repossess the Sambre. His imperial majesty thinking that quarter secure, committed to his brother, the archduke Charles, the command of the army of Orchies; and having joined the duke of York with a considerable reinforcement, a plan was concerted for effecting a junction with general Clairfait, and afterwards proceeding to a general engagement in order to expel the French from the Netherlands. During the night the allied army marched forwards in three columns, each of which was defeated. The duke of York, with his column, gained great honour by his skilful re-

treat, after sustaining a most vigorous attack. His royal highness found it necessary to retreat to Oudenarde, thus leaving Tournay exposed, which came into the possession of the French without resistance. The duke then drew back to the vicinity of Antwerp, where he was joined by lord Moira with ten thousand additional British troops. The numerous sanguinary conflicts which took place on this occasion, continued with little intermission during the space of two days, and the success which the French obtained decided the fate of the remainder of the campaign. Charleroi fell; and general Moreau, after defeating Clairfait, made himself master of Ypres. Bruges submitted to the French arms on the 24th of June. The garrison of Ostend being withdrawn, the French entered it, and were received with joy. It was now manifest through the whole of their invasion of the Belgic provinces, that the recollection of the Austrian tyranny had disposed the people in general readily to admit a change of masters. This was especially observable at Brussels, which the prince of Saxe Cobourg in vain attempted to cover by strong entrenchments in the forest of Soignies. He was driven from them with great loss; and the Austrians taking flight through Brussels in the night, left the capital open to their pursuers, who on the 9th of July, entered it in triumph. Ghent had opened its gates on the 5th of that month. The duke of York and lord Moira, after taking shelter in Mechlin, evacuated the place and proceeded to Antwerp. The French now advancing from Brussels, marched against general Clairfait, who was protecting Louvain, and having defeated him, obtained possession of that city on the 15th of July. Antwerp surrendered undefended on the 23d and thus the whole of Austrian Flanders and Brabant, fell under the dominion of the French. The strong city and citadel of Namur were evacuated by general Beaulieu on the 17th, and the Austrians were soon after driven from Liege and its territory.

The campaign on the frontiers of Germany was not less successful to the French republic than had been that in the Netherlands. It began with the reduction of Kaiserslautern and Spire, with other fortresses in that quarter. An obstinate engagement took place on the 12th of July, which continued through the following day, between the French and Prussians, and ended in the defeat of the latter. Two subsequent days of fighting obliged the Austrians and Prussians to retreat towards Mentz; and on the 8th of August the French army on the Moselle took possession of Treves. Their next object was to recover those towns within the limits of France which had been taken by the allies: and Landrecies, Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé were brought to capitulate after a slender resistance, the garrisons being threatened with military execution if they persisted in defending them. In all these places immense stores of ammunition and provisions were found.

The emperor of Germany had, by this time, acquired sufficient experience of military life and became weary of the scenes around him. Leaving the command of his army, therefore, to the prince of Saxe Cobourg he returned to Vienna. The disastrous close of the last campaign had occasioned a coolness between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, which soon kindled into animosity. The duke of Brunswick resigned his command, and the king of Prussia began to think of withdrawing from the coalition. The duke had represented to his majesty, that the want of concord and the spirit of distrust had disconcerted all the measures of the allies. "When a great nation," said his serene highness, "such as that of France, conducts its affairs by the terror of punishments, and the energy of enthusiasm, the combined powers ought to be guided by only one sentiment and one principle: but if, instead of co-operating with this unanimity, each army acts separately and without concerting with the others, without fixed plans, without concord and without principle, the consequences to be expected are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, at the capture of Lyons, at the destruction of Toulon, and at the siege of Landau. May heaven preserve your majesty from great misfortunes! But every thing is to be dreaded unless constancy, harmony, and uniformity of principles and actions, assume the place of opposing sentiments, which during the two

“last years have occasioned so many calamities. The same causes which have divided the allied powers divide them still. The movements of the armies will again suffer as they have suffered; they will experience delay and embarrassments. Time will be necessary to recruit the Prussian army; policy absolutely requires it. These delays will perhaps prove the source of a train of misfortunes in the ensuing campaign, the consequences of which are incalculable.”

This letter, which was addressed to his Prussian majesty from Oppenheim on the 6th of January, 1794, expressed in energetic terms the opinion which the duke of Brunswick now entertained of the hopeless issue of the war. The writer of it was not only a consummate general, but a conspicuous actor in the important transactions of the times: and his letter exhibits a more correct view of the state of affairs at that period, than volumes of conjectural history compiled in the closet would supply. The fact is that distrust and jealousy prevailed, not only between the Prussian and Austrian armies, but also between their cabinets. The emperor represented to the princes of the Germanic states, the dangers that impended over them; and he invited the circles to rise in a mass against an enemy who every where wished to destroy royalty, nobility, religion, and property: in a word, to trample on every law divine and human; and he peremptorily required that such of the states as had not yet contributed to the common defence, should furnish the triple contingent. The demand, however, was ill received: Austria and Prussia were suspected of entertaining the design of dismembering France: and the probable aggrandizement of these two great powers excited the jealousy of the weaker states, to whom war presented much danger without the prospect of indemnity. The king of Prussia opposed the *levee-en-masse* on the frontier, which he represented to be not only ruinous to agriculture, but also as a dangerous measure in the midst of that agitation which French principles had created in the minds of the multitude.

It was not long, however, before Frederick William, began more manifestly to show his remissness in the common cause of opposing French democracy. After declaring his inability to sustain the enormous expenses of the war, he announced his determination to furnish no more troops than his contingent as elector of Brandenburg required; and he ordered general Mollendorf, who had succeeded the duke of Brunswick, to retire with his army towards Cologne, leaving only twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Mentz, under the command of general Kalkreuth. It was to prevent the defection of so powerful a body from the confederacy, that the British parliament voted the sum of two millions and a half, as a subsidy to his Prussian majesty, as mentioned in the former part of this letter, in order that he might be enabled to continue the war. About the same time a treaty was concluded with the king of Sardinia, who was to receive from Great Britain two hundred thousand pounds per annum. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was also to furnish eight thousand men, in return for which England agreed to pay one hundred thousand pounds for levy money, fifty six thousand pounds per annum, and a certain stipulated sum for every Hessian soldier that should be slain!

The king of Prussia, notwithstanding the subsidy which he received from England kept his armies on the borders of the Rhine, without joining the allies. In the month of May, marshal Mollepdorf surprised the French, and defeated them with considerable loss. On the 16th of July, the French having received strong reinforcements from the armies of the Alps and the Ardennes, as well as enormous augmentations from the requisitions in Lorraine and Alsace, attempted to force the Prussian lines at Edickoffern, having previously cut off all communication between them and the Austrians. Being repulsed with great loss, they renewed their efforts at two o'clock the following morning; and after seven successive attacks, they succeeded in forcing the Prussian lines, with a terrible carnage on both sides. These were the last transactions of any moment that took place between the Prussians and the French during the revolutionary war.

The success which had attended the armies of France in the Netherlands,

during the spring and summer of 1794, now began to excite a general apprehension for the safety of the United provinces. Flanders was considered to be irretrievably lost; and the duke of York proposed to the prince of Saxe Cobourg to make a joint attack on the enemy for the preservation of Brabant. The Austrian general, however, declined the proposal, and Belgium was left entirely to the French, who immediately put all the young men that were capable of bearing arms into a state of requisition, and, calling in all the coin, they exchanged it for assignats at par. Such were the rigorous methods by which the republicans consolidated their conquests; such the fate of a people on whom they conferred the honour of fraternization!

But though the allies had now resolved to confine their views to the defence of Holland, they did not make a precipitate retreat. The duke of York assisted the prince of Orange in putting Breda, and Bois-le-duc in a state of defence, and posted his army along the Dommel, where, on the 14th of September he was attacked by a powerful force under Pichegru. The duke of York's army amounted to no more than thirty-three thousand men including British, Hessians, and Hanoverians. Yet he had many skirmishes with the enemy; but finding his posts to be untenable, he retired slowly through Malines, Alost, Breda, and Bois-le-duc, to Grave on the Maes, although from the beginning of July to the middle of September an army of eighty thousand republicans hung on his rear. Taking up an advantageous position under the walls of Nimeguen, the British commander determined on making a stand. Nimeguen was strong by situation, and well garrisoned; it was therefore expected to make a long resistance; but it was suddenly carried after a siege of a few days. The British army was now obliged to cross the Waal, over which the French attempted to force a passage, but they were repulsed with great loss. The important town of Maestricht, which was besieged by general Kleber held out forty days, and surrendered on the 4th of November. The loss of these two places excited a general alarm both in England and Holland, and at the close of the year all eyes were turned to the latter country, as the expected theatre of important events. About the middle of December, the frost set in with unusual rigour, and thus opened a way to the French armies. In the course of a week, the great rivers being frozen, the Maes and the Waal were converted into solid plains of ice, capable of supporting the heaviest artillery. A numerous column of the French army, taking advantage of a circumstance so favourable to their designs, crossed the Maes on the 27th of December, and attacking the allied army through an extent of thirty miles, were every where successful.

The military exertions of France had now displayed themselves in a light wholly unexpected to all Europe. At the end of this tremendous campaign, the French had been victorious in twenty nine battles, and in more than a hundred less decisive engagements. They had taken one hundred and fifty-two cities and towns, three thousand eight hundred pieces of cannon; ninety standards, and seventy thousand muskets: they had killed eighty thousand of their enemies, and taken ninety thousand prisoners. No wonder that during the progress of these disastrous proceedings, the states of Holland should be seriously alarmed at their impending danger. The states of Friezland, so early as the month of October 1794 resolved to acknowledge the French republic, to break off their connection with England, and to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance with France. The stadtholder in vain attempted to rouse the national spirit of the Dutch; that spirit was annihilated by dissatisfaction and the introduction of democratical principles. In many of the provinces, resolutions were passed directly hostile to his authority, and Amsterdam itself was ready to invite the French republicans among them. Such was the prevailing feeling of the Dutch, when general Pichegru, having completed his arrangements, on the 10th of January 1795, crossed the Waal at different points, with the army under his command. A general attack was made on Walmoden's position: and the allies, being defeated in every quarter, were compelled to retreat, while the French advanced into the united provinces without further opposition. But the miseries of the retreating army were such as no pen can adequately de-

scribe. The sick and wounded being conveyed in open waggons, were unavoidably exposed to the intense severity of the weather, to drifting snow and heavy falls of rain: ill provided with food; and often reduced to the necessity of sleeping in cold churches, on a scanty portion of dirty straw, and without a single blanket to cover them—the consequence was that they perished by hundreds. One night in particular, the troops were obliged to cross a dreary and trackless common of three and twenty miles in extent, and deeply covered with snow, drifting in their faces by a strong easterly wind. The morning presented a dismal scene; baggage waggons standing with the horses deep sunk in the snow, some of them frozen stiff, and others quite dead. A spectator could not move many yards in any direction, without seeing the plain strewed with the dead bodies of men, women, children and horses. In the midst of these calamities, the troops, while harassed by the French, met with the most brutal treatment from the Dutch populace, who accused England of being the cause of all their misfortunes, and wherever it could be done with impunity, shot or stabbed the British soldiers who had come to preserve them from the iron gripe of France.

The British army retreated in two divisions. That under lord Cathcart took a circuitous route through West Friesland, along the frontiers of Groningen: the other, constituting the main body, under general Abercrombie, marched direct for Westphalia. Lord Cathcart, finding the greater part of the country hostile to the existing government and the house of Orange, crossed the Ems at Meppen; and sir Ralph Abercrombie, after repulsing a body of the French near Bentheim, passed the same river at Rheine. Thus having made good their retreat through the Dutch territory, the British army fixed its head quarters at Osnaburg, and the troops were cantoned in the surrounding towns and villages. In the following spring the British troops returned to England.

General Pichegru now pursued his career through the Dutch provinces with little or no interruption. Utrecht surrendered to him on the 16th of January—Rotterdam on the 18th—and Dort on the following day. The princess of Orange, with part of the family, and all the plate, jewels, and moveables that could be got ready, made her escape on the 15th: and on the 19th, the stadholder, accompanied by the hereditary prince, took his departure for England. His serene highness embarked at Scheveling in an open boat, navigated by only three men, and arrived safe at Harwich. The palace of Hampton-court was assigned him for his residence. On the 20th of January, general Pichegru entered Amsterdam at the head of a column of five thousand men, and was received by the inhabitants with loud acclamations. The whole Batavian territory was reduced in a few days; and an assembly of provincial representatives being convoked, the government of the country was new modelled on the plan of the French republic. While Pichegru was pursuing the allies through western Flanders, the army of the Sambre and Meuse under general Jourdan, took Namur, and over-ran the province of Luxembourg, while various detachments taking possession of Landrecies, Quesnoy, Condé, and Valenciennes completed the conquest of the Netherlands.

Thus fell Belgium and Holland, after being for some time defended by the armies of England and Austria, but without a single struggle for their own preservation. Since the times of Louis XIV. the patriotism of the Dutch had been extinguished by avarice; and revolutionary principles had excited disaffection to the existing government. But after general Pichegru's friendly visit, requisitions of money and men, the destruction of their commerce, the exhaustion of their country, and at last the extinction of their republican form of government, afforded them ample experience of the blessings of French fraternity.

Holland having now become an appendage of France, it was obvious that an event so inauspicious, imposed on Great Britain the necessity of making extraordinary exertions, particularly in the augmentation of her navy, for the purposes both of defence and annoyance. In order, therefore, to procure a speedy supply of men, without recurring to the disagreeable necessity

of impressing them for the service of the navy, a general embargo was laid on every vessel exceeding thirty-five tons burden, till she had furnished one volunteer for the navy, increasing the number in proportion to one man for every fifty tons. The parishes were also called on to furnish their respective quotas of volunteers. The mercantile tonnage of the kingdom amounted to fourteen millions, and the number of parishes being about ten thousand, not fewer than thirty-five thousand able seamen and landsmen were procured by this measure, certainly the easiest and most expeditious that ever had been devised for manning the navy.

But while England and Austria were busily employed in making immense preparations for a vigorous campaign, the chain of the coalition was broken by the defection of Prussia, which was soon followed by that of Spain and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. During the preceding year, Frederick William had given repeated proofs of his alienation from the common cause. Finding that he could derive no advantage from the war, he concluded a treaty of peace with France, at Basle, on the 5th of April, by which he ceded to the republic all his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, entirely abandoning the coalition, of which he had been the chief promoter, engaging, moreover, to furnish neither succours nor contingents whatever, either as king of Prussia, or as a member of the empire. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, following his example, withdrew his troops from the pay of Great Britain, and signed a treaty of peace, by which he ceded to France his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and disengaged himself from the obligation of furnishing his contingent as a prince of the empire.

On the meeting of parliament, these unpropitious circumstances were unavoidably made the subject of discussion. The conduct of the Prussian monarch was allowed by Mr. Pitt to have been highly censurable; he had fraudulently misapplied the money granted him by way of subsidy, in furthering his own unjust designs on Poland. Nevertheless, it was contended, that there was a necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the war, in despite of the reverses of the last campaign; and to do this the more effectually, it was proposed to grant the emperor of Germany a loan of four millions, thus enabling him to prosecute, with the greatest energy, a cause which both the necessity of the case, and his own ardent wishes, prompted him to. The opposition remonstrated strongly against the measure, but it was nevertheless carried by a large majority.

In the course of the year 1795, an expedition to the coast of France was planned by the British ministry, for the purpose of making a grand diversion in favour of the Austrians, and striking a blow at the heart of the republic. The design was bold, and had a sufficient number of forces been employed on the occasion, the most important results might have been expected from it; but unhappily, as in most cases of a similar kind, the object was defeated by the poverty of the means. After the terrible conflict, which in the preceding year had taken place in the province of La Vendée, the chiefs of the revolt had collected the wrecks of their armies. In Bretagne, Puissaye and others of their leaders endeavoured, at the same time, to organize the scattered bands of the Chouans, and to incorporate them with the remains of the royal and Catholic army which had crossed the Loire. A desultory warfare was for some time carried on between these fugitives and the republicans; but no event of importance occurred till about the beginning of the year, when the Vendéans, by the advice of their general, Charette, concluded with the convention a treaty sufficiently advantageous, as formerly mentioned. This pacification, however, was only partial and transient. The leaders of the royalists acted without concert; and the convention did not adhere to the terms of the treaty. Jealousy and distrust prevailed on all sides, and the flames of war burst out again in the spring of the year 1795. Charette now solicited the assistance of England, for the restoration of monarchy in France. Sombreuil, Puissaye, D'Hervilly, and many other French nobles, who had taken refuge in England, where they had collected a numerous body of emigrants, paid by the British government, were

also eager to try their fortunes in their native country, and to revive the royal party in Bretagne and La Vendée.

At their solicitation a British fleet conveyed them to the French coast; and the emigrants, with some English troops, amounting in the whole to about twelve thousand men, effected a landing in Quiberon Bay, where, after the capture of a fort defended by six hundred republicans, entrenchments were thrown up and fortified by artillery. Arms were also distributed among the Chouans, who flocked in crowds to the camp. Had this expedition been supported by a powerful British force, it might have been productive of great effects, though the most favourable opportunity of distressing the republic, by seconding the enthusiastic valour of the Vendéans, while their forces were unbroken, was irrecoverably lost. But from such a heterogeneous mass as was now assembled, consisting of undisciplined Chouans, emigrant royalists of various descriptions, and republicans enlisted out of the English prisons by enterprising nobles of desperate fortunes, all eager to regain their former rank and patrimonial possessions, the issue was precisely such as common sense would dictate.

D'Hervilly, one of the most enterprising of the emigrants, attempted to penetrate into the country; but finding the Chouans incapable of steady operations, and adapted only to a desultory warfare, he was obliged to retire within the line of defence. The republicans under general Hoche, constructed, on the heights opposite to the emigrant camp, several redoubts, which entirely cut off their communication with the land. In the night, these works were stormed by the emigrants, who failed in their attempt, and were compelled to retreat with considerable loss. But the enterprise would have been far more fatal, had the republicans not been annoyed by the fire which was kept up from the British ships in the bay. This disaster produced mutual recrimination among the officers, and desertion among the privates, of which the consequences were fatal to the expedition. The republican general, Hoche, employed deserters, acquainted with all their defences, to act as guides; in consequence of this stratagem, they were able to surprise the camp and fort of the emigrants, so that the whole, including Chouans and the English, were made prisoners, to the amount of ten thousand men. The gallant count de Sombrecuil, the bishop of Dol, with many other ecclesiastics who had accompanied the expedition, and all the emigrant officers, were tried at a military tribunal, and executed in front of the republican army. Such was the unfortunate termination of this rash expedition: it nevertheless operated considerably to the advantage of the Austrians, who were in a great measure indebted to this diversion for their successes on the banks of the Rhine.

In reviewing the domestic occurrences of Great Britain during this year, 1795, there are several things which ought not to be passed over unnoticed. Neither the excellence of the British constitution, the mildness of his majesty's reign, nor the general prosperity of the empire, could prevent the seeds of Jacobinism from putting forth their malignant shoots. A spirit of dissatisfaction and discontent had seized the minds of the populace, more especially in and about the metropolis, where the levelling societies grew daily more numerous and daring; and these discontents were heightened by a remarkable scarcity of grain which prevailed at the moment, and necessarily drew along with it an augmentation of price. The successes of the French, and the defections among the allied powers, had moreover rendered the war so hopeless, that a petition to the legislature for peace had been carried in the common hall of the city of London by a large majority, and was followed by similar petitions in several other cities and towns. The ministry and supporters of the war, of course became more unpopular, and the reforming societies acted with increasing boldness. The Corresponding Society, as it was called, held several public meetings: one of which, in the fields near Copenhagen House, was computed to be attended by fifty thousand persons, and was remarkable for the daring spirit of the addresses made to the public.

Such was the agitated state of the public mind, when, on the 29th of Oc-

tober, the parliament was called together. As the king was proceeding to the house of peers through the park, the royal carriage was surrounded by a throng of persons of all ranks, who clamorously demanded "Peace, and the dismissal of Pitt from office: no war! no Pitt! down with George!" and other expressions of similar treasonable tendency, were insultingly vociferated in the ears of the monarch as he passed, with the usual solemnity, to open the session of parliament. In the narrow pass leading from the Palace-yard to the house of lords, one of the glasses of the carriage was perforated by a bullet; and, on his return, he was treated with much rudeness and indignity. Several persons were apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in this infamous outrage; and a journeyman printer, of the name of Kidd Wake, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory at Gloucester, on a market day—afterwards to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for five years, at the expiration of which term he was to find security in the sum of one thousand pounds, for his behaviour for ten years.

The outrage offered to his majesty was taken into consideration by parliament, and a suitable address was voted by both houses. This was followed by a bill, introduced into the upper house by lord Grenville, "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treason—able and seditious practices and attempts." On the same day, Mr. Pitt, in the commons, moved, that the royal proclamations issued in consequence of the late riot, should be taken into consideration; which being carried, he moved for a bill "for the prevention of seditious meetings." These two bills had for their object the restriction of the right hitherto possessed by the people, of assembling for the purpose of petitioning the crown and the legislature, and of discussing political subjects. They were warmly opposed in each stage of their progress through both houses, and even stigmatized as violent and unnecessary encroachments on the privileges granted by the constitution, but finally passed into law, by more than the usual majorities: their duration, nevertheless, was limited to three years. The court and the minister, however, were instructed by what had taken place, to form a correct estimate of the state of public opinion on the subject of the war, and, accordingly, on the 8th of December, a message from the king was introduced to parliament, intimating that the present order of things in France was such as would induce his majesty to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it its fullest effect—an intimation which drew from the opposition side of the house, some sarcastic reflections on the futility of pretending that any change in the French government had rendered them more fit to be negotiated with at present than they were before.

The power and wealth of Great Britain being manifestly the principal object to the ambitious projects of France, it naturally became a leading topic of French policy to overthrow the foundations of her prosperity, and reduce her to the common level. A notion was industriously propagated on the continent, that England was the tyrant of the seas; and other nations were invited to make common cause against her naval domination. And as her commerce was obviously the basis of this superiority, plans were devised for throwing every possible impediment in its way: and the republic not being able to shut up the ports of the rest of Europe against her merchandise, a severe decree was issued, prohibiting its admission into any port of France or its dependencies, among which, the states of Holland were now entitled to be reckoned.

About this time an envoy was dispatched from England to the court of Berlin, with a view, as was supposed in France, of procuring the re-union of Prussia to the coalition, a measure which greatly incensed the directory; and its failure was regarded as the cause of the overtures that were now made by the British government to negotiate the conditions of peace. The directory, however, not chusing to appear adverse to the termination of so burdensome a war, granted the desired passports for an agent from England; and on the 23d of October, lord Malmesbury arrived at Paris in quality of negotiator, where he was received with every public demonstration of joy.

On opening his commission, lord Malmesbury proposed a mutual restitution of conquests as the fundamental basis of a treaty, and observed, that as the successes of England had placed her out of the condition of requiring restitution for herself, whereas France had made large acquisitions from her allies, the negotiation would of course turn upon the compensations France would expect for the restitutions she was to make to them. The directory replied, that the accession of other powers to a negotiation which his lordship was authorized to transact separately between Great Britain and France must necessarily retard its progress very considerably; nevertheless, they would consent upon his procuring credentials from those allies, to take into consideration any specific proposals he might have to lay before them. After much discussion on this point, lord Malmesbury was required to mention the compensations to which he had alluded, and he proposed the restitution of what had been taken from the emperor of Germany, and the restoration of the prince of Orange to the stadtholderate of the seven United Provinces; the accession of Russia to the treaty, and the including of Portugal without any indemnity demanded by France:—in return for which, Great Britain was to restore her conquests in both the Indies, receiving an equivalent, however, for the part of Hispaniola ceded by Spain to France. The directory then required from the English minister, a specification of the whole of his demands, to be delivered in, in four and twenty hours; and further signified, that they could listen to no terms inconsistent with the constitution, and the engagements formed by the republic. On his lordship replying that their requisition precluded all further negotiation, and that their own proposals ought to be communicated to his constituents, they told him, that his powers being inadequate to the conducting of a treaty, his residence in Paris was totally unnecessary, and abruptly ordered his lordship to quit the republic in forty-eight hours. Thus terminated the first attempt at negotiation;—an attempt so unpromising from its commencement, that it is not easy to suppose one party, at least, to have been sincere in its efforts to carry it into effect.(1)

LETTER XXVIII.

Italian campaign.—Buonaparte marches towards Italy.—Battle of Monte Notte.—Defeat of the Austrian general Provera.—Retreat of the allied armies.—Battle of Dego or Millesimo.—The French army enters Piedmont.—The king of Sardinia requests an armistice.—The French enter the Milanese country.—Death of General La Harpe.—Battle of Lodi.—Buonaparte enters Milan.—The Pope obliged to purchase an armistice—and the duke of Modena.—The French plunder the country of its finest Statuary.—Reflections on this act of spoliation.—1796.

You are now, my son, about to enter upon a narrative, which, if you can abstract the mind from all those troublesome questions of morality that are ever and anon recurring as we turn over the pages of history and pursue the annals of blood, cannot fail to excite a lively interest, if it do not fill you with astonishment. The exploits of Napoleon Buonaparte—the rapidity of his motions—his dexterity in manœuvring—his bold and undaunted courage—and the victorious career which he was destined to pursue, are perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world.

The plan of crossing the Alps and marching into Italy, suited in every respect the ambitious and self-confident character of the general to whom it was now entrusted. It gave him a separate and independent authority, and the power of acting on his own judgment and responsibility; for his coun-

(1) *New Annual Register, 1792—1796.—Dr. Aikin's Annals of George III.—Jones's Continuation of Goldsmith's History of England.—Woodfall's debates in parliament.—Bissett's History of the reign of George III.*

tryman Salicetti, the deputy who accompanied him as commissioner of the government, was not probably much disposed to intrude his opinions. He had been Buonaparte's patron, and was still his friend. The young general's mind was made up to the alternative of conquest or ruin, as may be judged from his words to a friend at taking leave of him. "In three months," he said, "I will be either at Milan or at Paris;" intimating at once his desperate resolution to succeed, and his sense that the disappointment of all his prospects must be the consequence of a failure.

With the same view of animating his followers to ambitious hopes, he addressed the Army of Italy to the following purpose:—"Soldiers, you are hungry and naked.—The republic owes you much, but she has not the means to acquit herself of her debts. The patience with which you support your hardships among these barren rocks is admirable, but it cannot procure you glory. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains that the sun beholds.—Rich provinces, opulent towns, all shall be at your disposal.—Soldiers, with such a prospect before you, can you fail in courage and constancy?"

'This was showing the deer to the hound when the leash is about to be slipped.

The Austro-Sardinian army, to which Buonaparte was opposed, was commanded by Beaulieu, an Austrian general of great experience and some talent, but no less than seventy-five years old; accustomed all his life to the ancient rules of tactics, and unlikely to suspect, anticipate, or frustrate, those plans formed by a genius so fertile as that of Napoleon.

Buonaparte's plan for entering Italy differed from that of former conquerors and invaders, who had approached that fine country by penetrating or surmounting at some point or other her Alpine barriers. This inventive warrior resolved to attain the same object, by turning round the southern extremity of the Alpine range, keeping as close as possible to the shores of the Mediterranean, and passing through the Genoese territory by the narrow pass called the Bocchetta, leading around the extremity of the mountains, and betwixt these and the sea. Thus he proposed to penetrate into Italy by the lowest level which the surface of the country presented, which must be of course where the range of the Alps unites with that of the Apennines. The point of junction where these two immense ranges of mountains touch upon each other, is at the heights of Mount Saint Jacques, above Genoa, where the Alps, running north-westward, ascend to Mount Blanc, their highest peak, and the Apennines, running to the south east, gradually elevate themselves to Monte Velino, the tallest mountain of the range.

To attain his object of turning the Alps, in the manner proposed, it was necessary that Buonaparte should totally change the situation of his army; those occupying a defensive line, running north and south, being to assume an offensive position, extending east and west. Speaking of an army as of a battalion, he was to form into column upon the right of the line which he had hitherto occupied. This was an extremely delicate operation, to be undertaken in presence of an active enemy, his superior in numbers; nor was he permitted to execute it uninterrupted.

No sooner did Beaulieu learn that the French general was concentrating his forces, and about to change his position, than he hastened to preserve Genoa, without possession of which, or at least of the adjacent territory, Buonaparte's scheme of advance could scarce have been accomplished. The Austrian divided his army into three bodies. Colli, at the head of a Sardinian division, he stationed on the extreme right at Ceva; his centre division under D'Argenteau, having its head at Sasiello, had directions to march on a mountain called Monte Notte, with two villages of the same name, near to which was a strong position at a place called Montelegino, which the French had occupied in order to cover their flank during their march towards the east. At the head of his left wing, Beaulieu himself moved from Novi upon Voltri, a small town within ten miles of Genoa, for the protection of that ancient city, whose independence and neutrality were likely to be held in little reverence. Thus it appears, that while the French were endeavouring

to penetrate into Italy by an advance from Sardinia by the way of Genoa, their line of march was threatened by three armies of Austro-Sardinians, descending from the skirts of the Alps, and menacing to attack their flank. But, though a skilful disposition, Beaulieu had, from the very mountainous character of the country, the great disadvantage of wanting connexion between the three separate divisions; neither, if needful, could they be easily united on any point desired, while the lower line, on which the French moved, permitted constant communication and co-operation.

On the 10th of April 1796, D'Argenteau, with the central division of the Austro-Sardinian army, descended upon Monte Notte, while Beaulieu on the left attacked the van of the French army, which had come as far as Voltri. General Cervoni, commanding the French division which sustained the attack of Beaulieu, was compelled to fall back on the main body of his countrymen; and had the assault of D'Argenteau been equally animated, or equally successful, the fame of Buonaparte might have been stifled in the birth. But colonel Rampon, a French officer, who commanded the redoubts near Monteleghino, stopped the progress of D'Argenteau by the most determined resistance. At the head of not more than fifteen hundred men, whom he inspired with his own courage, and caused to swear either to maintain their post or die there, he continued to defend the redoubts, during the whole of the 11th, until D'Argenteau, whose conduct was afterwards greatly blamed for not making more determined efforts to carry them, drew off his forces for the evening, intending to renew the attack next morning.

But on the morning of the 12th, the Austrian general found himself surrounded with enemies. Cervoni, who retreated before Beaulieu, had united himself with La Harpe, and both advancing northward during the night of the 11th, established themselves in the rear of the redoubts of Monteleghino, which Rampon had so gallantly defended. This was not all. The divisions of Augereau and Massena had marched, by different routes, on the flank, and on the rear of D'Argenteau's column; so that next morning, instead of renewing his attack on the redoubts, the Austrian general was obliged to extricate himself by a disastrous retreat, leaving behind him colours and cannon, one thousand slain, and two thousand prisoners.

Such was the battle of Monte Notte, the first of Buonaparte's victories, eminently displaying that truth and mathematical certainty of combination, which enabled him on many more memorable occasions, even when his forces were inferior in numbers, and apparently disunited in position, suddenly to concentrate them and defeat his enemy, by overpowering him on the very point where he thought himself strongest. He had accumulated a superior force on the Austrian centre, and destroyed it, while Colli, on the right, and Beaulieu himself on the left, each at the head of numerous forces, did not even hear of the action till it was fought and won.

In consequence of the success at Monte Notte, and the close pursuit of the defeated Austrians, the French obtained possession of Curo, which placed them on that side of the Alps which slopes towards Lombardy, and where the streams from these mountains run to join the Po. Beaulieu had advanced to Voltri, while the French withdrew to unite themselves in the attack upon D'Argenteau. He had now to retreat northward with all haste to Dego, in the valley of the river Bormida, in order to resume communication with the right wing of his army, consisting chiefly of Sardinians, from which he was now nearly separated by the defeat of the centre. General Colli, by a corresponding movement on the right, occupied Millesimo, a small town about nine miles from Dego, with which he resumed and maintained communication by a brigade stationed on the heights of Baistro. From the strength of this position, though his forces were scarce sufficiently concentrated, Beaulieu hoped to maintain his ground till he should receive supplies from Lombardy, and recover the consequences of the defeat at Monte Notte. But the antagonist whom he had in front had no purpose of permitting him such respite.

Determined upon a general attack on all points of the Austrian position, the French army advanced in three bodies upon a space of four leagues in

extent. Augereau, at the head of the division which had not fought at Monte Notte, advanced on the left against Millesimo; the centre, under Massena, directed themselves upon Deگو, by the vale of Bormida; the right wing, commanded by La Harpe, manœuvred on the right of all, for the purpose of turning Beaulieu's left flank. Augereau was the first who came in contact with the enemy. He attacked general Colli on the 13th of April. His troops, emulous of the honour acquired by their companions, behaved with great bravery, rushed upon the outposts of the Sardinian army at Millesimo, forced, and retained possession of the gorge by which it was defended, and thus separated from the Sardinian army a body of about two thousand men, under the Austrian general Provera, who occupied a detached eminence called Cossaria, which covered the extreme left of general Colli's position. But the Austrian showed the most obstinate courage. Although surrounded by the enemy, he threw himself into the ruinous castle of Cossaria, which crowned the eminence, and showed a disposition to maintain the place to the last; the rather that, as he could see from the turrets of his stronghold the Sardinian troops, from whom he had been separated, preparing to fight on the ensuing day, he might reasonably hope to be disengaged.

Buonaparte in person came up; and seeing the necessity of dislodging the enemy from this strong post, ordered three successive attacks to be made on the castle. Joubert, at the head of one of the attacking columns, had actually, with six or seven others, made his way into the outworks, when he was struck down by a wound in the head. General Banal and adjutant-general Quenin fell, each at the head of the column which he commanded; and Buonaparte was compelled to leave the obstinate Provera in possession of the castle for the night. The morning of the 14th brought a different scene. Contenting himself with blockading the castle of Cossaria, Buonaparte now gave battle to general Colli, who made every effort to relieve it. These attempts were all in vain. He was defeated and cut off from Beaulieu; he retired as well as he could upon Ceva, leaving to his fate the brave general Provera, who was compelled to surrender at discretion.

On the same day, Massena, with the centre, attacked the heights of Biastro, being the point of communication betwixt Beaulieu and Colli, while La Harpe, having crossed the Bormida, where the stream came up to the soldiers' middle, attacked in front and in flank the village of Deگو, where the Austrian commander-in-chief was stationed. The first attack was completely successful,—the heights of Biastro were carried, and the Piedmontese routed. The assault of Deگو was not less so, although after a harder struggle. Beaulieu was compelled to retreat, and was entirely separated from the Sardinians, who had hitherto acted in combination with him. The defenders of Italy now retreated in different directions, Colli moving westward towards Ceva, while Beaulieu, closely pursued through a difficult country, retired upon D'Aqui.

Even the morning after the victory, it was nearly wrested out of the hands of the conquerors. A fresh division of Austrians, who had evacuated Voltri later than the others, and were approaching to form a junction with their general, found the enemy in possession of Beaulieu's position. They arrived at Deگو like men who had been led astray, and were no doubt surprised at finding it in the hands of the French. Yet they did not hesitate to assume the offensive, and by a brisk attack drove out the enemy, and replaced the Austrian eagles in the village. Great alarm was occasioned by this sudden apparition; for no one among the French could conceive the meaning of an alarm beginning on the opposite quarter to that on which the enemy had retreated, and without its being announced from the out-posts towards D'Aqui.

Buonaparte hastily marched on the village. The Austrians repelled two attacks; at the third, general Lanusse, afterwards killed in Egypt, put his hat upon the point of his sword, and advancing to the charge, penetrated into the place. Lannes also, afterwards duke of Montebello, distinguished himself on the same occasion by courage and military skill, and was recom-

mended by Buonaparte to the directory for promotion. In this battle of Dego, more commonly called of Millesimo, the Austro-Sardinian Army lost five or six thousand men, thirty pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of baggage. Besides, the Austrians were divided from the Sardinians; and the two generals began to show, not only that their forces were disunited, but that they themselves were acting upon separate motives; the Sardinians desiring to protect Turin, whereas the movement of Beaulieu seemed still directed to prevent the French from entering the Milanese territory. Leaving a sufficient force on the Bormida to keep in check Beaulieu, Buonaparte now turned his strength against Colli, who, overpowered, and without hopes of succour, abandoned his line of defence near Ceva, and retreated to the line of the Tanaro.

Napoleon in the mean time fixed his head-quarters at Ceva, and enjoyed from the heights of Montezemoto, the splendid view of the fertile fields of Piedmont stretching in boundless perspective beneath his feet, watered by the Po, the Tanaro, and a thousand other streams which descend from the Alps. Before the eyes of the delighted army of victors lay this rich expanse like a promised land; behind them was the wilderness they had passed; — not indeed a desert of barren sand, similar to that in which the Israelites wandered, but a huge tract of rocks and inaccessible mountains, crested with ice and snow, seeming by nature designed as the barrier and rampart of the blessed regions, which stretched eastward beneath them. We can sympathize with the self-congratulation of the general who had surmounted such tremendous obstacles in a way so unusual. He said to the officers around him, as they gazed upon this magnificent scene, "Hannibal took the Alps by storm: we have succeeded as well by turning their flank."

The dispirited army of Colli was attacked at Mondovi during his retreat, by two corps of Buonaparte's army, from two different points, commanded by Massena and Serrurier. The last general, the Sardinians repulsed with loss; but when he found Massena, in the mean time, was turning the left of his line, and that he was thus pressed on both flanks, his situation became almost desperate. The cavalry of the Piedmontese made an effort to renew the combat. For a time they overpowered and drove back those of the French; and general Stengel, who commanded the latter, was slain in attempting to get them into order. But the desperate valour of Murat, unvalled perhaps in the heady charge of cavalry-combat, renewed the fortune of the field; and the horse, as well as the infantry of Colli's army, were compelled to a disastrous retreat. The defeat was decisive; and the Sardinians, after the loss of the best of their troops, their cannon, baggage, and appointments, and being now totally divided from their Austrian allies, and liable to be overpowered by the united forces of the French army, had no longer hopes of effectually covering Turin. Buonaparte, pursuing his victory, took possession of Cherasco, within ten leagues of the Piedmontese capital.

Thus fortune, in the course of a campaign of scarce a month, placed her favourite in full possession of the desired road to Italy, by command of the mountain passes, which had been invaded and conquered with so much military skill. He had gained three battles over forces far superior to his own; inflicted on the enemy a loss of twenty-five thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; taken eighty pieces of cannon, and twenty-one stand of colours; reduced to inaction the Austrian army; almost annihilated that of Sardinia; and stood in full communication with France upon the eastern side of the Alps, with Italy lying open before him, as if to invite his invasion. But it was not even with such laurels, and with facilities which now presented themselves for the accomplishment of new and more important victories upon a larger scale, and with more magnificent results, that the career of Buonaparte's earliest campaign was to be closed. The head of the royal house of Savoy, if not one of the most powerful, still one of the most distinguished in Europe was to have the melancholy experience, that he had encountered with the Man of Destiny, as he was afterwards proudly called, who, for a time, had power, in the emphatic phrase of scripture, "to bind kings with chains, and nobles with fetters of iron."

The shattered relics of the Sardinian army had fallen back, or rather fled, to within two leagues of Turin, without hope of being again able to make an effectual stand. The sovereign of Sardinia, Savoy, and Piedmont, had no means of preserving his capital, nay, his existence on the continent, excepting by an almost total submission to the will of the victor. Let it be remembered, that Victor Amadeus III. was the descendant of a race of heroes, who, from the peculiar situation of their territories, as constituting a neutral ground of great strength betwixt France and the Italian possessions of Austria, had often been called on to play a part in the general affairs of Europe, of importance far superior to that which their condition as a second-rate power could otherwise have demanded. In general, they had compensated their inferiority of force by an ability and gallantry which did them the highest credit, both as generals and as politicians; and now Piedmont was at the feet, in her turn, of an enemy weaker in numbers than her own. Besides the reflections on the past fame of his country the present humiliating situation of the king was rendered more mortifying by the state of his family connexions. Victor Amadeus was the father-in-law of Monsieur (by right Louis XVIII.), and of the comte d'Artois (the reigning king of France). He had received his sons-in-law at his court at Turin, had afforded them an opportunity of assembling around them their forces, consisting of the emigrant noblesse, and had strained all the power he possessed, and in many instances successfully, to withstand both the artifices and the arms of the French republicans. And now, so born, so connected, and with such principles, he was condemned to sue for peace on any terms which might be dictated, from a general of France aged twenty-six years, who, a few months before, was desirous of an appointment in the artillery service of the grand seignor!

An armistice was requested by the king of Sardinia, under those afflicting circumstances, but could only be purchased by placing two of his strongest fortresses,—those keys of the Alps, of which his ancestors had long been the keepers,—Coni and Tortona, in the hands of the French, and thus acknowledging that he surrendered at discretion. The armistice was agreed on at Cherasco, but commissioners were sent by the king to Paris, to arrange with the directory the final terms of peace. These were such as victors give to the vanquished. Besides the fortresses already surrendered, the king of Sardinia was to place in the hands of the French five others of the first importance. The road from France to Italy was to be at all times open to the French armies; and indeed the king, by surrender of the places mentioned, had lost the power of interrupting their progress. He was to break off every species of alliance and connexion with the combined powers at war with France, and become bound not to entertain at his court, or in his service, any French emigrants whatsoever, or any of their connexions; nor was an exception even made in favour of his own two daughters. In short, the surrender was absolute. Victor Amadeus exhibited the utmost reluctance to subscribe this treaty, and did not long survive it. His son succeeded in name to the kingdom of Piedmont; but the fortresses and passes, which had rendered him a prince of some importance, were, excepting Turin, and one or two of minor consequence, all surrendered into the hands of the French.

Viewing this treaty with Sardinia as the close of the Piedmontese campaign, we pause to consider the character which Buonaparte displayed at that period. The talents as a general which he had exhibited, were of the very first order. There was no disconnexion in his objects; they were all attained by the very means he proposed, and the success was improved to the utmost. A different conduct usually characterizes those who stumble unexpectedly on victory, either by good fortune or by the valour of their troops. When the favourable opportunity occurs to such leaders, they are nearly as much embarrassed by it as by a defeat. But Buonaparte, who had foreseen the result of each operation by his sagacity, stood also prepared to make the most of the advantages which might be derived from it.

The ardent disposition of Buonaparte did not long permit him to rest after

the advantages which he had secured. He had gazed on Italy with an eagle's eye ; but it was only for a moment, ere stooping on her with the wing, and pouncing on her with the talons of the king of birds. A general with less extraordinary talent would perhaps have thought it sufficient to have obtained possession of Piedmont, revolutionizing its government as the French had done that of Holland, and would have awaited fresh supplies and re-inforcements from France before advancing to farther and more distant conquests, and leaving the Alps under the dominion of a hostile, though for the present a subdued and disarmed monarchy. But Buonaparte had studied the campaign of Villars in these regions, and was of opinion that it was by that general's hesitation to advance boldly into Italy, after the victories which the marshal de Coigni had obtained at Parma and Guastalla, that the enemy had been enabled to assemble an accumulating force, before which the French were compelled to retreat. He determined, therefore, to give the republic of Venice, the grand duke of Tuscany, and other states in Italy, no time to muster forces, and take a decided part, as they were likely to do, to oppose a French invasion. Their terror and surprise could not fail to be increased by a sudden irruption ; while months, weeks, even days of consideration, might afford those states, attached as the rulers must be to their ancient oligarchical forms of government, time and composure to assume arms to maintain them. A speedy resolution was the more necessary, as Austria, alarmed for her Italian possessions, was about to make every effort for their defence. Orders had already been sent by the Aulic council of war to detach an army of thirty thousand men, under Wurmser, from the army of the Rhine to the frontiers of Italy. These were to be strengthened by other re-inforcements from the interior, and by such forces as could be raised in the mountainous district of the Tyrol, which furnishes perhaps the most experienced and most formidable sharpshooters in the world. The whole was to be united to the fragments of Beaulieu's defeated troops. If suffered to form a junction, and arrange their plans for attack or defence, an army, of force so superior to the French in numbers, veterans in discipline, and commanded by a general like Wurmser, was likely to prevent all the advantages which the French might gain by a sudden irruption, ere an opposition so formidable was collected and organized. But the daring scheme which Napoleon contemplated, corresponding to the genius of him who had formed it, required to be executed with caution, united with secrecy and celerity. These were the more necessary, as, although the thanks of the French government had been voted to the army of Italy five times in the course of a month, yet the directory, alarmed at the more doubtful state of hostilities upon the Rhine, had turned their exertions chiefly in that direction ; and, trusting to the skill of their general, and the courage of his troops, had not transmitted recruits and supplies upon the scale necessary for the great undertakings which he meditated. But the idea of penetrating into a country so guarded and defended by nature, as well as by military skill, the consciousness of having surmounted obstacles of a nature so extraordinary, and the hope that they were approaching the reward of so many labours—above all, their full confidence in a leader, who seemed to have bound victory to his standard—made the soldiers follow their general, without counting their own deficiencies, or the enemy's numbers.

To encourage this ardour, Buonaparte circulated an address, in which, complimenting the army on the victories they had gained, he desired them at the same time to consider nothing as won so long as the Austrians held Milan, and while the ashes of those who had conquered the Tarquins were soiled by the presence of the assassins of Basseville.

All thoughts were therefore turned to Italy. The fortress of Tortona was surrendered to the French by the king of Sardinia ; Buonaparte's headquarters were fixed there. Massena concentrated another part of the army at Alexandria, menacing Milan, and threatening, by the passage of the Po, to invade the territories belonging to Austria on the northern bank of that river. As Buonaparte himself observed, the passage of a great river is one of the most critical operations in modern war ; and Beaulieu had collected

his forces to cover Milan, and prevent the French, if possible, from crossing the Po. But, in order to avert the dangerous consequences of attempting to force his passage on the river, defended by a formidable enemy in front, Buonaparte's subtle genius had already prepared the means for deceiving the old Austrian respecting his intended operations.

Valenza appeared to be the point of passage proposed by the French; it is one of those fortresses which cover the eastern frontier of Piedmont, and is situated upon the river Po. During the conferences previous to the armistice of the Cherasco, Buonaparte had thrown out hints as if he were particularly desirous to be possessed of this place, and it was actually stipulated in the terms of the treaty, that the French should occupy it for the purpose of effecting their passage over the river. Beaulieu did not fail to learn what had passed, which coinciding with his own ideas of the route by which Buonaparte meant to advance upon Milan, he hastened to concentrate his army on the opposite bank, at a place called Valeggio, about eighteen miles from Valenza, the point near which he expected the attempt to be made, and from which he could move easily in any direction towards the river, before the French could send over any considerable force. Massena also countenanced this report, and rivetted the attention of the Austrians on Valenza, by pushing strong reconnoitring parties from Alexandria in the direction of that fortress. Besides, Beaulieu had himself crossed the Po at this place, and, like all men of routine, (for such he was, though a brave and approved soldier,) he was always apt to suppose that the same reasons which directed himself, must needs seem equally convincing to others. In almost all delicate affairs, persons of ordinary talents are misled by their incapacity to comprehend, that men of another disposition will be likely to view circumstances, and act upon principles, with an eye and opinion very different from their own.

But the reports which induced the Austrian general to take the position at Valeggio, arose out of a stratagem of war. It was never Buonaparte's intention to cross the Po at Valenza. The proposal was a feint, to draw Beaulieu's attention to that point, while the French accomplished the desired passage at Placenza, nearly fifty miles lower down the river than Valeggio, where their subtle general had induced the Austrians to take up their line of defence. Marching for this purpose with incredible celerity, Buonaparte, on the 7th of May, assembled his forces at Placenza, when their presence was least expected, and where there were none to defend the opposite bank, except two or three squadrons of Austrians, stationed there merely for the purpose of re-connoitring. General Andreossi (for names distinguished during these dreadful wars begin to rise on the narrative, as the stars glimmer out on the horizon) commanded an advanced guard of five hundred men. They had to pass in the common ferry-boats, and the crossing required nearly half an hour; so that the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of achieving the operation, had they been seriously opposed, appears to demonstration. Colonel Lannes threw himself ashore first with a body of grenadiers, and speedily dispersed the Austrian hussars, who attempted to resist their landing. The vanguard having thus opened the passage, the other divisions of the army were enabled to cross in succession, and in the course of two days the whole were in the Milanese territory, and on the left bank of the Po. The military manœuvres, by means of which Buonaparte achieved, without the loss of a man, an operation of so much consequence, and which, without such address as he displayed, must have been attended with great loss, and risk of failure, have often been considered as among his most masterly movements.

Beaulieu, informed too late of the real plans of the French general, moved his advanced guard, composed of the division of general Liptay, from Valeggio towards the Po, in the direction of Placenza. But here also the alert general of the French had been too rapid in his movements for the aged German. Buonaparte had no intention to wait an attack from the enemy with such a river as the Po in his rear, which he had no means of re-crossing if the day should go against him; so that a defeat, or even a material check, would have endangered the total loss of his army. He was, therefore, pushing forward in order to gain ground on which to manœuvre, and the advanced

divisions of the two armies met at a village called Fombio, not far from Casal, on the 8th of May. The Austrians threw themselves into the place, fortified and manned the steeples, and whatever posts else could be made effectual for defence, and reckoned upon defending themselves there until the main body of Beaulieu's army should come up to support them. But they were unable to sustain the vivacity of the French onset, to which so many successive victories had now given a double impulse. The village was carried at the bayonet's point; the Austrians lost their cannon, and left behind one-third of their men, in slain, wounded, and prisoners. The wreck of Liptay's division saved themselves by crossing the Adda at Pizzighitone, while they protected their retreat by a hasty defence of that fortress.

Another body of Austrians having advanced from Casal, to support it, may be supposed, the division of Liptay, occasioned a great loss to the French army, in the person of a very promising officer. This was general La Harpe, highly respected and trusted by Buonaparte, and repeatedly mentioned in the campaigns of Piedmont. Hearing the alarm given by the outposts, when the Austrian patrols came in contact with them, La Harpe rode out to satisfy himself concerning the nature and strength of the attacking party.

On his return to his own troops, they mistook him and his attendants for the enemy, fired upon, and killed him. He was a Swiss by birth, and had been compelled to leave his country on account of his democratical opinions; a grenadier, says Buonaparte, in stature and in courage, but of a restless disposition.

The Austrian regiment of cavalry which occasioned this loss, after some skirmishing, was content to escape to Lodi, a point upon which Beaulieu was again collecting his scattered forces, for the purpose of covering Milan, by protecting the line of the Adda.

"The passage of the Po," said Buonaparte, in his report to the directory, "had been expected to prove the most bold and difficult manœuvre of the campaign, nor did we expect to have an action of more vivacity than that of Dego. But we have now to recount the battle of Lodi." As the conqueror deservedly congratulated himself on this hard-won victory, and as it has become in a manner especially connected with his name and military character, we must, according to our plan, be somewhat minute in our details respecting it.

The Adda, a large and deep river, though fordable at some places and in some seasons, crosses the valley of the Milanese, rising and joining the Po at Pizzighitone; so that, if the few places at which it can be crossed are fortified or defended, it forms a line covering all the Milanese territory to the eastward, from any force approaching from the direction of Piedmont. This line Beaulieu proposed to make good against the victor before whom he had so often retreated, and he conjectured (on this occasion rightly) that, to prosecute his victory by marching upon Milan, Buonaparte would first desire to dislodge the covering army from the line of the Adda, as he could not safely advance to the capital of Lombardy, leaving the enemy in possession of such a defensive line upon their flank. He also conjectured that this attempt would be made at Lodi.

This is a large town, containing twelve thousand inhabitants. It has old Gothic walls, but its chief defence consists in the river Adda, which flows through it, and is crossed by a wooden bridge about five hundred feet in length. When Beaulieu, after the affair of Fombio, evacuated Casal, he retreated to this place with about ten thousand men: the rest of his army was directed upon Milan and Cassano, a town situated, like Lodi, upon the Adda.

Buonaparte calculated that, if he could accomplish the passage of the Adda at Lodi, he might overtake and disperse the remainder of Beaulieu's army, without allowing the veteran time to concentrate them for farther resistance in Milan, or even for rallying under the walls of the strong fortress of Mantua.

The judgment of the French general was in war not more remarkable for seizing the most advantageous moment of attack, than for availing himself to the very uttermost of victory when obtained. The quicksighted faculty

and power of instant decision with which nature had endowed him, had, it may be supposed, provided beforehand for the consequences of the victory ere it was yet won, and left no room for doubt or hesitation when his hopes had become certainties. We have already remarked, that there have been many commanders, who, after an accidental victory, are so much at a loss what is next to be done, that while they are hesitating, the golden moments pass away unimproved; but Buonaparte knew as well how to use, as how to obtain advantages.

Upon the 10th day of May, attended by his best generals, and heading the choicest of his troops, Napoleon pressed forward towards Lodi. About a league from Casal, he encountered the Austrian rear-guard, who had been left, it would appear, at too great a distance from their main body. The French had no difficulty in driving these troops before them into the town of Lodi, which was but slightly defended by the few soldiers whom Beaulieu had left on the western or right side of the Adda. He had also neglected to destroy the bridge, although he ought rather to have supported a defence on the right bank of the river, (for which the town afforded many facilities) till the purpose of destruction was completed, than have allowed it to exist. If his rear-guard had been actually stationed in Lodi, instead of being so far in the rear of the main body, they might, by a protracted resistance from the old walls and houses, have given time for this necessary act of demolition.

But though the bridge was left standing, it was swept by twenty or thirty Austrian pieces of artillery, whose thunders menaced death to any who should attempt that pass of peril. The French, with great alertness, got as many guns in position on the left bank, and answered this tremendous fire with equal spirit. During this cannonade, Buonaparte threw himself personally amongst the fire, in order to station two guns loaded with grape-shot in such a position, as rendered it impossible for any one to approach for the purpose of undermining or destroying the bridge; and then calmly proceeded to make arrangements for a desperate attempt.

His cavalry was directed to cross, if possible, at a place where the Adda was said to be fordable,—a task which they accomplished with difficulty. Meantime, Napoleon observed that the Austrian line of infantry was thrown considerably behind the batteries of artillery which they supported, in order that they might have the advantage of a bending slope of ground, which afforded them shelter from the French fire. He, therefore, drew up a close column of three thousand grenadiers, protected from the artillery of the Austrians by the walls and houses of the town, and yet considerably nearer to the enemy's line of guns on the opposite side of the Adda than were their own infantry, which ought to have protected them. The column of grenadiers, thus secured, waited in comparative safety, until the appearance of the French cavalry, who had crossed the ford, began to disquiet the flank of the Austrians. This was the critical moment which Buonaparte expected. A single word of command wheeled the head of the column of grenadiers to the left, and placed it on the perilous bridge. The word was given to advance, and they rushed on with loud shouts of *Vive la République!* But their appearance upon the bridge was the signal for a redoubled shower of grape-shot, while, from the windows of the houses on the left side of the river, the soldiers who occupied them poured volley after volley of musquetry on the thick column, as 'it endeavoured to force its way over the long bridge. At one time, the French grenadiers, unable to sustain this dreadful storm, appeared for an instant to hesitate. But Berthier, the chief of Buonaparte's staff, with Massena, L'Allemagne, and Corvini, hurried to the head of the column, and by their presence and gallantry renewed the resolution of the soldiers, who now poured across the bridge. The Austrians had but one resource left; to rush on the French with the bayonet, and kill, or drive back into the Adda, those who had forced their passage, before they could deploy into line, or receive support from their comrades, who were still fling along the bridge. But the opportunity was neglected, either because the troops, who should have executed the manœuvre, had been, as we have already noticed, withdrawn too far from the river; or because the soldiery, as

happens when they repose too much confidence in a strong position, became panic-struck when they saw it unexpectedly carried. Or it may be, that general Beaulieu, so old and so unfortunate, had somewhat lost that energy and presence of mind which the critical moment demanded. Whatever was the cause, the French rushed on the artillery men, from whose fire they had lately suffered so tremendously, and, unsupported as they were, had little difficulty in bayonetting them. The Austrian army now completely gave way, and lost in their retreat, annoyed as it was by the French cavalry, upwards of twenty guns, one thousand prisoners, and perhaps, two thousand more wounded and slain.

Such was the famous passage of the bridge of Lodi; achieved with such skill and gallantry, as gave the victor the same character for fearless intrepidity, and practical talent in actual battle, which the former part of the campaign had gained him as a most able tactician. Yet this action, though successful, has been severely criticised by those who desire to derogate from Buonaparte's military talents. It has been said, that he might have passed over a body of infantry at the same ford where the cavalry had crossed; and that thus, by manœuvring on both sides of the river, he might have compelled the Austrians to evacuate their position on the left bank of the Adda, without hazarding an attack upon their front, which could not but cost the assailants very dearly. Buonaparte had perhaps this objection in his recollection, when he states, that the column of grenadiers were so judiciously sheltered from the fire until the moment when their wheel to the left brought them on the bridge, that they only lost two hundred men during the storm of the passage. We cannot but suppose, that this is a very mitigated account of the actual loss of the French army. So slight a loss is not to be easily reconciled with the horrors of the battle, as he himself detailed them in his dispatches; nor with the conclusion, in which he mentions, that of the sharp contests which the army of Italy had to sustain during the campaign, none was to be compared with that "terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi."

But admitting that the loss of the French had been greater on this occasion than their general cared to recollect or acknowledge, his military conduct seems not the less justifiable. Buonaparte appears to have had two objects in view in this daring exploit: the first was, to improve and increase the terror into which his previous successes had thrown the Austrians, and to impress on them the conviction, that no position, however strong, was able to protect them against the audacity and talent of the French. This discouraging feeling, exemplified by so many defeats, and now by one in circumstances where the Austrians appeared to have every advantage, it was natural to suppose, would hurry Beaulieu's retreat, induce him to renounce all subsequent attempts to cover Milan, and rather to re-unite the fragments of his army, particularly that part of Liptay's division, which, after being defeated at Fombio, had thrown themselves into Pizzighitone. To have manœuvred slowly and cautiously, would not have struck that terror and confusion which was inspired by the desperate attack on the position at Lodi. In this point the victor perfectly succeeded; for Beaulieu, after his misadventure, drew off without any farther attempt to protect the ancient capital of Lombardy, and threw himself upon Mantua, with the intention of covering that strong fortress, and, at the same time of sheltering under it the remains of his army, until he could form a junction with the forces which Wurmser was bringing to his assistance from the Rhine.

Buonaparte himself has pointed out a second object, in which he was less successful. He had hoped the rapid surprise of the bridge of Lodi might enable him to overtake or intercept the rest of Beaulieu's army, which, as we have said, had retreated by Cassano. He failed, indeed, in this object; for these forces also made their way into the Mantuan territory, and joined Beaulieu, who, by crossing the classical Mincio, placed another strong line of military defence betwixt him and his victor. But the prospect of intercepting and destroying so large a force, was worth the risk he encountered at Lodi, especially taking into view the spirit which his army had acquired from a long train of victory, together with the discouragement which had crept

into the Austrian ranks from a uniform series of defeats. The French cavalry pursued the retreating Austrians as far as Cremona, of which they took possession. Pizzighitone was obliged to capitulate, the garrison being cut off from all possibility of succour. About five hundred prisoners surrendered in that fortress; the rest of Liptay's division, and other Austrian corps, could no otherwise escape, than by throwing themselves into the Venetian territory.

It was at this time that Buonaparte had some conversation with an old Hungarian officer made prisoner in one of the actions, whom he met with at a bivouac by chance, and who did not know him. The veteran's language was a curious commentary on the whole campaign; nay, upon Buonaparte's general system of warfare, which appeared so extraordinary to those who had long practised the art on more formal principles. "Things are going on as ill and as irregularly as possible," said the old martinet, "the French have got a young general, who knows nothing of the regular rules of war; he is sometimes on our front, sometimes on the flank, sometimes on the rear. There is no supporting such a gross violation of rules." This somewhat resembles the charge which foreign tacticians have brought against the English; that they gained victories by continuing, with their insular ignorance and obstinacy, to fight on, long after the period when, if they had known the rules of war, they ought to have considered themselves as completely defeated.

We are now to turn for a time from war to its consequences, which possess an interest of a nature different from the military events we have been detailing. The movements which had taken place since the king of Sardinia's defeat, had struck terror into the government of Milan, and the archduke Ferdinand, by whom Austrian Lombardy was governed. But while Beaulieu did his best to cover the capital by force of arms, the measures resorted to by the government were rather of a devotional than warlike character. Processions were made, relics exposed, and rites resorted to, which the Catholic religion prescribes as an appeal to Heaven in great national calamities. But the saints they invoked were deaf or impotent; for the passage of the bridge of Lodi, and Beaulieu's subsequent retreat to Mantua, left no possibility of defending Milan. The archduke and his duchess immediately left Milan, followed by a small retinue, and leaving only a moderate force in the citadel, which was not in a very defensible condition. Their carriages passed through a large crowd which filled the streets. As they moved slowly along, the royal pair were observed to shed natural tears, at leaving the capital of these princely possessions of their house. The people observed a profound silence, only broken by low whispers: they showed neither joy nor sorrow at the event which was passing—all thoughts were bent in anxious anticipation upon what was to happen next.

When the archduke had departed, the restraint which his presence had imposed from habit and sentiment, as much as from fear of his authority, was of course removed, and many of the Milanese citizens began, with real or affected zeal for republicanism, to prepare themselves for the reception of the French. The three-coloured cockade was at first timidly assumed; but the example being shown, it seemed as if these emblems had fallen like snow into the caps and hats of the multitude. The imperial arms were removed from the public buildings, and a placard was put on the palace of the government with an inscription—"This house is to be let—apply for the keys to the French commissioner Salicetti." The nobles hastened to lay aside their armorial bearings, their servants' liveries, and other badges of aristocracy. Meantime the magistrates caused order to be maintained in the town, by regular patrols of the burgher guard. A deputation of the principal inhabitants of Milan was sent to the victorious general with offers of full submission, since there was no longer room for resistance, or for standing upon terms.

On the 14th of May, Buonaparte made his public entry into Milan, under a triumphal arch prepared for the occasion, which he traversed, surrounded by his guards, and took up his residence in the archiepiscopal palace. The same evening a splendid entertainment was given, and the Tree of Liberty,

(of which the aristocrats observed, that it was a bare pole without either leaves or fruit, roots or branches,) was erected with great form in the principal square. All this affectation of popular joy did not disarm the purpose of the French general, to make Milan contribute to the relief of his army. He imposed upon the place a requisition of twenty millions of livres, but offered to accept of goods of any sort in kind, and at a rateable valuation; for it may be easily supposed that specie, the representative of value, must be scarce in a city circumstanced as Milan was. The public funds of every description, even those dedicated to the support of hospitals, went into the French military chest; the church-plate was seized as part of the requisition; and, when all this was done, the citizens were burthened with the charge of finding rations for fifteen thousand men daily, by which force the citadel, with its Austrian garrison, was instantly to be blockaded.

While Lombardy suffered much, the neighbouring countries were not spared. You must be aware, that for more than a century Italy had been silently declining into that state of inactivity which succeeds great exertion, as a rapid and furious blaze sinks down into exhaustion and ashes. The keen judgment of Napoleon had seen, that the geographical shape of Italy, though presenting in many respects advantages for a great and commercial nation, offered this main impediment to its separate existence as one independent state, that its length being too great in proportion to its breadth, there was no point sufficiently central to preserve the due influence of a metropolis in relation to its extreme northern and southern provinces; and that the inhabitants of Naples and Lombardy being locally so far divided, and differing in climate, habits and the variety of temper which climate and habits produce, could hardly be united under the same government. From these causes Italy was, after the demolition of the great Roman empire, early broken up into different subdivisions, which, more civilized than the rest of Europe at the time, attracted in various degrees the attention of mankind; and at length, from the sacerdotal power of Rome, the wealth and extensive commerce of Venice and Genoa, the taste and splendour of Florence, and the ancient fame of the metropolis of the world, became of importance much over-proportioned to their actual extent of territory. But this time had passed away, and the Italian states, rich in remembrances, were now comparatively poor in point of immediate consequence in the scale of nations.

They retained their oligarchical or monarchical forms and constitutions, as in the more vigorous state of their existence, but appeared to have lost their energies both for good and evil. The proud and jealous love which each Italian used to bear towards his own province was much abated; the jealousy of the factions which divided most of their states, and induced the citizens to hazard their own death or exile in the most trifling party quarrel, had subsided into that calm, selfish indifference, which disregards public interests of all kinds. They were all governed, in so far as their rulers neglected all means of benefitting the subjects or improving the country; and they were thus far well governed, that, softened by the civilization of the times, and perhaps by a tacit sense of their own weakness, their rulers had ceased, in a great measure, to exercise with severity the despotic powers with which they were in many cases invested, though they continued to be the cause of petty vexations, to which the natives had become callous. The vatican slept like a volcano, which had exhausted its thunders; and Venice, the most jealous and cruel of oligarchies, was now shutting her wearied eyes, and closing her ears, against informers and spies of state. The Italian states stood, therefore, like a brotherhood of old trees, decayed at heart and root, but still making some show of branches and leaves, until the French invasion rushed down, like the whirlwind which lays them prostrate.

In the relations between France and Italy, it must be observed that two of the most considerable of these states, Tuscany and Venice, were actually in league with the former country, having acknowledged the republic, and done nothing to deserve the chastisement of her armies. Others might be termed neutral, not having perhaps deemed themselves of consequence sufficient to take part in the quarrel of the coalesced powers against France. The pope

had given offence by the affair of Basseville, and the encouragement which his countenance afforded to the non-conforming clergy of France. But excepting Naples and Austrian Lombardy, no state in Italy could be exactly said to be at open war with the new republic. Buonaparte was determined, however, that this should make no difference in his mode of treating them.

The first of these slumbering potentates with whom he came in contact, was the duke of Parma. This petty sovereign, even before Buonaparte entered Milan, had deprecated the victor's wrath; and although neither an adherent of the coalition, nor at war with France, he found himself obliged to purchase an armistice by heavy sacrifices. He paid a tribute of two millions of livres, besides furnishing horses and provisions to a large amount, and agreeing to deliver up twenty of the finest paintings in his cabinet, to be chosen by the French general.

The next of these sufferers was the duke of Modena. This prince was a man of moderate abilities; his business was hoarding money, and his pleasure consisted, in nailing up, with his own princely hands, the tapestry which ornamented churches on days of high holiday; from which he acquired the nick-name of the royal upholsterer. But his birth was illustrious and the descendant of that celebrated hero of Este, the patron of Tasso and of Ariosto; and his alliance was no less splendid, having married the sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and of Joseph II.: then his daughter was married to the archduke Ferdinand, the governor of Milan. Notwithstanding his double connexion with the imperial family, the principality of Modena was so small that he might have been passed over as scarce worthy of notice, but for the temptation of his treasures, in the works of art, as well as in specie. On the approach of a column of the French army to Modena, the duke fled from his capital, but sent his brother, the chevalier d'Este, to capitulate with Napoleon.

It might have been urged in his favour, that he was no avowed partner in the coalition; but Buonaparte took for granted his goodwill towards his brother-in-law the emperor of Austria, and esteemed it a crime deserving atonement. Indeed it was one which had not been proved by any open action, but neither could it admit of being disproved. The duke was therefore obliged to purchase the privilege of neutrality, and to expiate his supposed good inclination for the house of Austria. Five millions and a half of French livres, with large contributions in provisions and accoutrements, perhaps cost the duke of Modena more anxious thoughts than he had bestowed on the misfortunes of his imperial relatives.

To levy on obnoxious states or princes the means of paying or accommodating troops, would have been only what has been practised by victors in all ages. But an exaction of a new kind was now for the first time imposed on these Italian princes. The duke of Modena, like the duke of Parma, was compelled to surrender twenty of his choicest pictures, to be selected at the choice of the French general, and the persons of taste with whom he might advise. This is the first time that a demand of this nature had been made in modern times in a public and avowed manner, and we must pause to consider the motives and justice of such a requisition.

Hitherto, works of art had been considered as sacred, even during the utmost extremities of war. They were judged to be the property, not so much of the nation or individuals who happened to possess them, as of the civilized world in general, who were supposed to have a common interest in these productions, which, if exposed to become the ordinary spoils of war, could hardly escape damage or destruction. To take a strong example of forbearance, Frederick of Prussia was a passionate admirer of the fine arts, and no scrupulous investigator of the rights conferred by conquest, but rather disposed to stretch them to the uttermost. Yet when he obtained possession of Dresden under circumstances of high irritation, Frederick respected the valuable gallery, cabinets, and museums of the capital of Saxony, and preserved their contents inviolate, as a species of property which could not, and ought not, to fall within the rights of a conqueror. He considered the elec-

tor as only the keeper of the gallery ; and regarded the articles which it contained as belonging to the civilized world at large.

There are persons who demand the cause of this distinction, and require to know why works of art, the value of which is created solely by the opinion of those who pretend to understand them, and is therefore to be regarded as merely imaginary, or, as it is called by lawyers, a mere *pretium affectionis*, should be exempted from that martial law which disposes at pleasure of the real property of the vanquished. But it might easily be shown in reply, that the respect due to genius of the highest order, attaches with a sort of religious zeal to the objects of our admiration in the fine arts, and renders it a species of sacrilege to subject them to the chances of war. It has besides already been hinted, that these *chef-d'œuvres* being readily liable to damage, scarcely admitting of being repaired, and absolutely incapable of being replaced, their existence is hazarded by rendering them the objects of removal, according to the fluctuation of victory. But it is surely sufficient to say, that wherever the progress of civilization has introduced rules to qualify and soften the extremities of war, these should be strictly adhered to. In the rudest ages of society, man avails himself of the right of the strongest in the fullest extent. The victor of the Sandwich Islands devours his enemy—the North American Indian tortures him to death—almost all savage tribes render their prisoners slaves, and sell them as such. As society advances, these inhumanities fall out of practice ; and it is unnecessary to add, that, as the victorious general deserves honourable mention in history, who, by his clemency, relaxes in any respect the rigorous laws of conquest, so he must be censured in proportion, whose conduct tends to retrograde towards the brutal violence of primitive hostility. Buonaparte cannot be exempted from this censure. He, as the willing agent of the Directory under whose commands he acted, had resolved to disregard the neutrality which had hitherto been considered as attaching to the productions of the fine arts, and, for the first time, had determined to view them as the spoils of conquest. The motive is more easily discovered than justified. In the reign of terror and equality, the fine arts, with every thing connected with cultivated feelings, had been regarded as inconsistent with the simplicity of the republican character ; and, like the successful fanatics of England, and the first enthusiastic votaries of the Koran, the true Sans-culottes were disposed to esteem a taste which could not generally exist without a previous superior education, as something aristocratic, and alien from the imaginary standard of equality, to which it was their purpose to lower all the exertions of intellect, as well as the possession of property. Palaces were therefore destroyed, and monuments broken to pieces. But this brutal prejudice, with the other attempts of these frantic democrats to bring back the world to a state of barbarism, equally in moral and in general feeling, was discarded at the fall of the Jacobin authority. Those who succeeded to the government, exerted themselves laudably in endeavouring rather to excite men's minds to a love of those studies and tastes, which are ever found to humanize and soften the general tone of society, and which teach hostile nations that they have points of friendly union, even because they unite in admiring the same master pieces of art. A museum was formed at Paris, for the purpose of collecting and exhibiting to public admiration paintings and statues, and whatever was excellent in art, for the amusement of the citizens, whose chief scene of pleasure hitherto had been a wild and ill-regulated civic festival, to vary the usual exhibition of the procession of a train of victims moving towards the guillotine. The substitution of such a better object of popular attention was honourable, virtuous, and politic in itself, and speedily led the French people, partly from taste, partly from national vanity, to attach consequence to the fine arts and their productions.

Unfortunately there were no ordinary measures by which the French, as purchasers, could greatly augment the contents of their museum ; and more unfortunately for other nations, and ultimately for themselves, they had the power and the will to increase their possessions of this kind, without research or expense, by means of the irrealisable progress of their arms. We

have no right to say that this peculiar species of spoliation originated with Buonaparte personally. He probably obeyed the orders of the directory; and, besides, instances might no doubt be found, in the history of all nations, of interesting articles of this nature having been transferred by the chance of war from one country to another, as in cases of plunder of an ordinary description, which, though seldom avowed or defended, are not the less occasionally practised. But Napoleon was unquestionably the first and most active agent, who made such exactions a matter of course, and enforced them upon principle; and that he was heartily engaged in this scheme of general plunder, is sufficiently proved from his expressions to the directory, upon transmitting those paintings which the duke of Modena, the first sufferer on this system, was compelled to surrender, and which were transferred to Paris as the legitimate spoils of war.

But before copying the terms in which Napoleon announces the transmission of master-pieces of art to the national museum, it ought to be remarked, that the celebrated Saint Jérôme, by Correggio, which he mentions with a sort of insulting triumph, was accounted so valuable, that the duke of Modena offered two millions of livres as the ransom of that picture alone. This large sum the French general acting on the principle which many in his situation were tempted to recognize, might have safely converted to his own use, under the certainty that the appropriation, indispensable as his services were to the government, would neither have been enquired into nor censured. But avarice cannot be the companion, far less the controller, of ambition. The feelings of the young victor were of a character too elevated to stoop to the acquisition of wealth; nor was his career, at that or any other period, sullied by this particular and most degrading species of selfishness. When his officers would have persuaded him to accept the money, as more useful for the army, he replied, that the two millions of livres would soon be spent, but the Correggio would remain an ornament of the city of Paris for ages, and inspire the production of future master-pieces.

In his dispatch to the directory, of 17th Floreal (8th of May), Napoleon desires to have some artists sent to him, who might collect the monuments of art; which shows that the purpose of seizing upon them had been already formed. In the letter which accompanied the transmission of the pictures, he has these remarkable expressions:—"You will receive the articles of the suspension of arms which I have granted to the duke of Parma. I will send you as soon as possible the finest pictures of Correggio, amongst others a Saint Jerome, which is said to be his master-piece. I must own that the saint takes an unlucky time to visit Paris, but I hope you will grant him the honours of the museum."

The same system was followed at Milan, where several of the most valuable articles were taken from the Ambrosian collection. The articles were received in the spirit with which they were transmitted. The most able critics were dispatched to assist the general in the selection of the monuments of the fine arts to be transferred to Paris, and the secretary-general of the Lyceum, confounding the possession of the productions of genius with the genius itself which created them, congratulated his countrymen on the noble dispositions which the victors had evinced. "It is no longer blood," said the orator, "which the French soldier thirsts for. He desires to lead no slaves in triumph behind his chariot—it is the glorious spoils of the arts and of industry with which he longs to decorate his victories—he cherishes that devouring passion of great souls, the love of glory, and the enthusiasm for high talents, to which the Greeks owed their astonishing successes. It was the defence of their temples, their monuments, their statues, their great artists, that stimulated their valour. It was from such motives they conquered at Salamis and at Marathon. It is thus that our armies advance, escorted by the love of arts, and followed by sweet peace, from Coni to Milan, and soon to proceed from thence to the proud basilic of St. Peter's." The reasoning of the secretary of the Lyceum is lost amidst his eloquence; but the speech, if it means any thing, signifies, that

the seizing on those admired productions placed the nation which acquired the forcible possession of them, in the same condition as if she had produced the great men by whom they were achieved ;—just as the ancient Scythians believed they became inspired with the talents and virtues of those whom they murdered. Or, according to another interpretation, it may mean that the French, who fought to deprive other nations of their property, had as praiseworthy motives of action as the Greeks, who made war in defence of that which was their own. But however their conduct might be regarded by themselves, it is very certain that they did by no means resemble those whose genius set the example of such splendid success in the fine arts. On the contrary, the classical prototype of Buonaparte in this transaction, was the Roman consul Mummius, who violently plundered Greece of those treasures of art, of which he himself and his countrymen were insensible to the real and proper value.

It is indeed little to the purpose, in a moral point of view, whether the motive for this species of rapine were or were not genuine love of the arts. The fingering connoisseur who secrets a gem, cannot plead in mitigation, that he stole it, not on account of the value of the stone, but for the excellence of the engraving ; any more than the devotee who stole a bible could shelter herself under a religious motive. But, in truth, we do not believe that the French or their general were actuated on this occasion by the genuine love of the arts. This taste leads men to entertain respect for the objects which it admires ; and feeling its genuine influence, a conqueror would decline to give an example of a species of rapine, which, depriving those objects of admiration of the protection with which the general sentiment of civilized nations had hitherto invested them, must hold them up, like other ordinary property, as a prey to the strongest soldier. Again, we cannot but be of opinion, that a genuine lover of the arts would have hesitated to tear those paintings from the churches or palaces, for the decoration of which they had been expressly painted, and where they must always have been seen to the best effect, whether from the physical advantages of the light, size of apartment, and other suitable localities connected with their original situations, or from the moral feelings which connect the works themselves with the place for which they were primarily designed, and which they had occupied for ages. The destruction of these mental connexions, which gives so much additional effect to painting and statuary, merely to gratify the selfish love of appropriation, is like taking a gem out of the setting, which in many cases may considerably diminish its value.

We cannot, therefore, believe, that this system of spoliation was dictated by any sincere and manly love of the arts, though this was so much talked of in France at the time. It must, on the contrary, be ascribed to the art and ambition of the directory who ordered, and the general who obeyed ; both of whom, being sensible that the national vanity, would be flattered by this species of tribute, hastened to secure it an ample gratification. Buonaparte, in particular, was at least sufficiently aware, that, with however little purity of taste the Parisians might look upon these exquisite productions, they would be sufficiently alive to the recollection, that, being deemed by all civilized people the most admirable specimens in the world, the valour of the French armies, and the skill of their unrivalled general, had sent them to adorn the metropolis of France ; and might hope, that once brought to the prime city of the great nation, such *chef-d'œuvres* could not again be subject to danger by transportation, but must remain there, fixed as household gods, for the admiration of posterity. So hoped, as we have seen, the victor himself ; and doubtless with the proud anticipation, that in future ages the recollection of himself, and of his deeds, must be inseparably connected with the admiration which the museum, ordained and enriched by him, was calculated to produce.

LETTER XXIX.

Prosecution of the campaign in Italy.—Insurrection at Pavia.—Defeat of the Austrians at Borghetto.—Mantua blockaded.—Invasion of the Venetian States.—The King of Naples secedes from Austria.—Armistice purchased by the Pope.—Neutrality of Tuscany violated, and Leghorn occupied by the French.—Wurmser succeeds Beaulieu.—Corsica re-united to France.—Battles of Arcola, and success of the French, A. D. 1795.

My last letter will have prepared you, my dear son, as I think I may fairly presume, for anticipating a succession of military achievements, between the Austrian and republican armies at this eventful crisis. The rubicon was passed, and Buonaparte well knew that, situated as he and his army now were, he had placed every thing at stake. It was manifest that he could only hope for success by the most strenuous perseverance in the career which he was now pursuing—he had gone too far to recede with any other prospect than that of utter ruin. Occupying Milan, and conqueror in so many battles, he might be justly considered as in absolute possession of Lombardy, while the broken forces of Beaulieu had been compelled to retreat under that sole remaining bulwark of the Austrian power, the strong fortress of Mantua, where they might await such support as should be detached to them through the Tyrol, but could undertake no offensive operations. To secure his position, the Austrian general had occupied the line formed by the Mincio, his left flank resting upon Mantua, his right upon Peschiera, a Venetian city and fortress, but of which he had taken possession, against the reclamation of the Venetian government, who were desirous of observing a neutrality between such powerful belligerents, not perhaps altogether aware how far the victor, in so dreadful a strife, might be disposed to neglect the general law of nations.

The Austrian defence on the right was prolonged by the Lago di Guarda, a large lake out of which the Mincio flows, and which, running thirty-five miles northward into the mountains of the Tyrol, maintained uninterrupted Beaulieu's communication with Germany.

Buonaparte in the mean time permitted his forces only the repose of four or five days, ere he again summoned them to active exertion. He called on them to visit the capitol, there to re-establish (he ought to have said to *carry away*) the statues of the great men of antiquity, and to change, or rather renovate, the destinies of the finest district of Europe. But while thus engaged, he received orders from Paris respecting his farther proceedings which must have served to convince him that *all* his personal enemies, and who doubted and feared him, were not to be found in the Austrian ranks.

The directory themselves had begun to suspect the prudence of suffering the whole harvest of success which Italy afforded, to be reaped by the adventurous and haughty character who had first thrust in the sickle. They perhaps felt already an instinctive distrust of the waxing influence, which was destined one day to overpower their own. Under some such impression, they resolved to divide the army of Italy betwixt Buonaparte and Kellermann, directing the former general to pass the Po, and advance southward on Rome and Naples, with twenty thousand men; while Kellermann, with the other moiety of the Italian army, should press the siege of Mantua, and make head against the Austrians.

This was taking Buonaparte's victory out of his grasp; and he resented the proposal accordingly, by transmitting his resignation, and declining to have any concern in the loss of his army, and the fruits of his conquests. He affirmed, that Kellermann, with an army reduced to twenty thousand men, could not face Beaulieu, but would be speedily driven out of Lombardy; and that, in consequence, the army which advanced southward would be overwhelmed and destroyed. One bad general, he said, was better than two

good ones. The directory must have perceived from such a reply, the firm and inflexible nature of the man they had made the leader of their armies, but they dared not, such was his reputation, proceed in the plan they had formed for the diminution of his power; and perhaps, for the first time since the revolution, the executive government of France was compelled to give way to a successful general, and adopt his views instead of their own. The campaign was left to his sole management; he obtained an ascendancy which he took admirable care not to relinquish, and it became the only task of the directory, so far as Italy was concerned, to study phrases for intimating their approbation of the young general's measures.

Whatever were the ultimate designs of Buonaparte against Rome, he thought it prudent to suspend them until he should be free from all danger of the Austrians, by the final defeat of Beaulieu. For this object, he directed the divisions of his army towards the right bank of the Mincio, with a view of once more forcing Beaulieu's position, after having taken precautions for blockading the citadel of Milan, where the Austrians still held out, and for guarding Pavia and other points, which appeared necessary to secure his conquests.

Napoleon himself fixed his head-quarters at Lodi, upon the 24th of May. But he was scarcely arrived there, when he received the alarming intelligence, that the city of Pavia, with all the surrounding districts, were in arms in his rear; that the tocsin was ringing in every village, and that news were circulated that the prince of Condé's army, united with a strong Austrian force, had descended from the Tyrol into Italy. Some commotions had shown themselves in Milan, and the Austrian garrison there made demonstrations towards favouring the insurrection in Pavia, where the insurgents were completely successful, and had made prisoners a French corps of three hundred men.

Buonaparte represents these disturbances as effected by Austrian agents; but he had formerly assured us, that the Italians took little interest in the fate of their German masters. The truth is, that, having entered Italy with the most flattering assurances of observing respect for public and private property, the French had disgusted the inhabitants, by exacting the contributions which they had imposed on the country with great severity. As Catholics, the Italians were also disgusted with the open indignities thrown on the places and objects of public worship, as well as on the persons and character of their priests. The nobles and the clergy naturally saw their ruin in the success of the French; and the lower classes joined them for the time, from dislike to foreigners, love of national independence, resentment of the exactions made, and the acts of sacrilege committed by the ultramontane invaders. About thirty thousand insurgents were in arms; but having no regular forces on which to rest as a rallying point, they were ill calculated to endure the rapid assault of the disciplined French.

Buonaparte, anxious to extinguish a flame so formidable, instantly returned from Lodi to Milan, at the head of a strong division, took order for the safety of the capital of Lombardy, and moved next morning towards Pavia, the centre of the insurrection. The village of Benasco, which was defended against Lanaes, was taken by storm, the inhabitants put to the sword, and the place plundered and burnt. Napoleon himself arrived before Pavia, blew the gates open with his cannon, dispersed with ease the half-armed insurgents, and caused the leaders of the insurrection to be put to death, for having attempted to defend the independence of their country. He then seized on the persons of many inhabitants, and sent them to Paris as hostages for the subjection of their fellow-citizens.

The French general published a proclamation in the republican style, in which he reproaches the insurgents for presuming to use arms in defence of their country, and menaces with fire and sword whatever individuals should in future prosecute the same daring course. He made his threat good some weeks afterwards, when a similar insurrection took place in those districts called the Imperial fiefs, and still latter, when an effort at resistance was at-

tempted in the town of Lago. On both occasions, the leaders of the armed inhabitants were tried by a military commission, condemned, and shot. On the last, indeed, to revenge the defeat sustained by a squadron of French dragoons, Lago was taken by storm, pillaged, burnt, and the men put to the sword; while some credit seems to be taken by Buonaparte in his dispatches, for the clemency of the French, which spared the women and children.

It is impossible to read the account of these severities, without contrasting them with the opinions professed on other occasions, both by the republican and imperial governments of France. The first of these exclaimed as at an unheard of cruelty, when the duke of Brunswick, in his celebrated proclamation, threatened to treat as a brigand every Frenchman, not being a soldier, whom he should find under arms, and to destroy such villages as should offer resistance to the invading army. The French at that time considered with justice, that, if there is one duty more holy than another, it is that which calls on men to defend their native country against invasion. Napoleon, being emperor, was of the same opinion in the years 1813 and 1814, when the allies entered the French territories, and when, in various proclamations, he called on the inhabitants to rise against the invaders with the implements of their ordinary labour when they had no better arms, and "to shoot a fo-
"reigner as they would a wolf." It would be difficult to reconcile these invitations with the cruel vengeance taken on the town of Lago, for observing a line of conduct which, in similar circumstances, Buonaparte so keenly and earnestly recommended to those whom fortune had made his own subjects.

The brief insurrection of Pavia suppressed by these severities, Buonaparte once more turned his thoughts to the strong position of the Austrians, with the purpose of reducing Beaulieu to a more decided state of disability, before he executed the threatened vengeance of the republic on the Sovereign Pontiff. For this purpose he advanced to Brescia, and manœuvred in such a manner as induced Beaulieu, whom repeated surprises of the same kind had not put upon his guard, to believe, that either the French general intended to attempt the passage of the Mincio at the small but strong town of Peschiera, where that river issues from the Lago di Guarda, or else that, marching northward along the eastern bank, he designed to come round the head of the lake, and thus turn the right of the Austrian position. While Beaulieu disposed his forces as expecting an attack on the right of his line, Buonaparte, with his usual celerity, proposed to attack him on the centre, at Borghetto, a town situated on the Mincio, and commanding a bridge over it, about ten miles lower than Peschiera.

On the 30th of May, the French general attacked, with superior force, and repulsed across the Mincio, an Austrian corps who endeavoured to cover the town. The fugitives endeavoured to demolish the bridge, and did break down one of its arches. But the French, rushing forward with impetuosity, under cover of a heavy fire upon the retreating Austrians, repaired the broken arch so as to effect a passage, and the Mincio, passed as the Po and the Adda had been before, ceased in its turn to be a protection to the army drawn up behind it.

Beaulieu, who had his head-quarters at Valeggio, a village nearly opposite to Borghetto, hastened to retreat, and evacuating Peschiera, marched his dismayed forces behind the Adige, leaving five hundred prisoners, with other trophies of victory, in the hands of the French. Buonaparte had designed that this day of success should have been still more decisive; for he meditated an attack upon Peschiera at the moment when the passage at Borghetto was accomplished; but ere Augereau, to whom this manœuvre was committed, had time to approach Peschiera, it was evacuated by the Austrians, who were in full retreat by Castel Nuovo, protected by their cavalry.

The left of the Austrian line, cut off from the centre by the passage of the French, had been stationed at Puzzuolo, lower on the Mincio. When Sebottendorf, who commanded the Imperial troops stationed on the left bank, heard the cannonade, he immediately ascended the river, to assist his commander-in-chief to repel the French, or to take them in flank if it

was already crossed. The retreat of Beaulieu made both purposes impossible; and yet this march of Sebottendorf had almost produced a result of greater consequence than would have been the most complete victory.

The French division which first crossed the Mincio, had passed through Valeggio without halting, in pursuit of Beaulieu, by whom the village had been just before abandoned. Buonaparte with a small retinue remained in the place; and Massena's division were still on the right bank of the Mincio, preparing their dinner. At this moment the advanced-guard of Sebottendorf, consisting of hulans and hussars, pushed into the village of Valeggio. There was but barely time to cry to arms; and, shutting the gates of the inn, to employ the general's small escort in its defence, while Buonaparte, escaping by the garden, mounted his horse, and galloped toward's Massena's division. The soldiers threw aside their cookery, and marched instantly against Sebottendorf, who with much difficulty, and not without loss, effected a retreat in the same direction as his commander-in-chief Beaulieu. This personal risk induced Buonaparte, to form what he called the corps of guides, veterans of ten years service at least, who were perpetually near his person, and, like the *Triarii* of the Romans, were employed only when the most desperate efforts of courage were necessary. Bessieres, afterwards duke of Istria, and mareschal of France, was placed at the head of this chosen body, which gave rise to the formation of the celebrated imperial guards of Napoleon.

The passage of the Mincio obliged the Austrians to retire within the frontier of the Tyrol; and they might have been considered as completely expelled from Italy, had not Mantua and the citadel of Milan still continued to display the Imperial banners. The castle of Milan was a place of no extraordinary strength, the surrender of which might be calculated on so soon as the general fate of war had declared itself against the present possessors. But Mantua was by nature one of those almost impregnable fortresses, which may long, relying on its own resources, defy any compulsion but that of famine.

The town and fortress of Mantua are situated on a species of island, five or six leagues square, called the Seraglio, produced by three lakes, which communicate with, or rather are formed by the Mincio. This island has access to the land by five causeways, the most important of which was in 1796, defended by a regular citadel, called, from the vicinity of a ducal palace, La Favorita. Another was defended by an entrenched camp extending between the fortress and the lake. The third was protected by a hornwork. The remaining two causeways were only defended by gates and drawbridges. Mantua, low in situation, and surrounded by water, in a warm climate, is naturally unhealthy; but the air was likely to be still more destructive to a besieging army, (which necessarily lay in many respects more exposed to the elements, and were besides in greater numbers, and less habituated to the air of the place,) than to a garrison who had been seasoned to it, and were well accommodated within the fortress.

To surprise a place so strong by a coup-de-main was impossible, though Buonaparte represents his soldiers as murmuring that such a desperate feat was not attempted. But he blockaded Mantua with a large force, and proceeded to take such other measures to improve his success, as might pave the way to future victories. The garrison was numerous, amounting to from twelve to fourteen thousand men; and the deficiencies of the fortifications, which the Austrians had neglected in over security, were made up for by the natural strength of the place. Yet of the five causeways, Buonaparte made himself master of four; and thus the enemy lost possession of all beyond the walls of the town and citadel, and had only the means of attaining the main land through the citadel of La Favorita. Lines of circumvallation were formed, and Serrurier was left in blockade of the fortress, which the possession of four of the accesses enabled him to accomplish with a body of men inferior to the garrison.

To complete the blockade, it was necessary to come to some arrangement with the ancient republic of Venice. With this venerable government Na-

pooleon had the power of working his own pleasure; for although the state might have raised a considerable army to assist the Austrians, to whom its senate, or aristocratic government, certainly bore good-will, yet, having been in amity with the French republic, they deemed the step too hazardous, and vainly trusting that their neutrality would be respected, they saw the Austrian power completely broken for the time, before they took any active measures either to stand in their defence, or to deprecate the wrath of the victor. But when the line of the Mincio was forced, and Buonaparte occupied the Venetian territory on the left bank, it was time to seek by concessions that deference to the rights of an independent country, which the once haughty aristocracy of Venice had lost a favourable opportunity of supporting by force.

There was one circumstance which rendered their cause unfavourable. Louis XVIII. under the title of a private person, the comte de Lisle, had received the hospitality of the republic, and was permitted to remain at Verona, living in strict seclusion. The permission to entertain this distinguished exile, the Venetian government had almost mendicated from the French revolutionary rulers, in a manner which we would term mean, were it not for the goodness of the intention, which leads us to regard the conduct of the ancient mistress of the Adriatic with pity rather than contempt. But when the screen of the Austrian force no longer existed, between the invading armies of France and the Venetian territories—when the final subjugation of the north of Italy was resolved on—the directory peremptorily demanded, and the senate of Venice were obliged to grant, an order, removing the comte de Lisle from the boundaries of the republic.

The illustrious exile protested against this breach of hospitality, and demanded, before parting, that his name, which had been placed on the golden book of the republic, should be erased, and that the armour presented by Henry IV. to Venice, should be restored to his descendant. Both demands were evaded, as might have been expected in the circumstances, and the future monarch of France left Verona on the 21st of April 1796, for the army of the prince of Condé, in whose ranks he proposed to place himself, without the purpose of assuming any command, but only that of fighting as a volunteer in the character of the first gentleman of France. Other less distinguished emigrants, to the number of several hundreds, who had found an asylum in Italy, were, by the successes at Lodi and Borghetto, compelled to fly to other countries.

Buonaparte, immediately after the battle of Borghetto, and the passage of the Mincio, occupied the town of Verona, and did not fail to intimate to its magistrates, that if the *Pretender*, as he termed him, to the throne of France, had not left Verona before his arrival, he would have burnt to the ground a town which, acknowledging him as king of France, assumed, in doing so, the air of being itself the capital of that republic. This might, no doubt, sound gallant in Paris; but Buonaparte knew well that Louis of France was not received in the Venetian territory as the successor to his brother's throne, but only with the hospitality due to an unfortunate prince, who, suiting his claim and title to his situation, was content to shelter his head, as a private man might have done, from the evils which seemed to pursue him.

The neutrality of Venice, was, however, for the time admitted, though not entirely from respect for the law of nations; for Buonaparte is at some pains to justify himself for not having seized without ceremony on the territories and resources of that republic, although a neutral power as far as her utmost exertions could preserve neutrality. He contented himself for the time with occupying Verona, and other dependencies of Venice upon the line of the Adige. "You are too weak," he said to the proveditore Fesca-relli, "to pretend to enforce neutrality with a few hundred Slavonians on two such nations as France and Austria. The Austrians have not respected your territory where it suited their purpose, and I must, in re-quit, occupy such part as falls within the line of the Adige."

But he considered that the Venetian territories to the westward should in

policy be allowed to retain the character of neutral ground, which the government, as that of Venice was emphatically called, would not, for their own sakes, permit them to lose; while otherwise, if occupied by the French as conquerors, these timid neutrals might upon any reverse have resumed the character of fierce opponents. And, at all events, in order to secure a territory as a conquest, which, if respected as neutral, would secure itself, there would have been a necessity for dividing the French forces, which it was Buonaparte's wish to concentrate. From interested motives, therefore, if not from respect to justice, Buonaparte deferred seizing the territory of Venice when within his grasp, conscious that the total defeat of the Austrians in Italy would, when accomplished, leave the prey as attainable, and more defenceless than ever. Having disposed his army in its position, and prepared some of its divisions for the service which they were to perform as moveable columns, he returned to Milan to reap the harvest of his successes.

The first of these consisted in the defection of the king of Naples from the cause of Austria, to which, from family connexion, he had yet remained attached, though of late with less deep devotion. His cavalry had behaved better during the engagement on the Mincio, than has been of late the custom, with Neapolitan troops, and had suffered accordingly. The king, discouraged with the loss, solicited an armistice, which he easily obtained; for his dominions being situated at the lower extremity of Italy, and his force extending to sixty thousand men at least, it was of importance to secure the neutrality of a power who might be dangerous, and who was not, as matters stood, under the immediate control of the French. A Neapolitan ambassador was sent to Paris to conclude a final peace; in the mean while, the soldiers of the king of the two Sicilies were withdrawn from the army of Beaulieu, and returned to their own country. The dispositions of the court of Naples continued, nevertheless, to vacillate, as opportunity of advantage, joined with the hatred of the queen, (sister of Marie Antoinette) or the fear of the French military superiority, seemed to predominate.

The storm now thickened round the devoted head of the pope. Ferrara and Bologna, the territories of which belonged to the holy see, were occupied by the French troops. In the latter place, four hundred of the papal troops were made prisoners, with a cardinal who acted as their officer. The latter was dismissed on his parole, but when summoned to return to the French head-quarters, his eminence declined to obey, and amused the republican officers a good deal by alleging that the pope had dispensed with his engagement. Afterwards, however, there were officers of no mean rank in the French service, who could contrive to extricate themselves from the engagement of a parole, without troubling the pope for his interference on the occasion. Influenced by the approaching danger, the court of Rome sent Azara, the Spanish minister, with full powers to treat for an armistice. It was a remarkable part of Buonaparte's character, that he knew as well when to forbear as when to strike. Rome, it was true, was an enemy whom France, or at least its present rulers, both hated and despised, but the moment was then inopportune for the prosecution of their resentment. To have detached a sufficient force in that direction, would have weakened the French army in the north of Italy, where fresh bodies of German troops were already arriving, and might have been attended with great ultimate risk, since there was a possibility that the English might have transported to Italy the forces which they were about to withdraw from Corsica, amounting to six thousand men. But though these considerations recommended to Napoleon a negotiation with the pope, his holiness was compelled to purchase the armistice at a severe rate. Twenty-one millions of francs, in actual specie, with large contributions in forage and military stores, the cession of Ancona, Bologna, and Ferrara, not forgetting one hundred of the finest pictures, statues, and similar objects of art, to be selected according to the choice of the committee of artists who attended the French army, were the price of a respite which was not of long duration. It was particularly stipulated, with republican ostentation, that the busts of the elder and younger Brutus were to be among the number of ceded articles; and it was in this manner that Buonaparte

made good his vaunt, of establishing in the Roman capital the statues of the illustrious and classical dead.

The archduke of Tuscany was next to undergo the republican discipline. It is true, that prince had given no offence to the French republic; on the contrary, he had claims of merit with them, from having been the very first power in Europe who acknowledged them as a legal government, and having ever since been in strict amity with them. It seemed also, that while justice required he should be spared, the interest of the French themselves did not oppose the conclusion. His country could have no influence on the fate of the impending war, being situated on the western side of the Appenines. In these circumstances, to have seized on his museum, however tempting, or made requisitions on his territories, would have appeared unjust towards the earliest ally of the French republic; so Buonaparte contented himself with seizing on the grand duke's sea-port of Leghorn, confiscating the English goods which his subjects had imported, and entirely ruining the once flourishing commerce of the dukedom. It was a principal object with the French to seize the British merchant vessels, who, confiding in the respect due to a neutral power, were lying in great numbers in the harbour; but the English merchantmen had such early intelligence as enabled them to set sail for Corsica, although a very great quantity of valuable goods fell into the possession of the French.

While the French general was thus violating the neutrality of the grand duke, occupying by surprise his valuable sea-port, and destroying the commerce of his state, the unhappy prince was compelled to receive him at Florence, with all the respect due to a valued friend, and profess the utmost obligation to him for his lenity, while Manfredini, the Tuscan minister, endeavoured to throw a veil of decency over the transactions at Leghorn, by allowing that the English were more masters in that port than was the grand duke himself. Buonaparte disdained to have recourse to any paltry apologies. "The French flag," he said, "has been insulted in Leghorn:—you are not strong enough to cause it to be respected. The directory has commanded me to occupy the place." Shortly after, Buonaparte, during an entertainment given to him by the grand duke at Florence, received intelligence that the citadel of Milan had at length surrendered. He rubbed his hands with self-congratulation, and turning to the grand duke observed, "that the emperor, his brother, had now lost his last possession in Lombardy."

When we read of the exactions and indignities to which the strong reduce the weak, it is impossible not to remember the simile of Napoleon himself, who compared the alliance of France and an inferior state, to a giant embracing a dwarf. "The poor dwarf," he added, "may probably be suffocated in the arms of his friend; but the giant does not mean it, and cannot help it." While Buonaparte made truce with several of the old states in Italy, or rather adjoined their destruction in consideration of large contributions, he was far from losing sight of the main object of the French directory, which was to cause the adjacent governments to be revolutionized and new modelled on a republican form, corresponding to that of the great nation herself. This scheme was, in every respect, an exceedingly artful one. In every state which the French might overrun or conquer, there must occur, as we have already repeatedly noticed, men fitted to form the members of revolutionary government, and who, from their previous situation and habits, must necessarily be found eager to do so. Such men are sure to be supported by the rabble of large towns, who are attracted by the prospect of plunder, and by the splendid promises of liberty, which they always understand as promising the equalization of property. Thus provided with materials for their edifice, the bayonets of the French army were of strength sufficient to prevent the task from being interrupted, and the French republic had soon to greet sister states, under the government of men who held their offices by the pleasure of France, and who were obliged, therefore, to comply with all her requisitions, however unreasonable:

Having noticed the effect of Buonaparte's short but brilliant campaign on other states, we must observe the effects which his victories produced on

Austria herself. These were entirely consistent with her national character. The same tardiness which has long made the government of Austria slow in availing themselves of advantageous circumstances, cautious in their plans, and unwilling to adopt, or indeed to study to comprehend, a new system of tactics, even after having repeatedly experienced its terrible efficacies, is combined with the better qualities of firm determination, resolute endurance, and unquenchable spirit. The Austrian slowness and obstinacy, which have sometimes threatened them with ruin, have, on the other hand, often been compensated by their firm perseverance and courage in adversity. Upon the present occasion Austria showed ample demonstration of the various qualities we have ascribed to her. The rapid and successive victories of Buonaparte, appeared to her only the rash flight of an eaglet, whose juvenile audacity had over-estimated the strength of his pinion. The imperial council resolved to sustain their diminished force in Italy, with such reinforcements as might enable them to re-assume the complete superiority over the French, though at the risk of weakening their armies on the Rhine. Fortune in that quarter, though of a various complexion, had been on the whole more advantageous to the Austrians than elsewhere, and seemed to authorize the detaching considerable re-inforcements from the eastern frontier, on which they had been partially victorious, to Italy, where, since Buonaparte had descended from the Alps, they had been uniformly unfortunate.

Beaulieu, aged and unlucky, was no longer considered as a fit opponent to his inventive, young, and active adversary. He was as full of displeasure, it is said, against the aulic council, for the associates whom they had assigned him, as they could be with him for his bad success. He was re-called, therefore, in that species of disgrace which misfortune never fails to infer, and the command of his remaining forces, now drawn back and secured within the passes of the Tyrol, was provisionally assigned to the veteran Melas. Meanwhile Wurmser, accounted one of the best of the Austrian generals, was ordered to place himself at the head of thirty thousand men, from the imperial forces on the Rhine, and, traversing the Tyrol, and collecting what recruits he could in that warlike district, to assume the command of the Austrian army, which, expelled from Italy, now lay upon its frontiers, and might be supposed eager to resume their national supremacy in the fertile climates out of which they had been so lately driven.

Aware of the storm which was gathering, Buonaparte made every possible effort to carry Mantua before the arrival of the formidable Austrian army, whose first operation would doubtless be to raise the siege of that important place. A scheme to take the city and castle by surprise, by a detachment which should pass to the seraglio, or islet on which Mantua is situated, by night and in boats, having totally failed, Buonaparte was compelled to open trenches, and proceed as by regular siege. The Austrian general, Canto d'Irles, when summoned to surrender it, replied that his orders were to defend the place to the last extremity. Napoleon, on his side, assembled all the battering ordnance which could be collected from the walls of the neighbouring cities and fortresses, and the attack and defence commenced in the most vigorous manner on both sides; the French making every effort to reduce the city before Wurmser should open his campaign, the governor determined to protract his resistance, if possible, until he was relieved by the advance of that general. But although red-hot balls were expended in profusion, and several desperate and bloody assaults and sallies took place, many more battles were to be fought, and much more blood expended, before Buonaparte was fated to succeed in this important object.

The plan which the directory had adopted for the campaign of 1796, was of a gigantic character, and menaced Austria, their most powerful enemy upon the continent, with nothing short of total destruction. It was worthy of the genius of Carnot, by whom it was formed, and of Napoleon and Moreau, by whom it had been revised and approved. Under sanction of this general plan, Buonaparte regulated the Italian campaign in which he had proved so successful; and it had been schemed, that to allow Austria no breathing space, Moreau, with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, should

press forward on the eastern frontier of Germany, supported on the left by Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Rhine, and that both generals should continue to advance, until Moreau should be in a position to communicate with Buonaparte through the Tyrol. When this junction of the whole forces of France, in the centre of the Austrian dominions was accomplished, it was Carnot's ultimate plan that they should advance upon Vienna, and dictate peace to the emperor under the walls of his own capital.

Of this great project, the part intrusted to Buonaparte was completely executed, and for some time the fortune of war seemed equally auspicious to France upon the Rhine as in Italy. Moreau and Jourdan crossed that great national boundary at Neuwied and Kehl, and moved eastward through Germany, forming a connected front of more than sixty leagues in breadth, until Moreau had actually crossed the river Leck, and was almost touching with his right flank the passes of the Tyrol, through which he was, according to the plan of the campaign, to have communicated with Buonaparte.

During this advance of two hostile armies, amounting each to seventy-five thousand men, which filled all Germany with consternation, the Austrian leader Wartensleben, was driven from position to position by Jourdan, while the archduke Charles was equally unable to maintain his ground before Moreau. The imperial generals were reduced to this extremity by the loss of the army, consisting of from thirty to thirty-five thousand men, who had been detached under Wurmser, to support the remains of Beaulieu's forces; and re-instate the Austrian affairs in Italy, and who were now on their march through the Tyrol for that purpose. But the archduke was an excellent and enterprising officer, and at this important period he saved the empire of Austria by a bold and decided manœuvre. Leaving a large part of his army to make head against Moreau, or at least to keep him in check, the archduke moved to the right with the rest, so as to form a junction with Wartensleben, and overwhelm Jourdan with a local superiority of numbers, being the very principle on which the French themselves achieved so many victories. Jourdan was totally defeated, and compelled to make a hasty and disorderly retreat, which was rendered disastrous by the insurrection of the German peasantry around his fugitive army. Moreau, also unable to maintain himself in the heart of Germany, when Jourdan, with the army which covered his left flank, was defeated, was likewise under the necessity of retiring, but conducted his retrograde movement with such dexterity, that his retreat through the Black Forest, where the Austrians hoped to cut him off, has been always judged worthy to be compared to a great victory. Such were the proceedings on the Rhine, and in the interior of Germany, which must be kept in view as influencing, at first, by the expected success of Moreau and Jourdan, and afterwards by their actual failure, the movements of the Italian army.

As the divisions of Wurmser's army began to arrive on the Tyrolese district of Trent, where the Austrian general had fixed his head quarters, Buonaparte became urgent, either that re-inforcements should be dispatched to him from France, or that the armies on the Rhine should make such a movement in advance towards the point where they might co-operate with him, as had been agreed upon at arranging the original plan of the campaign. But he obtained no succours: and though the campaign on the Rhine commenced, as we have seen, in the month of June, yet that period was too late to afford any diversion in favour of Napoleon, Wurmser and his whole re-inforcements being already either by that time arrived, or on the point of arriving, at the place where they were to commence operations against the French army of Italy.

The thunder-cloud which had been so long blackening on the mountains of the Tyrol, seemed now about to discharge its fury. Wurmser, having under his command perhaps eighty thousand men, was about to march from Trent against the French, whose forces, amounting to scarce half so many, were partly engaged in the siege of Mantua, and partly dispersed in the towns and villages on the Adige and Chiese, for covering the division of Serrurier, which carried on the siege. The Austrian veteran, confident in his numbers, was only anxious so to regulate his advance, as to derive the

most conclusive consequences from the victory which he doubted not to obtain. With an imprudence which the misfortunes of Beaulieu ought to have warned him against, he endeavoured to occupy with the divisions of his army so large an extent of country, as rendered it very difficult for them to maintain their communications with each other. This was particularly the case with his right wing under Quasdonowich, the prince of Reuss, and general Ocskay, who were detached down the valley of the river Chiese, with orders to direct their march on Brescia. This division was destined to occupy Brescia, and cut off the retreat of the French in the direction of Milan. The left wing of Wurmser's army under Melas, was to descend the Adige by both banks at once, and manœuvre on Verona, while the centre, commanded by the Austrian field-marshal in person, was to march southward by the left bank of the Lago di Guarda, take possession of Peschiera, which the French occupied, and descending the Mincio, relieve the siege of Mantua. There was this radical error in the Austrian plan, that, by sending Quasdonowich's division by the valley of Chiese, Wurmser placed the broad lake of Guarda, occupied by a French flotilla, between his right wing and the rest of his army, and of course made it impossible for the centre and left to support Quasdonowich's, or even to have intelligence of his motions or his fate.

The active invention of Buonaparte, sure as he was to be seconded by the zeal and rapidity of the French army, speedily devised the means to draw advantage from this dislocation of the Austrian forces. He resolved not to await the arrival of Wurmser and Melas, but, concentrating his whole strength, to march into the valley of Chiese, and avail himself of the local superiority thus obtained, to attack and overpower the Austrian division left under Quasdonowich, who was advancing on Brescia, down the eastern side of the lake. For this purpose, one great sacrifice was necessary. The plan inevitably involved the raising of the siege of Mantua. Napoleon did not hesitate to relinquish this great object at whatever loss, as it was his uniform system to sacrifice all secondary views, and to incur all lesser hazards, to secure what he considered as the main object of the campaign. Serrurier, who commanded the blockading army, was hastily ordered to destroy as much as possible of the cannon and stores, which had been collected with so much pains for the prosecution of the siege. An hundred guns were abandoned in the trenches, and Wurmser, on arriving at Mantua, found that Buonaparte had retired with a precipitation resembling that of fear.

On the night of the 31st of July this operation took place; and, leaving the division of Augereau at Borghetto, and that of Massena at Peschiera, to protect, while it was possible, the line of the Mincio, Buonaparte rushed, at the head of an army which his combinations had rendered superior, upon the right wing of the Austrians, which had already directed its march to Lonato, near the bottom of the Lago di Guarda, in order to approach the Mincio, and resume its communication with Wurmser. But Buonaparte, placed by the celerity of his movements between the two hostile armies, defeated one division of the Austrian right at Salo, upon the lake, and another at Lonato. At the same time Augereau and Massena, leaving just enough of men at their posts of Borghetto and Peschiera to maintain a respectable defence against Wurmser, made a forced march to Brescia, which was occupied by another division of the Austrian right wing. But that body, finding itself insulated, and conceiving that the whole French army was debouching on them from different points, was already in full retreat towards the Tyrol, from which it had advanced with the expectation of turning Buonaparte's flank, and destroying his retreat upon Milan. Some French troops were left to accelerate their flight, and prevent their again making head, while Massena and Augereau rapidly counter-marching, returned to the banks of the Mincio to support their respective rear-guards, which they had left at Borghetto and Peschiera, on the line of that river.

They received intelligence, however, which induced them to halt upon this counter-march. Both rear-guards had been compelled to retire from the line of the Mincio, of which river the Austrians had forced the passage. The rear-guard of Massena, under general Pigeon, had fallen back in good

order, so as to occupy Lonato; that of Augereau fled with precipitation and confusion, and failed to make a stand at Castiglione, which was occupied by Austrians who intrenched themselves there. Valette, the general who commanded this body, was deprived of his commission in the presence of his troops for misbehaviour; an example which the gallantry of the French generals rendered extremely infrequent in their service. Wurmser became now seriously anxious about the fate of his right wing, and determined to force a communication with Quasdonowich at all risks. But he could only attain the valley of the Chiese, and the right bank of the Lago di Guarda, by breaking a passage through the divisions of Massena and Augereau. On the 3rd of August, at break of day, two divisions of Austrians, who had crossed the Mincio in pursuit of Pigeon and Valette, now directed themselves, with the most determined resolution, on the French troops, in order to clear the way between the commander-in-chief and his right wing.

The late rear-guard of Massena which, by his counter-march, had now become his advanced guard, was defeated, and Lonato, the place which they occupied, was taken by the Austrians, with the French artillery, and the general officer who commanded them. But the Austrian general, thus far successful, fell into the great error of extending his line too much towards the right, in order, doubtless, if possible, to turn the French position on the left flank, thereby the sooner to open a communication with his own troops on the right bank of the Lago di Guarda, to force which had been his principal object in the attack: but in thus manœuvring he weakened his centre, an error of which Massena instantly availed himself. He formed two strong columns under Augereau, with which he redeemed the victory, by breaking through and dividing the Austrian line, and retaking Lonato at the point of the bayonet. The manœuvre is indeed a simple one, and the same by which, ten years afterwards, Buonaparte gained the battle of Austerlitz; but it requires the utmost promptitude and presence of mind, to seize the exact moment for executing such a daring measure to advantage. If it is but partially successful, and the enemy retains steadiness, it is very perilous; since the attacking column, instead of flanking the broken divisions of the opposite line, may be itself flanked by decided officers and determined troops, and thus experience the disaster which it was their object to occasion to the enemy. On the present occasion, the attack on the centre completely succeeded. The Austrians finding their line cut asunder, and their flanks pressed by the victorious columns of the French, fell into total disorder. Some, who were farthest to the right pushed forward, in hopes to unite themselves to Quasdonowich, and what they might find remaining of the original right wing; but these were attacked in front by general Soret, who had been active in defeating Quasdonowich upon the 30th of July, and were at the same time pursued by another detachment of the French, which had broken through their centre.

Such was the fate of the Austrian right at the battle of Lonato, while that of the left was no less unfavourable. They were attacked by Augereau with the utmost bravery, and driven from Castiglione, of which they had become masters by the bad conduct of Valette. Augereau achieved this important result at the price of many brave men's lives; but it was always remembered as an essential service by Buonaparte, who afterwards, when such dignities came in use, bestowed on Augereau the title of duke of Castiglione. After their defeat, there can be nothing imagined more confused or calamitous than the condition of the Austrian divisions, who, having attacked, without resting on each other, found themselves opposed and finally overwhelmed by an enemy who appeared to possess ubiquity, simply from his activity and power of combining his forces.

A remarkable instance of their lamentable state of disorder and confusion, resembling in its consequences more than one example of the same sort, occurred at Lonato. It might, with any briskness of intelligence, or firmness of resolution, have proved a decisive advantage to their arms; it was, in its result, a humiliating illustration, how completely the succession of bad fortune had broken the spirit of the Austrian soldiers. You can hardly have

forgotten the incident at the battle of Millesimo, when an Austrian column which had been led astray, re-took, as if it were by chance, the important village of Deگو; or the more recent instance, when a body of Beaulieu's advanced-guard, alike unwittingly, had nearly made Buonaparte prisoner in his quarters. The present danger arose from the same cause, the confusion and want of combination of the enemy; and now, as in the former perilous occurrences, the very same circumstances which brought on the danger, served to ward it off.

A body of four or five thousand Austrians, partly composed of those who had been cut off at the battle of Lonato, partly of stragglers from Quasdonowich, received information from the peasantry, that the French troops, having departed in every direction to improve their success, had only left a garrison of twelve hundred men in the town of Lonato. The commander of the division resolved instantly to take possession of the town, and thus to open his march to the Mincio, to join Wurmser. Now, it happened that Buonaparte himself, coming from Castiglione with only his staff for protection, had just entered Lonato. He was surprised when an Austrian officer was brought before him blindfolded, as is the custom on such occasions, who summoned the French commandant of Lonato to surrender to a superior force of Austrians, who, he stated, were already forming columns of attack to carry the place by irresistible force of numbers. Buonaparte, with admirable presence of mind, collected his numerous staff around him, caused the officer's eyes to be unbandaged, that he might see in whose presence he stood, and upbraided him with the insolence of which he had been guilty, in bringing a summons of surrender to the French commander-in-chief in the middle of his army. The credulous officer, recognizing the presence of Buonaparte, and believing it impossible that he could be there without at least a strong division of his army, stammered out an apology, and returned to persuade his dispirited commander to surrender himself, and the four thousand men and upwards whom he commanded, to the comparatively small force which occupied Lonato. They grounded their arms accordingly, to one fourth of their number, and missed an inviting and easy opportunity of carrying Buonaparte prisoner to Wurmser's head-quarters.

The Austrian general himself, whose splendid army was thus destroyed in detail, had been hitherto employed in revictualling Mantua, and throwing in supplies of every kind; besides which, a large portion of his army had been detached in the vain pursuit of Serrurier, and the troops lately engaged in the siege, who had retreated towards Marcaria. When Wurmser learned the disasters of his right wing, and the destruction of the troops dispatched to form a communication with it, he sent to re-call the division which we have mentioned, and advanced against the French position between Lonato and Castiglione, with an army still numerous, notwithstanding the reverses which it had sustained. But Buonaparte had not left the interval unimproved. He had re-called Serrurier from Marcaria, to assail the left wing and the flank of the Austrian field-marshal. The opening of Serrurier's fire was a signal for a general attack on all points of Wurmser's line. He was defeated, and nearly made prisoner; and it was not till after suffering great losses in the retreat and pursuit, that he gained with difficulty Trent and Roveredo, the positions adjacent to the Tyrol, from which he had so lately sallied with such confidence of victory. He had lost perhaps one half of his fine army, and the only consolation which remained was, that he had thrown supplies into the fortress of Mantua. His troops also no longer had the masculine confidence which is necessary to success in war. They were no longer proud of themselves and of their commanders; and those, especially, who had sustained so many losses under Beaulieu, could hardly be brought to their duty, in circumstances where it seemed that destiny itself was fighting against them.

The Austrians are supposed to have lost nearly forty thousand men in these disastrous battles. The French must have at least suffered the loss of one fourth of the number, though Buonaparte confesses only to seven thousand men; and their army, desperately fatigued by so many marches, such constant fighting, and the hardships of a campaign, where even the

general for seven days never laid aside his clothes, or took any regular repose, required some time to recover their physical strength. Meantime, Napoleon resumed his position before Mantua; but the want of battering cannon, and the commencement of the unhealthy heats of autumn, amid lakes and inundations, besides the great chance of a second attack on the part of Wurmser, induced him to limit his measures to a simple blockade, which, however, was so strict as to retain the garrison within the walls of the place, and cut them off even from the islet called the *seraglio*.

The events of this hurried campaign threw light on the feelings of the different states of Italy. Lombardy in general remained quiet, and the citizens of Milan seemed so well affected to the French, that Buonaparte, after the victory of Castiglione, returned them his thanks in the name of the republic. But at Pavia, and elsewhere, a very opposite disposition was evinced; and at Ferrara, the cardinal Mattei, archbishop of that town, made some progress in exciting an insurrection. His apology, when introduced to Buonaparte's presence to answer for his conduct, consisted in uttering the single word, *Peccavi!* and Napoleon, soothed by his submission, imposed no punishment on him for his offence, but, on the contrary, used his mediation in some negotiations with the court of Rome. Yet though the bishop of Ferrara overawed and despised, was permitted to escape, the conduct of his superior, the pope, who had shown vacillation in his purposes of submission, when he heard of the temporary raising of the siege of Mantua, was carefully noted and remembered for animadversion, when a suitable moment should occur.

Nothing is more remarkable, during these campaigns, than the inflexibility of Austria, which, reduced to the extremity of distress by the advance of Moreau and Jourdan into her territories, stood nevertheless on the defensive at every point, and by extraordinary exertions again recruited Wurmser with fresh troops, to the amount of twenty thousand men; which re-inforcement enabled that general, though under no more propitious star, again to resume the offensive, by advancing from the Tyrol. Wurmser, with less confidence than before, hoped now to relieve the siege of Mantua a second time, and at a less desperate cost, by moving from Trent towards Mantua, through the defiles formed by the river Brenta. This manœuvre he proposed to execute with thirty thousand men, while he left twenty thousand, under general Davidowich, in a strong position at or near Rovereda, for the purpose of covering the Tyrol; an invasion of which district, on the part of the French, must have added much to the general panic which already astounded Germany, from the apprehended advance of Moreau and Jourdan from the banks of the Rhine.

Buonaparte penetrated the design of the veteran general, and suffered him without disturbance to march towards Bassano upon the Brenta, in order to occupy the line of operations on which he intended to manœuvre, with the secret intention that he would himself assume the offensive, and overwhelm Davidowich as soon as the distance betwixt them precluded a communication betwixt that general and Wurmser. He left general Kilmaine, an officer of Irish extraction in whom he reposed confidence, with about three thousand men, to cover the siege of Mantua, by posting himself under the walls of Verona, while, concentrating a strong body of forces, Napoleon marched upon the town of Roveredo, situated in the valley of the Adige, and having in its rear the strong position of Calliano. The town is situated on the high road to Trent, and Davidowich lay there with twenty-five thousand Austrians, intended to protect the Tyrol, while Wurmser moved down the Brenta, which runs in the same direction with the Adige, but at about thirty miles distance, so that no communication for mutual support could take place between Wurmser and his lieutenant-general. It was upon Davidowich that Buonaparte first meant to pour his thunder.

The battle of Roveredo, fought upon the fourth of September, was one of that great general's splendid days. Before he could approach the town, one of his divisions had to force the strongly entrenched camp of Mori, where the enemy made a desperate defence. Another attacked the Austrians on

the opposite bank of the Adige, (for the action took place on both sides of the river) until the enemy at length retreated, still fighting desperately. Napoleon sent his orders to general Dubois, to charge with the first regiment of hussars—he did so, and broke the enemy, but fell mortally wounded with three balls. "I die," he said, "for the republic—bring me but tidings that the victory is certain."

The retreating enemy were driven through the town of Roveredo, without having it in their power to make a stand. The extreme strength of the position of Calliano seemed to afford them rallying ground. The Adige is there bordered by precipitous mountains; approaching so near its course, as only to leave a pass of forty toises breadth between the river and the precipice, which opening was defended by a village, a castle, and a strong defensive wall resting upon the rock, all well garnished with artillery.

The French, in their enthusiasm of victory, could not be stopped even by these obstacles. Eight pieces of light artillery were brought forward, under cover of which the infantry charged and carried this strong position; so little do natural advantages avail when the minds of the assailants are influenced with an opinion that they are irresistible, and those of the defenders are depressed by a uniform and uninterrupted course of defeat. Six or seven thousand prisoners, and fifteen pieces of cannon captured, were the fruits of this splendid victory; and Massena the next morning took possession of Trent in the Tyrol, so long the strong-hold where Wurmser had maintained his head-quarters.

The wrecks of Davidowich's army fled deeper into the Tyrol, and took up their position at Lavisa, a small village on a river of a similar name, about three leagues to the northward of Trent, and situated in the principal road which communicates with Brixen and Inspruck. Buonaparte instantly pursued them with a division of his army, commanded by Vaubois, and passed the Lavisa with his cavalry, while the enemy were amused with an assault on the bridge. Thus he drove them from their position, which, being the entrance of one of the chief defiles of the Tyrol, it was of importance to secure, and it was occupied accordingly by Vaubois, with his victorious division.

Buonaparte, in consequence of his present condition, became desirous to conciliate the martial inhabitants of the Tyrol, and published a proclamation, in which he exhorted them to lay down their arms, and return to their homes; assuring them of protection against military violence, and labouring to convince them, that they had themselves no interest in the war, which he waged against the emperor and his government, but not against his subjects. That his conduct might appear to be of a piece with his reasoning, Napoleon issued an edict, disuniting the principality of Trent from the German empire, and annexing it in point of sovereignty to the French republic, while he intrusted, or seemed to intrust, the inhabitants themselves, with the power of administering their own laws and government.

Bounties which depended on the gift of an armed enemy, appeared very suspicious to the Tyrolese, who were aware that in fact the order of a French officer would be more effectual law, whenever that nation had the power, than that of any administrator of civil affairs whom they might themselves be permitted to choose. As for the proclamation, the French general might as well have wasted his eloquence on the rocks of the country. The Tyrol, one of the earliest possessions of the house of Austria, had been uniformly governed by those princes with strict respect to the privileges of the inhabitants, who were possessed already of complete personal freedom. Secured in all the immunities which were necessary for their comfort, these sagacious peasants saw nothing to expect from the hand of a stranger general, excepting what Buonaparte himself has termed, those vexations necessarily annexed to a country which becomes the seat of war, and which, in more full detail, include whatever the avarice of the general, the necessities of the soldiers, not to mention the more violent outrage of marauders and plunderers, may choose to exact from the inhabitants. But, besides this prudent calculation of consequences, the Tyrolese felt the generous spirit

of national independence, and resolved that their mountains should not be dishonoured by the march of an armed enemy, if the unerring rifle-guns of their children were able to protect their native soil from such indignity. Every mode of resistance was prepared; and it was then that those piles of rocks, stones, and trunks of trees, were collected on the verge of the precipices which line the valley of the Inn, and other passes of the Tyrol, but which remained in grim repose till rolled down, to the utter annihilation of the French and Bavarian invaders in 1809, under the directions of the valiant Hoffer and his companions in arms.

More successful with the sword than the pen, Buonaparte had no sooner disposed of Davidowich and his army, than he began his operations against Wurmser himself, who had by this time learned the total defeat of his subordinate division, and that the French were possessed of Trent. The Austrian field-marshal immediately conceived that the French general, in consequence of his successes, would be disposed to leave Italy behind, and advance to Inspruck, in order to communicate with the armies of Moreau and Jourdan, which were now on the full advance into Germany. Instead, therefore, of renouncing his own scheme of relieving Mantua, Wurmser thought the time favourable for carrying it into execution; and in place of falling back with his army on Friuli, and thus keeping open his communication with Vienna, he committed the great error of involving himself still deeper in the Italian passes to the southward, by an attempt, with a diminished force, to execute a purpose, which he had been unable to accomplish when his army was double the strength of the French. With this ill-chosen plan, he detached Mezaros with a division of his forces, to manoeuvre on Verona, where, as we have seen, Buonaparte had stationed Kilmaine, to cover the siege, or rather the blockade, of Mantua. Mezaros departed accordingly, and leaving Wurmser at Bassano on the Brenta, marched southward towards the collateral valley of the Adige, and attacked Kilmaine, who, by drawing his men under cover of the fortifications of Verona, made a resolute defence. The Austrian general, finding it impossible to carry the place by a coup-de-main, was meditating to cross the Adige, when he was re-called by the most urgent commands to rejoin Wurmser with all possible dispatch.

As soon as Buonaparte learned this new separation of Wurmser from a large division of his army, he anticipated the possibility of defeating the field-marshal himself, driving him from his position at Bassano, and of consequence, cutting off at his leisure the division of Mezaros, which had advanced so far to the southward as effectually to compromise its safety. To execute this plan required the utmost rapidity of movement; for, should Wurmser learn that Buonaparte was advancing towards Bassano, in time to re-call Mezaros, he might present a front too numerous to be attacked with hope of success. There are twenty leagues, distance betwixt Trent and Bassano, and that ground was to be traversed by means of very difficult roads, in the space of two days at farthest. But it was in such circumstances that the genius of Napoleon triumphed, through the enthusiastic power which he possessed over the soldiery, and by which he could urge them to the most incredible exertions. He left Trent on the 6th of September at break of day, and reached, in the course of the evening, Borgo di Val Lugano, a march of ten French leagues. A similar forced march of five leagues and upwards, brought him up with Wurmser's advanced-guard, which was strongly posted at Primolano.

The effect of the surprise, and the impetuosity of the French attack, surmounted all the advantages of position. The Austrian double lines were penetrated by a charge of three French columns—the cavalry occupied the high road, and cut off the enemy's retreat on Bassano—in a word, Wurmser's van-guard was totally destroyed, and more than four thousand men laid down their arms. From Primolano the French, dislodging whatever enemies they encountered, advanced to Cisnone, a village, where a river of the same name unites with the Brenta. There they halted, exhausted with fatigue; and on that evening no sentinel in the army endured more privations,

than Napoleon himself, who took up his quarters for the night without either staff-officers or baggage, and was glad to accept a share of a private soldier's ration of bread, of which the poor fellow lived to remind his general when he was become emperor.

Cismone is only about four leagues from Bassano, and Wurmser heard with alarm, that the French leader, whom he conceived to be already deeply engaged in the Tyrolese passes, had destroyed his van-guard, and was menacing his own position. It was under this alarm that he dispatched expresses, as already mentioned, to re-call Mezaros and his division. But it was too late; for that general was under the walls of Verona, nigh fifteen leagues from Wurmser's position, on the night of the 7th of September, when the French army was at Cismone, within a third part of that distance. The utmost exertions of Mezaros could only bring his division as far as Montebello, upon the 8th of September, when the battle of Bassano seemed to decide the fate of his unfortunate commander-in-chief.

This victory was as decisive as any which Buonaparte had hitherto obtained. The village of Salagna was first carried by main force; and then the French army, continuing to descend the defiles of the Brenta, attacked Wurmser's main body, which still lay under his own command in the town of Bassano. Augereau penetrated into the town upon the right, Massena upon the left. They bore down all opposition, and seized the cannon by which the bridge was defended, in spite of the efforts of the Austrian grenadiers, charged with the duty of protecting Wurmser and his staff, who were now in absolute flight. The field-marshal himself, with the military chest of his army, nearly fell into the hands of the French; and though he escaped for the time, it was after an almost general dispersion of his troops. Six thousand Austrians surrendered to Buonaparte; Quasdonowich, with three or four thousand men, effected a retreat to the north-east, and gained Friuli; while Wurmser himself, finding it impossible to escape otherwise, fled to Vicenza in the opposite direction, and there united the scattered forces which still followed him, with the division of Mezaros. When this junction was accomplished, the aged marshal had still the command of about sixteen thousand men, out of sixty thousand, with whom he had, scarce a week before, commenced the campaign. The material part of his army, guns, waggons, and baggage, was all lost—his retreat upon the hereditary states of Austria was entirely cut off—the flower of his army was destroyed—courage and confidence were gone—there seemed no remedy but that he should lay down his arms to the youthful conqueror, by whose forces he was now surrounded on all sides, without, as it appeared, any possibility of extricating himself. But fate itself seemed to take some tardy compassion on this venerable and gallant veteran; and not only adjourned his final fall, but even granted him leave to gather some brief-dated laurels, as the priests of old were wont to garland their victims before the final sacrifice.

Surrounded by dangers, and cut off from any other retreat, Wurmser formed the gallant determination to throw himself and his remaining forces into Mantua; and share the fate of the beleaguered fortress which he had vainly striven to relieve. But to execute this purpose it was necessary to cross the Adige, nor was it easy to say how this was to be accomplished. Verona, one point of passage, was defended by Kilmaine, who had already repulsed Mezaros. Legnago, where there was a bridge, was also garrisoned by the French; and Wurmser had lost his bridge of pontoons at the battle of Bassano. At the village of Albarado, however, there was an established ferry, totally insufficient for passing over so considerable a force with the necessary dispatch, but which Wurmser used for the purpose of sending across two squadrons of cavalry, in order to reconnoitre the blockade of Mantua, and the facilities which might present themselves for accomplishing a retreat on that fortress. This precaution proved for the time the salvation of Wurmser, and what remained of his army.

Fortune, which has such influence on warlike affairs, had so ordered it, that Kilmaine, apprehending that Wurmser would attempt to force a passage at Verona, and desirous to improve his means of resistance against so great

a force, had sent orders that the garrison of four hundred men who guarded the bridge at Legnago should join him at Verona, and that an equal number should be detached from the blockade of Mantua, to supply their place on the Lower Adige. The former part of his command had been obeyed, and the garrison of Legnago were on their march for Verona. But the relief which was designed to occupy their post, though on their way to Legnago, had not yet arrived. The Austrian cavalry, who had passed over at Albarado, encountering this body on its march from the vicinity of Mantua, attacked them with spirit, and sabred a good many. The commander of the French battalion, confounded at this appearance, concluded that the whole Austrian army had gained the right bank of the Adige, and that he should necessarily be cut off if he prosecuted his march to Legnago. Thus the passage at that place was left altogether undefended; and Wurmser, apprized of this unlooked for chance of escape, occupied the village, and took possession of the bridge.

Buonaparte, in the mean time, having moved from Bassano to Arcola in pursuit of the defeated enemy, learned at the latter place that Wurmser still lingered at Legnago, perhaps to grant his troops some indispensable repose, perhaps to watch whether it might be even yet possible to give the slip to the French divisions by which he was surrounded, and, by a rapid march back upon Padua, to regain his communication with the Austrian territories, instead of inclosing himself in Mantua. Buonaparte hastened to avail himself of these moments of indecision. Augereau was ordered to march upon Legnago by the road from Padua, so as to cut off any possibility of Wurmser's retreat in that direction; whilst Massena's division was thrown across the Adige, by a ferry at Ronco, to strengthen general Kilmaine, who had already occupied the line of a small river called the Molinella, which intersects the country between Legnago and Mantua. If this position could be made good, it was concluded that the Austrian general, unable to reach Mantua, or to maintain himself at Legnago, must even yet surrender himself and his army.

On the 12th of September, Wurmser began his march. He was first opposed at Corea, where Murat and Pigeon had united their forces. But Wurmser made his dispositions, and attacked with a fury which swept out of the way both the cavalry and the infantry of the enemy, and obtained possession of the village. In the heat of the skirmish, and just when the French were giving way, Buonaparte himself entered Corea, with the purpose of personally superintending the dispositions made for intercepting the retreat of Wurmser, when, but for the speed of his horse, he had nearly fallen as a prisoner into the hands of the general whose destruction he was labouring to insure. Wurmser arrived on the spot a few minutes afterwards, and gave orders for a pursuit in every direction; commanding, however, that the French general should, if possible, be taken alive—a conjunction of circumstances worthy of remark, since it authorized the Austrian general for the moment to pronounce on the fate of him, who before and after, was the master of his destiny.

Having again missed this great prize, Wurmser continued his march all night, and turning aside from the great road, where the blockading army had taken measures to intercept him, he surprised a small bridge over the Molinella, at a village called Villa Impenta, by which he eluded encountering the forces of Kilmaine. A body of French horse, sent to impede his progress, was cut to pieces by the Austrian cavalry. On the 14th, Wurmser obtained a similar success at Castel-Dui, where his cuirassiers destroyed a body of French infantry; and having now forced himself into a communication with Mantua, he encamped between the suburb of Saint George and the citadel, and endeavoured to keep open the communication with the country, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of forage and provisions. But it was not Buonaparte's intention to leave him undisturbed in so commodious a position. Having received the surrender of an Austrian corps which was left in Porto Legnago, and gleaned up such other remnants of Wurmser's army as could not accompany their general in his rapid march, he

Mantua, he resolved once more to force his way into the islet of the Seralio, upon which Mantua is built, and confine the besieged within the walls of their garrison. On the 15th, after a very severe and bloody action, the French obtained possession of the suburb of Saint George, and the citadel termed La Favorita, and a long series of severe sallies and attacks took place, which, although gallantly fought by the Austrians, generally tended to their disadvantage, so that they were finally again blockaded within the walls of the city and castle.

The woes of war now appeared among them in a different and even more hideous form than when inflicted with the sword alone. When Wurmser threw himself into Mantua, the garrison might amount to twenty-six thousand men; yet ere October was far advanced, there were little above half the number fit for service. There were nearly nine thousand sick in the hospitals,—infectious diseases, privations of every kind, and the unhealthy air of the lakes and marshes with which they were surrounded, had cut off the remainder. The French also had lost great numbers; but the conquerors could reckon up their victories, and forget the price at which they had been purchased.

It was a proud vaunt, and a cure in itself for many losses, that the minister of war had a right to make the following speech to the directory, at the formal introduction of Marmont, then aid-de-camp of Buonaparte, and commissioned to present on his part the colours and standards taken from the enemy:—"In the course of a single campaign," he truly said, "Italy had been entirely conquered—three large armies had been entirely destroyed—more than fifty stand of colours had been taken by the victors—forty thousand Austrians had laid down their arms—and, what was not the least surprising part of the whole, these deeds had been accomplished by an army of only thirty thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a general scarce twenty-six years old."

It was about this period that the re-union of Corsica with France took place. Buonaparte contributed to this change in the political relations of his native country indirectly, in part by the high pride which his countrymen must have originally taken in his splendid career; and he did so more immediately, by seizing the town and port of Leghorn, and assisting those Corsicans, who had been exiled by the English party, to return to their native island. He intimated the event to the directory, and stated that he had appointed Gentili, the principal partisan of the French, to govern the island provisionally; and that the commissioner Salicetti was to set sail for the purpose of making other necessary arrangements. The communication is coldly made, nor does Buonaparte's love of his birth-place induce him to expatiate upon its importance, although the directory afterwards made the acquisition of that island a great theme of exultation. But his destinies had called him to too high an elevation to permit his distinguishing the obscure islet which he had arisen from originally.

Indeed Buonaparte's situation, however brilliant, was at the same time critical, and required his undivided thoughts. Mantua still held out, and was likely to do so. Wurmser had caused about three-fourths of the horses belonging to his cavalry to be killed and salted for the use of the garrison, and thus made a large addition, such as it was, to the provisions of the place. His character for courage and determination was completely established; and being now engaged in defending a fortress by ordinary rules of art, which he perfectly understood, he was in no danger of being over-reached and out-manœuvred by the new system of tactics, which occasioned his misfortunes in the open field.

While, therefore, the last pledge of Austria's dominions in Italy was confined to such safe custody, the emperor and his ministers were eagerly engaged in making a new effort to recover their Italian territories. The defeat of Jourdan, and the retreat of Moreau before the archduke Charles, had given the Imperialists some breathing time, and enabled them, by extensive levies in the warlike province of Illyria, as well as draughts from the army of the Rhine, to take the field with a new army, for the recovery of the

Italian provinces, and the relief of Mantua. By order of the Aulic-council, two armies were assembled on the Italian frontier; one at Friuli, which was partly composed of that portion of the army of Wurmser, which cut off from the main body at the battle of Bassano, had effected, under Quasdonowich, a retreat in that direction; the other was to be formed on the Tyrol. They were to operate in conjunction, and both were placed under the command of mareschal Alvinzi, an officer of high reputation, which was then thought merited. Thus for the fourth time, Buonaparte was to contest the same objects on the same ground, with new forces belonging to the same enemy. He had, indeed, himself, received from France re-inforcements to the number of twelve battalions, from those troops which had been formerly employed in La Vendée. The army, in general, since victory had placed the resources of the rich country which they occupied at the command of their leader, had been well supplied with clothes, food, and provisions, and were devotedly attached to the chief who had conducted them from starving on the barren Alps into this land of plenty, and had directed their military efforts with such skill, that they could scarce ever be said to have failed of success in whatever they undertook under his direction. Napoleon had also on his side the good wishes, if not of the Italians in general, of a considerable party, especially in Lombardy, and friends and enemies were alike impressed with belief in his predestined success. During the former attempts of Wurmser, a contrary opinion had prevailed, and the news that the Austrians were in motion, had given birth to insurrections against the French in many places and to the publication of sentiments unfavourable to them almost everywhere. But now, when all predicted the certain success of Napoleon, the friends of Austria remained quiet, and the numerous party who desire in such cases to keep on the winning side, added weight to the actual friends of France, by expressing their opinions in her favour. It seems, however, that Victory, as if displeased that mortals should presume to calculate the motives of so fickle a deity, was, on this occasion, disposed to be more coy than formerly even to her greatest favourite, and to oblige him to toil harder than he had done even when the odds were more against him.

Davidowich commanded the body of the Austrians which was in the Tyrol, and which included the fine militia of that martial province. There was little difficulty in prevailing on them to advance into Italy, convinced as they were that there was small security for their national independence while the French remained in possession of Lombardy. Buonaparte, on the other hand, had placed Vaubois in the passes upon the river Lavis, above Trent, to cover that new possession of the French republic, and check the advance of Davidowich. It was the plan of Alvinzi to descend from Friuli, and approach Vicenza, to which place he expected Davidowich might penetrate by a corresponding movement down the Adige. Having thus brought his united army into activity, his design was to advance on Mantua, the constant object of bloody contention. He commenced his march in the beginning of October, 1796.

As soon as Buonaparte heard that Alvinzi was in motion, he sent orders to Vaubois to attack Davidowich, and to Massena to advance to Bassano upon the Brenta, and to make head against the Austrian commander-in-chief. Both measures failed in effect. Vaubois indeed made his attack, but so unsuccessfully, that after two days fighting he was compelled to retreat before the Austrians, to evacuate the city of Trent, and to retreat upon Calliano, already mentioned as a very strong position, in the previous account of the battle of Roveredo. A great part of his opponents being Tyrolese, and admirably calculated for mountain warfare, they forced Vaubois from a situation which was almost impregnable; and their army, descending the Adige upon the right bank, appeared to manœuvre with the purpose of marching on Montebaldo and Rivoli, and thus opening the communication with Alvinzi.

On the other hand, though Massena had sustained no loss, for he avoided an engagement, the approach of Alvinzi, with a superior army, compelled him to evacuate Bassano, and to leave the enemy in undisputed possession of the valley of the Brenta. Buonaparte, therefore, himself, saw the neces-

sity of advancing with Augereau's division, determined to give battle to Alvinzi, and force him back on the Piave before the arrival of Davidowich. But he experienced unusual resistance; and it is amid complaints of the weather, of misadventures and miscarriages of different sorts, that he faintly claims the name of a victory for his first encounter with Alvinzi. It is clear that he had made a desperate attempt to drive the Austrian general from Bassano—that he had not succeeded; but, on the contrary, was under the necessity of retreating to Vicenza. It is further manifest, that Buonaparte was sensible this retreat did not accord well with his claim of victory; and he says, with a consciousness which is amusing, that the inhabitants of Vicenza were surprised to see the French army retire through their town, as they had been witnesses of their victory on the preceding day. No doubt there was room for astonishment, if the Vicenzans had been as completely convinced of the fact as Buonaparte represents them. The truth was, Buonaparte was sensible that Vaubois, being in complete retreat, was exposed to be cut off unless he was supported, and he hastened to prevent so great a loss, by meeting and re-inforcing him. His own retrograde movement, however, which extended as far as Verona, left the whole country, betwixt the Brenta and Adige open to the Austrians; nor does there occur, to those who read the account of the campaign, any good reason why Davidowich and Alvinzi, having no body of French to interrupt their communication, should not instantly have adjusted their operations on a common basis. But it was the bane of the Austrian tactics, through the whole war, to neglect that connexion and co-operation betwixt their separate divisions, which is essential to secure the general result of a campaign. Above all, as Buonaparte himself remarked of them, their leaders were not sufficiently acquainted with the value of time in military movements.

Napoleon having retreated to Verona, where he could at pleasure assume the offensive by means of the bridge, or place the Adige between himself and the enemy, visited, in the first place, the positions of Rivoli and Corona, where were stationed the troops which had been defeated by Davidowich. They appeared before him with dejected countenances, and Napoleon upbraided them with their indifferent behaviour. "You have displeased me," he said;—"You have shewn neither discipline, nor constancy, nor bravery. You have suffered yourselves to be driven from positions where a handful of brave men might have arrested the progress of a large army. You are no longer French soldiers—Let it be written on their colours—They are not of the army of Italy?" Tears and groans of sorrow and shame, answered this harangue—the rules of discipline could not stifle their sense of mortification, and several of the grenadiers, who had deserved, and wore marks of distinction, called out from the ranks—"General, we have been misrepresented—Place us in the advance, and you may then judge whether we do not belong to the army of Italy." Buonaparte having produced the necessary effect, spoke to them in a more conciliatory tone; and the regiments who had undergone so severe a rebuke, redeemed their character in the subsequent part of the campaign.

While Napoleon was indefatigable in concentrating his troops on the right bank of the Adige, and inspiring them with his own spirit of enterprise, Alvinzi had taken his position on the left bank, nearly opposite to Verona. His army occupied a range of heights called Caldiero, on the left of which, and somewhat in the rear, is the little village of Arcola, situated among marshes, which extend around the foot of that eminence. Here the Austrian general had stationed himself, with a view, it may be supposed, to wait until Davidowich and his division should descend the right bank of the Adige, disquiet the French leader's position on that river, and give Alvinzi himself the opportunity of forcing a passage.

Buonaparte, with his usual rapidity of resolution, resolved to drive the Austrian from his position on Caldiero, before the arrival of Davidowich. But neither on this occasion was fortune propitious to him. A strong French division, under Massena, attacked the heights amid a storm of rain; but their most strenuous exertions proved completely unsuccessful, and left to

the general only his usual mode of concealing a check, by railing at the elements. The situation of the French became critical, and what was worse, the soldiers perceived it and complained that they had to sustain the whole burden of the war, had to encounter army after army, and must succumb at last under the renewed and unwearied efforts of Austria. Buonaparte parried these natural feelings as well as he could, promising that their conquest of Italy should be speedily sealed by the defeat of this Alvinzi; and he applied his whole genius to discover the means of bringing the war to an effective struggle, in which he confided that, in spite of numbers, his own talents, and the enterprising character of an army so often victorious, might assure him a favourable result. But it was no easy way to discover a mode of attacking, with even plausible hopes of success. If he advanced northward on the right bank to seek out and destroy Davidowich, he must weaken his line on the Adige, by the troops withdrawn to effect that purpose; and during his absence, Alvinzi would probably force the passage of the river at some point, and thus have it in his power to relieve Mantua. The heights of Caldiero, occupied by the Austrian main-body, and lying in his front, had, by dire experiment proved impregnable. In these doubtful circumstances, the bold scheme occurred to the French general, that the position of Caldiero, though it could not be stormed, might be turned, and that by possessing himself of the village of Arcola, which lies to the left, and in the rear of Caldiero, the Austrians might be compelled to fight to a disadvantage. But the idea of attacking Arcola was one which would scarce have occurred to any general save Buonaparte.

Arcola is situated upon a small stream called the Alpon, which as already hinted, finds its way into the Adige, through a wilderness of marshes, intersected with ditches, and traversed by dykes in various directions. In case of an unsuccessful attack, the assailants were like to be totally cut off in the swamps. Then to debouche from Verona, and move in the direction of Arcola, would have put Alvinzi and his whole army on their guard. Secrecy and celerity are the soul of enterprise. All these difficulties gave way before Napoleon's genius.

Verona, it must be remembered, is on the left bank of the Adige,—on the same with the point which was the object of Buonaparte's attack. At nightfall the whole forces of Verona were under arms; and leaving fifteen hundred men under Kilmaine to defend the place from any assault, with strict orders to secure the gates, and prevent all communication of his nocturnal expedition to the enemy, Buonaparte commenced his march at first to the rear, in the direction of Peschiera; which seemed to imply, that his resolution was at length taken to resign the hopes of gaining Mantua, and perhaps to abandon Italy. The silence with which the march was conducted, the absence of all the usual rumours which used in the French army to precede a battle, and the discouraging situation of affairs, appeared to presage the same issue. But after the troops had marched a little way in this direction, the heads of columns were wheeled to the left, out of the line of retreat, and descended the Adige as far as Roncon, which they reached before day. Here a bridge had been prepared, by which they passed over the river, and were placed on the same bank with Arcola, the object of their attack, and lower than the heights of Caldiero.

There were three causeways by which the marsh of Arcola is traversed—each was occupied by a French column. The central column moved on the causeway which led to the village so named. The dykes and causeways were not defended, but Arcola and its bridge were protected by two battalions of Croats with two pieces of cannon, which were placed in a position to enfilade the causeway. These received the French column with so heavy a fire on its flank, that it fell back in disorder. Augereau rushed forward upon the bridge with his chosen grenadiers; but, enveloped as they were in a destructive fire, they were driven back on the main body.

Alvinzi, who conceived it only an affair of light troops, sent however forces into the marsh by means of the dykes which traversed them, to drive out the French. These were checked by finding that they were to oppose

strong columns of infantry, yet the battle continued with unabated vigour. It was essential to Buonaparte's plan that Arcola should be carried; but the fire continued tremendous. At length, to animate his soldiers to a final exertion, he caught a stand of colours, rushed on the bridge, and planted them there with his own hand. A fresh body of Austrians arrived at that moment, and the fire on flank blazed more destructively than ever. The rear of the French column fell back; the leading files, finding themselves unsupported, gave way, but, still careful of their general, bore him back in their arms through the dead and dying, the fire and the smoke. In the confusion, he was at length pushed into the marsh. The Austrians were already betwixt him and his own troops, and he must have perished or been taken, had not the grenadiers perceived his danger. The cry instantly arose,—“Forward—forward—save the general!” Their love to Buonaparte's person did more than even his commands and example had been able to accomplish. They returned to the charge, and at length pushed the Austrians out of the village; but not till the appearance of a French corps under general Guieux had turned the position, and he had thrown himself in the rear of it. These succours had passed to the ferry of Alborado, and the French remained in possession of the long contested village. It was at the moment a place of the greatest importance; for the possession of it would have enabled Buonaparte, had the Austrians remained in their position, to operate on their communications with the Brenta, interpose between Alvinzi and his reserves, and destroy his park of artillery. But the risk was avoided by the timely caution of the Austrian field-marshal.

Alvinzi was no sooner aware that a great division of the French army was in his rear, than, without allowing them time for further operations, he instantly broke up his position on Caldiero, and evacuated these heights by a steady and orderly retreat. Buonaparte had the mortification to see the Austrians effect this manœuvre by crossing a bridge in their rear over the Alpon, and which could he have occupied, as was his purpose, he might have rendered their retreat impossible, or at least disastrous. As matters stood, however, the village of Arcola came to lose its consequence as a position, since, after Alvinzi's retreat, it was no longer in the rear, but in the front of the enemy. Buonaparte remembered he had enemies on the right as well as the left of the Adige; and that Davidowich might be once more routing Vau-bois, while he was too far advanced to afford him assistance. He therefore evacuated Arcola, and the village of Porcil, situated near it, and retreating to Ronco, re-crossed the river, leaving only two demi-brigades in advance upon the left bank. The first battle of Arcola, famous for the obstinacy with which it was disputed, and the number of brave officers and men who fell, was thus attended with no decisive result. But it had checked the inclination of Alvinzi to advance on Verona—it had delayed all communication betwixt his army and that of the Tyrol—above all, it had renewed the Austrians' apprehensions of the skill of Buonaparte and the bravery of his troops, and restored to the French soldiery the usual confidence of their national character.

Buonaparte remained stationary at Ronco until next morning at five o'clock, by which time he received intelligence that Davidowich had lain quiet in his former position; that he had no cause to be alarmed for Vau-bois' safety, and might therefore operate in security against Alvinzi. This was rendered the more easy, (16th of November) as the Austrian general, not aware of Buonaparte's having halted his army at Ronco, imagined he was on his march to concentrate the forces nearer Mantua, and hastened therefore to overwhelm the rear-guard, whom he expected to find at the ferry. Buonaparte spared them the trouble of a close advance to the Adige. He again crossed to the left side, and again advanced his columns upon the dykes and causeways which traversed the marshes of Arcola. On such ground, where it was impossible to assign to the columns more breadth than the causeways could accommodate, the victorious soldiers of France had great advantage over the recent levies of Austria; for though the latter might be superior in number on the whole, success must in such a case depend on the

personal superiority of the front or leading files only. The French, therefore, had the first advantage, and drove back the Austrians upon the village of Arcola; but here, as on the former day, Alvinzi constituted his principal point of defence, and maintained it with the utmost obstinacy. After having repeatedly failed when attacking in front a post so difficult of approach, Napoleon endeavoured to turn the position by crossing the little river Alpon, near its union with the Adige. He attempted to effect a passage by means of fascines, but unsuccessfully; and the night approached without any thing effectual being decided. Both parties drew off, the French to Ronco, where they re-crossed the Adige; the Austrians to a position behind the well-contested village of Arcola. The battle of the 16th of November was thus far favourable to the French, that they had driven back the Austrians, and made many prisoners in the commencement of the day; but they had also lost many men; and Napoleon, if he had gained ground in the day, was glad to return to his position at night, lest Davidowich, by the defeat of Vau-bois, might either relieve Mantua, or move on Verona. The 17th was to be a day more decisive.

The field of battle and the preliminary manœuvres, were much the same as on the preceding day; but those of the French were nearly disconcerted by the sinking of one of the boats which constituted their bridge over the Adige. The Austrians instantly advanced on the demi-brigade, which had been stationed on the left bank to defend the bridge. But the French, having repaired the damage, advanced in their turn, and compelled the Austrians to retreat upon the marsh. Massena directed his attack on Porcil—general Robert pressed forward on Arcola. But it was at the point where he wished to cross the Alpon that Buonaparte chiefly desired to attain a decided superiority; and in order to win it, he added stratagem to audacity. Observing one of his columns repulsed, and retreating along the causeway, he placed the 32d regiment in ambuscade in a thicket of willows which bordered the rivulet, and saluting the pursuing enemy with a close, heavy, and unexpected fire, instantly rushed to close with the bayonet, and attacking the flank of a column of nearly three thousand Croats, forced them into the marsh, where most of them perished. It was now that, after a calculation of the losses sustained by the enemy, Napoleon conceived their numerical superiority so far diminished, and their spirit so much broken, that he need no longer confine his operations to the dykes, but meet his enemy on the firm plain which extended beyond the Alpon. He passed the brook by means of a temporary bridge which had been prepared during night; and the battle raged as fiercely on the dry level, as it had done on the dykes and amongst the marshes.

The Austrians fought with resolution, the rather that their left, though stationed on dry ground, was secured by a marsh which Buonaparte had no means of turning. But though this was the case, Napoleon contrived to gain his point by impressing on the enemy an idea that he had actually accomplished that which he had no means of doing. This he effected by sending a daring officer, with about thirty of the guides, (his own body-guards they may be called) with four trumpets; and directing these determined cavaliers to charge, and the trumpets to sound, as if a large body of horse had crossed the marsh. Augereau attacked the Austrian left at the same moment; and a fresh body of troops advancing from Legnago, compelled them to retreat, but not to fly. Alvinzi was now compelled to give way, and commence his retreat on Montebello. He disposed seven thousand men in echelons to cover this movement, which was accomplished without very much loss; but his ranks had been much thinned by the slaughter of the three battles of Arcola. Eight thousand men has been stated as the amount of his losses. The French, who made so many and so sanguinary assaults upon the villages, must also have suffered a great deal. Buonaparte acknowledges this in energetic terms. "Never," he writes to Carnot, "was field of battle so disputed. I have scarce any generals remaining.—I can assure you that the victory could not have been gained at a cheaper expense. The enemy were numerous, and desperately resolute." The truth is, that Buonaparte's mode

of striking terror by these bloody and desperate charges, in front upon strong positions, was a blemish in his system. They cost many men, and were not uniformly successful. That of Arcola was found a vain waste of blood, till science was employed instead of main force, when the position was turned by Guieux on the first day; on the third, by the troops that crossed the Alpon.

The tardy conduct of Davidowich, during these three undecided days of slaughterous struggle, is worthy of notice and censure. It would appear that from the 10th of November that general had it in his power to attack the division which he had hitherto driven before him, and that he had delayed doing so till the 16th; and on the 18th, just the day after Alvinzi had made his retreat, he approached Verona on the right bank. Had these movements taken place before Alvinzi's defeat, or even during any of the three days preceding, when the French were engaged before Arcola, the consequences must have been very serious. Finding, however, that Alvinzi had retreated, Davidowich followed the same course, and withdrew into the mountains, not much annoyed by the French, who respected the character of his army, which had been repeatedly victorious, and felt the weakness incident to their own late losses. Another incidental circumstance tends equally strong to mark the want of concert and communication among the Austrian generals. Wurmser, who had remained quiet in Mantua during all the time when Alvinzi and Davidowich were in the neighbourhood, made a vigorous sally on the 23rd of November; when his doing so was of little consequence, since he could not be supported.

Thus ended the fourth campaign, undertaken for the Austrian possessions in Italy. The consequences were not so decidedly in Buonaparte's favour as those of the three former. Mantua, it is true, had received no relief; and so far the principal object of the Austrians had miscarried. But Wurmser was of a temper to continue the defence till the last moment, and had already provided for a longer defence than the French counted upon, by curtailing the rations of the garrison. The armies of Friuli and the Tyrol had also, since the last campaign, retained possession of Bassano and Trent, and removed the French from the mountains through which access is gained to the Austrian hereditary dominions. Neither had Alvinzi suffered any such heavy defeat as his predecessors Beaulieu or Wurmser; while Davidowich, on the contrary, was uniformly successful, had he known how to avail himself of his victories. Still the Austrians were not likely, till re-inforced again, to interrupt Buonaparte's quiet possession of Lombardy.

LETTER XXX.

Italian campaign of 1797.—Contest at La Favorita.—Fall of Mantua.—Popularity of Buonaparte.—Proposes terms to the pope.—Invades the Papal territories.—View of the situation of the different Italian states.—Rome.—Naples.—Tuscany.—Venice.—Napoleon compels the archduke Charles to retreat.—Conduct of Venice.—Armistice between France and Austria.—Treaty of Leoben signed.—Buonaparte declares war against Venice, &c.

HOWEVER important might be the victory of Rivoli, with which my last letter concluded, it delivered Buonaparte from only a part of his enemies. Previous to his departure from Verona to Rivoli, he had been informed of the Austrian general Provera's success on the Lower Adige; and while defeating Alvinzi he had good reason to apprehend that Provera would surmount every obstacle, and succeed in breaking through the blockade of Mantua. This would have accomplished the principal object of the Austrians, and counterbalanced the effect of the battle of Rivoli. To counteract this mischievous result, Buonaparte, without taking any repose himself, or allowing any to his troops, set out on the night of the 14th of January 1797, to aid the blockade of Mantua, accompanied by part of the troops which had

been engaged at Rivoli. He left at that place, general Joubert, with orders to attack the Austrians, at Corona, on the following morning. To ensure the success of this enterprise, Joubert sent, during the night, a column which marched round Montebaldo, and which arrived at day break on the heights that commanded La Corona. It was posted there before the whole of the Austrian army arrived: it then attacked them with success, during its march, and took them in flank, while Joubert advanced directly against them. The Austrians overpowered by fatigue, weakened by their losses, and discouraged by their disasters, opposed no very vigorous resistance. They were defeated and lost a great number of prisoners. The rest continued their retreat, and took shelter in the defiles of the Tyrol.

Buonaparte arrived at Roverbella, within twelve miles of Mantua, on the night of the 15th of January, with the re-inforcements which he brought from the Upper Adige, and to his surprise learned that Provera had already sat down before the lines of the blockade of Mantua. The rapidity, however, with which the latter had prosecuted his march had subjected his army to many losses, so that when he arrived before St. George, he had not more than five thousand men under his command. He, nevertheless, communicated with the garrison of Mantua across the lake, and concerted with Wurmser measures for its relief. The latter at an appointed time, marched out of the citadel before break of day, with nearly all the troops which he had in the garrison; he attacked and carried the post of St. Antonio, then proceeded to La Favorita, exerting all his energies to force the entrenchments and the enemy opposed to him. But the latter, re-inforced by six thousand men under Massena, and now having an army of seventeen thousand strong, shut up within its lines, and protected by the fire of its works, repulsed Wurmser, prevented his further advance, and compelled him at the bayonet's point, to re-enter the besieged city of Mantua. In the mean time general Miollis, who commanded at St. George, sallied out, and attacked Provera in front, while others attacked him in the rear, and though he defended himself for a long time with great skill and bravery, putting to death a great number of the French, his troops were at last overcome by fatigue, and compelled to capitulate. Thus one division of the Austrian army which had commenced the campaign on the 7th of January, had surrendered to Buonaparte before ten days had elapsed. Nor had the larger army under Alvinzi any better fortune. They were closely pursued from the ensanguined plains of Rivoli, and never permitted to draw breath or recover their disordered state. Large bodies were intercepted and compelled to surrender, a practice now become so familiar to the Austrians that it almost ceased to be disgraceful. The crowning consequence of the victories of Rivoli and La Favorita, was the surrender of Mantua itself, that prize which had cost so much blood, and had been defended with so much obstinacy.

For several days after the decisive actions which left him without a shadow of hope of relief, Wurmser continued the defence of the place in a sullen yet honourable despair, natural to the feelings of a gallant veteran, who, to the last, hesitated between the desire to resist, and the sense that, his means of subsistence being almost totally expended, resistance was absolutely hopeless. At length he sent his aid-de-camp, Klensau, (afterwards a name of celebrity) to the head-quarters of Serrurier, who commanded the blockade, to treat of a surrender. Klensau used the customary language on such occasions. He expatiated on the means which he said Mantua still possessed of holding out, but said, that as Wurmser doubted whether the place could be relieved in time, he would regulate his conduct as to immediate submission, or farther defence, according to the conditions of surrender to which the French generals were willing to admit him.

A French officer of distinction was present, muffled in his cloak, and remaining apart from the two officers, but within hearing of what had passed. When their discussion was finished, this unknown person stepped forward and taking a pen, wrote down the conditions of surrender to which Wurmser was to be admitted—conditions more honourable and favourable by far than what his extremity could have exacted. "These," said the unknown officer

to Klenau, "are the terms which Wurmser may accept at present, and which will be equally tendered to him at any period when he finds further resistance impossible. We are aware he is too much a man of honour to give up the fortress and city, so long and honourably defended, while the means of resistance remain in his power. If he delays accepting the conditions for a week, for a month, for two months, they shall be equally his when he chooses to accept them. To-morrow I pass the Po, and march upon Rome." Klenau, perceiving that he spoke to the French commander-in-chief, frankly admitted that the garrison could not longer delay to surrender, having scarce three days' provisions unconsumed.

This trait of generosity towards a gallant but unfortunate enemy, was highly honourable to Buonaparte. The taste which dictated the stage-effect of the cloak may indeed be questioned; but the real current of his feeling toward the venerable object of his respect, and at the same time compassion, is ascertained otherwise. He wrote to the directory on the subject, that he had afforded to Wurmser such conditions of surrender as became the generosity of the French nation towards an enemy, who, having lost his army by misfortune, was so little desirous to secure his personal safety, that he threw himself into Mantua, cutting his way through the blockading army; thus voluntarily undertaking the privations of a siege, which his gallantry protracted until almost the last morsel of provisions was exhausted.

But the young victor paid still a more delicate and noble-minded compliment, in declining to be personally present when the veteran Wurmser had the mortification to surrender his sword, with his garrison of twenty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were fit for service. This self-denial did Napoleon as much credit nearly as his victory, and must not be omitted in a narrative, which, often called to stigmatize his ambition and its consequences, should not be the less ready to observe marks of dignified and honourable feeling. The history of this remarkable man more frequently reminds us of the romantic and improbable victories imputed to the heroes of the romantic ages, than of the spirit of chivalry attributed to them; but in this instance, Napoleon's conduct towards Wurmser may be justly compared to that of the Black Prince to his royal prisoner, king John of France. Serrurier, who had conducted the leaguer, had the honour to receive the surrender of Wurmser, after the siege of Mantua had continued for six months, during which the garrison is said by Napoleon to have lost twenty-seven thousand men by disease, and in the various, numerous and bloody sallies which took place. This decisive event put an end to the war in Italy. The contest with Austria was hereafter to be waged on the hereditary dominions of that haughty power.

The French, possessed of this grand object of their wishes, were not long in displaying their national characteristics. Their military and prescient sagacity were evinced in employing one of their most celebrated engineers, to improve and bring nearly to perfection, the defence of a city which may be termed the citadel of Italy. They set afoot, besides civic feasts and ceremonies, and among others, one in honour of Virgil, who, being the panegyrist of an emperor, was indifferently selected as the presiding genius of an infant republic. Their cupidity was evinced by their artists' exercising their ingenuity in devising means to cut from the wall and carry off the fresco paintings, by Titian, of the wars between the gods and the giants, at all risks of destroying what could never be replaced. Luckily the attempt was found totally unadvisable.

The eyes of all Europe were now rivetted on Napoleon Buonaparte, whose rise had been so sudden that he had become the terror of empires and the founder of states; the conqueror of the best generals and most disciplined troops in Europe, within a few months after he had been a mere soldier of fortune, seeking rather for a subsistence than expecting honourable distinction. Such sudden elevations have occasionally happened amid semi-barbarous nations, where great popular insurrections, desolating and decisive revolutions, are common occurrences, but were hitherto unheard of in civilized Europe.

The pre-eminence which he had suddenly obtained had, besides, been subjected to so many trials, as to afford every proof of its permanence. Napoleon stood aloft like a cliff on which successive tempests had expended their rage in vain. The means which raised him were equally competent to make good his greatness. He had infused into the armies which he commanded the firmest reliance on his genius, and the greatest love for his person; so that he could always find agents ready to execute his most difficult commands. He had even inspired them with a portion of his own indefatigable exertion and his commanding intelligence. The maxim which he inculcated upon them when practising those long and severe marches which formed one essential part of his system, was, "I would rather gain victory at the expense of your legs than at the price of your blood." The French, under his training, seemed to become the very men he wanted, and to forget in the excitement of war and the hope of victory, even the feelings of weariness and exhaustion. The following description of the French soldier by Napoleon himself occurs in his dispatches to the directory during his first campaign in Italy:—

"Were I to name all those who have been distinguished by acts of personal bravery, I must send the muster-roll of all the grenadiers and carabineers of the advanced guard. They jest with danger and laugh at death; and if any thing can equal their intrepidity, it is the gaiety with which, singing alternately songs of love and patriotism, they accomplish the most severe forced marches. When they arrive at their bivouac, it is not to take their repose, as might be expected, but to tell each his story of the battle of the day, and produce his plan for that of to-morrow; and many of them think with great correctness on military subjects. The other day I was inspecting a demi-brigade, and as it filed past me, a common chasseur approached my horse, and said, 'General, you ought to do 'so and so.' 'Hold your peace, you rogue!' I replied. He disappeared immediately, nor have I since been able to find him out. But the manoeuvre which he recommended was the very same which I had privately resolved to carry into execution."

To command this active, intelligent, and intrepid soldiery, Buonaparte possessed officers entirely worthy of the charge; men young, or at least not advanced in years, to whose ambition the revolution, and the wars which it had brought on, had opened an unlimited career, and whose genius was inspired by the plans of their leader, and the success which attended them. Buonaparte, who had his eye on every man, never neglected to distribute rewards and punishments, praise and censure, with a liberal hand, or omitted to press for what latterly was rarely if ever denied to him—the promotion of such officers as particularly distinguished themselves. He willingly assumed the task of soothing the feelings of those whose relatives had fallen under his banners. His letter of consolation to general Clarke, upon the death of young Clarke his nephew, who fell at Arcola, is affecting, as showing that amid all his victories he felt himself the object of reproach and criticism. His keen sensitiveness to the attacks of the public press attended him through life, and, like the slave in the triumphal car, seemed to remind him that he was still a mortal man.

It should farther be remarked, that Napoleon withstood, instantly and boldly, all the numerous attempts made by commissaries, and that description of persons, to encroach upon the fund destined for the use of the army. Much of his public, and more of his private correspondence, is filled with complaints against these agents, although he must have known that, in attacking them, he disoblige men of the highest influence, who had frequently some secret interest in their wealth. But his military fame made his services indispensable, and permitted him to set at defiance the enmity of such persons, who are generally as timid as they are sordid. Buonaparte's former patron, Barras, was supposed to be accessible to this species of corruption.

Towards the general officers there took place a gradual change of deportment, as the commander-in-chief began to feel gradually, more and more, the increasing sense of his own importance. It has been said by an officer

of the highest rank, that, during the earlier campaigns, Napoleon used to rejoice with, and embrace them as associates, nearly on the same footing, engaged in the same tasks. After a period, his language and carriage became those of a frank soldier, who, sensible of the merit of his subordinate assistants, yet makes them sensible, by his manner, that he is their commander-in-chief. When his infant fortunes began to come of age, his deportment to his generals was tinged with that lofty courtesy which princes use towards their subjects, and which plainly intimated, that he held them as subjects in the war, not as brethren.

Napoleon's conduct towards the Italians individually was, in most instances, in the highest degree prudent and political, while, at the same time, it coincided, as true policy usually does, with the rules of justice and moderation, and served in a great measure to counterbalance the odium which he incurred by despoiling Italy of the works of art, and even by his infringements on the religious system of the Catholics. On the latter subject, the general became particularly cautious, and his dislike or contempt of the church of Rome was no longer shown in that gross species of satire which he had at first given loose to. On the contrary, it was veiled under philosophical indifference; and, while relieving the clergy of their worldly possessions, Napoleon took care to avoid the error of the Jacobins; never proposing their tenets as an object of persecution, but protecting their persons, and declaring himself a decided friend to general toleration on all points of conscience.

In a letter addressed publicly to Oriani, a celebrated astronomer, he assures him that all men of genius, all who had distinguished themselves in the republic of letters, were to be accounted natives of France, whatever might be the actual place of their birth. "Hitherto," he said, "the learned in Italy did not enjoy the consideration to which they were entitled—they lived retired in their laboratories and libraries, too happy if they could escape the notice, and consequently the persecution, of kings and priests. It is now no longer thus—there is no longer religious inquisition, nor despotic power. Thought is free in Italy. I invite the literary and scientific persons to consult together, and propose to me their ideas on the subject of giving new vigour and life to the fine arts and sciences. All who desire to visit France, will be received with distinction by the government. The people of France have more pride in enrolling among their citizens a skillful mathematician, a painter of reputation, a distinguished man in any class of literature, than in adding to their territories a large and wealthy city. I request, sir, that you will make my sentiments known to the most distinguished literary persons in the state of Milan." To the municipality of Pavia he wrote, desiring that the professors of their celebrated university should resume their course of instruction under the security of his protection, and inviting them to point out to him such measures as might occur, for giving a more brilliant existence to their ancient seminaries.

It must be remembered, that Napoleon had engaged in treaty with the duke of Modena, and had agreed to guarantee his principality, on payment of immense contributions in money and stores, besides the surrender of the most valuable treasures of his museum. In consequence, the duke of Modena was permitted to govern his states by a regency, he himself fixing his residence in Venice. But his two principal towns, Reggio and Modena, especially the former, became desirous of shaking off his government. Anticipating in doing so the approbation of the French general and government, the citizens of Reggio rose in insurrection, expelled from their town a body of the ducal troops, and planted the tree of liberty, resolved, as they said, to constitute themselves a free state, under the protection of the French republic. The ducal regency, with a view of protecting Modena from a similar attempt, mounted cannon on the ramparts, and took other defensive measures.

Buonaparte affected to consider these preparations as designed against the French; and marching a body of troops, took possession of the city without resistance, deprived the duke of all the advantages which he had purchased by the mediation of the celebrated Saint Jerome, and declared the town un-

der protection of France. Bologna and Ferrara, legations belonging to the Papal See, had been already occupied by French troops, and placed under the management of a committee of their citizens. They were now encouraged to coalesce with Reggio and Modena. A congress of an hundred delegates from the four districts was summoned, to effect the formation of a government, which should extend over them all. The congress met accordingly, engaged their constituents in a perpetual union, under the title of the Cispadane republic, from their situation on the right of the river Po; thus assuming the character of independence, while in fact they remained under the authority of Buonaparte, like clay in the hands of the potter, who may ultimately model it into any shape he has a mind. In the mean time, he was careful to remind them, that the liberty which it was desirable to establish, ought to be consistent with due subjection to the laws. "Never forget," he said, in reply to their address announcing their new form of government, "that laws are mere nullities without the force necessary to support them. Attend to your military organization, which you have the means of placing on a respectable footing—you will be more fortunate than the people of France, for you will arrive at liberty without passing through the ordeal of revolution."

Meantime the Lombards became impatient at seeing their neighbours outstrip them in the path of revolution, and of nominal independence. The municipality of Milan proceeded to destroy all titles of honour, as a badge of feudal dependence, and became so impatient, that Buonaparte was obliged to pacify them by a solemn assurance that they should speedily enjoy the benefits of a republican constitution; and to tranquillize their irritation, placed them under the government of a provincial council, selected from all classes, labourers included. This measure made it manifest, that the motives which had induced the delay of the French government to recognise the independence (as they termed it) of Lombardy, were now of less force; and in a short time, the provisional council of Milan, after some modest doubts on their own powers, revolutionized their country, and assumed the title of the Transpadane republic, which they afterwards laid aside, when, on their union with the Cispadane, both were united under the name of the Cisalpine Commonwealth. This decisive step was adopted the 3rd of January 1797. Decrees of a popular character had preceded the declaration of independence, but an air of moderation was observed in the revolution itself. The nobles, deprived of their feudal rights and titular dignities, were subjected to no incapacities; the reformation of the church was touched upon gently, and without indicating any design of its destruction. In these particulars, the Italian commonwealths stopped short of their Gallic prototype.

If Buonaparte may be justly charged with want of faith, in destroying the authority of the duke of Modena, after having accepted of a price for granting him peace and protection, we cannot object to him the same charge for acceding to the Transpadane republic, in so far as it detached the legations of Ferrara and Bologna from the Roman see. These had been in a great measure reserved for the disposal of the French, as circumstances should dictate, when a final treaty should take place betwixt the republic and the sovereign pontiff. But many circumstances had retarded this pacification, and seemed at length likely to break it off without hope of renewal. If Buonaparte is correct in his statement, which we see no reason to doubt, the delay of a pacification with the Roman see was chiefly the fault of the directory, whose avaricious and engrossing spirit was at this period its most distinguishing characteristic. An armistice, purchased by treasure, by contributions, by pictures and statues, and by the cession of the two legations of Bologna and Ferrara, having been mediated for his holiness by the Spanish ambassador Azara, the pope sent two plenipotentiaries to Paris to treat of a definitive peace. But the conditions proposed were so severe, that however desperate his condition, the pope found them totally inadmissible. His holiness was required to pay a large contribution in grain for ten years, a regular tribute of six millions of Roman crowns for six years, to cede to France in perpetuity

the ports of Ancona and Civita Vecchia, and to declare the independence of Ferrara, Bologna, and Ravenna. To add insult to oppression, the total cession of the Clementine Museum was required, and it was stipulated that France should have under management of her minister at Rome, a separate tribunal for judging her subjects, and a separate theatre for their amusement. Lastly, the secular sovereignty of the dominions of the church was to be executed by a senate and a popular body. These demands might have been complied with, although they went the length of entirely stripping his holiness of the character of a secular prince; but there were others made on him, in capacity of head of the church, which he could not grant, if he meant in future to lay claim to any authority under that once venerable title. The sovereign pontiff was required to re-call all the briefs which he had issued against France since 1789, to sanction the constitutional oath which released the French clergy from the dominion of the holy see, and to ratify the confiscation of the church-lands. Treasures might be expended, secular dignities resigned, and provinces ceded; but it was clear that the sovereign pontiff could not do what was expressly contrary to the doctrines of the church which he represented. There were but few clergyman in France who had hesitated to prove their devotion to the church of Rome, by submitting to expulsion, rather than take the constitutional oath. It was now for the head of the church to show in his own person a similar disinterested devotion to her interests. Accordingly, the College of Cardinals having rejected the proposals of France, as containing articles contrary to conscience, the pope declared his determination to abide by the utmost extremity, rather than accede to conditions destructive, degrading, and, in his opinion, impious. The directory instantly determined on the total ruin of the pope, and of his power, both spiritual and temporal.

Napoleon dissented from the opinion of the government. In point of moral effect, a re-conciliation with the pope would have been of great advantage to France, and have tended to re-unite her with other Catholic nations, and diminish the horror with which she was regarded as sacrilegious and atheistical. Even the army of the Holy See was not altogether to be despised, in case of any reverse taking place in the war with the Austrians. Under these considerations, he prevailed on the directory to renew the negotiations at Florence. But the French commissioners, having presented as preliminaries sixty indispensable conditions, containing the same articles which had been already rejected, as contrary to the conscience of the pontiff, the conferences broke up; and the pope, in despair, resolved to make common cause with the house of Austria, and have recourse to the secular force, which the Roman see had disused for so many years. It was a case of dire necessity; but the arming of the pope's government, whose military force had been long the subject of ridicule, against the victorious conqueror of five Austrian armies, reminds us of Priam, when, in extremity of years and despair, he buckled on his rusty armour, to oppose age and decrepitude to the youthful strength of Pyrrhus. Yet the measures of Sextus indicated considerable energy. He brought back to Rome an instalment of sixteen millions of stipulated tribute, which was on the road to Buonaparte's military chest—took every measure to increase his army, and by the voluntary exertions of the noble families at Rome, he actually raised it to forty thousand men, and placed at its head the same general Colli, who had commanded with credit the troops of Sardinia during the campaign on the Alps. The utmost pains were taken by the clergy, both regular and secular, to give the expected war the character of a crusade, and to excite the fierce spirit of those peasantry who inhabit the Appenines, and were doubly disposed to be hostile to the French, as foreigners and as heretics. The pope also endeavoured to form a close alliance with the king of the two Sicilies, who promised in secret to cover Rome with an army of thirty thousand men. Little reliance was indeed to be placed in the good faith of the court of Naples; but the pope was compared, by the French envoy, to a man who, in the act of falling, would grasp for support at a hook of red-hot iron.

While the court of Rome showed this hostile disposition, Napoleon re-

proached the French government for having broke off the negotiation, which they ought to have protracted till the event of Alvinzi's march into Italy was known; at all events, until their general had obtained possession of the sixteen millions, so much wanted to pay his forces. In reply to his remonstrances, he received permission to renew the negotiations upon modified terms. But the pope had gone too far to recede. Even the French victory of Arcola, and the instant threats of Buonaparte to march against him at the head of a flying column, were unable to move his resolution. "Let the French general march upon Rome," said the papal minister; "the pope, if necessary, will quit his capital. The farther the French are drawn from the Adige, the nearer they are to their ultimate destruction." Napoleon was sensible on receiving a hostile answer, that the pope still relied on the last preparations which were made for the relief of Mantua, and it was not safe to attempt his chastisement until Alvinzi and Provera should be disposed of. But the decisive battles of Rivoli and La Favorita having ruined these armies, Napoleon was at leisure to execute his purpose of crushing the power, such as it was, of the Holy See. For this purpose he dispatched Victor with a French division of four thousand men, and an Italian army of nearly the same force, supplied by Lombardy and the Transpadane republic, to invade the territories of the church on the eastern side of Italy, by the route of Imola. Meantime, the utmost exertions had been made by the clergy of Romagna, to raise the peasants in a mass, and a great many obeyed the sound of the tocsin. But an insurrectionary force is more calculated to embarrass the movements of a regular army, by alarms on their flanks and rear, by cutting off their communications, and destroying their supplies, defending passes, and skirmishing in advantageous positions, than by opposing them in the open field. The papal army, consisting of about seven or eight thousand men, were encamped on the river Senio, which runs on the southward of the town of Imola, to dispute the passage. The banks were defended with cannon; but the river being unusually low, the French crossed about a league and a half higher up than the position of the Roman army, which, taken in the rear, fled in every direction, after a short resistance. A few hundreds were killed, among whom were several monks, who, holding the crucifix in their hand, had placed themselves in the ranks to encourage the soldiers. Faenza held out, and was taken by storm; but the soldiers were withheld from pillage by the generosity, or prudence of Napoleon, and he dismissed the prisoners of war to carry into the interior of the country the news of their own defeat, of the irresistible superiority of the French army, and the clemency of their general. Next day, three thousand of the papal troops, occupying an advantageous position in front of Ancona, and commanded by Colli, were made prisoners without firing a shot; and Ancona was taken after slight resistance, though a place of some strength. A curious piece of priestcraft had been played off in this town, to encourage the people to resistance. A miraculous image was seen to shed tears, and the French artists could not discover the mode in which the trick was managed until the image was brought to head-quarters, when a glass shrine, by which the illusion was managed, was removed. The Madonna was sent back to the church which owned her, but apparently had become reconciled to the foreign visitors, and dried her tears in consequence of her interview with Buonaparte.

On the 10th of February, the French, moving with great celerity, entered Loretta, where the celebrated Santa Cava is the subject of the Catholics devotional triumph, or secret scorn, according as his faith or his doubts predominate. The wealth which this celebrated shrine is once supposed to have possessed by gifts of the faithful, had been removed by Colli—if, indeed, it had not been transported to Rome long before the period of which we treat; yet, precious metal and gems to the amount of a million of livres, fell into possession of the French, whose capture was also enriched by the holy image of Our Lady of Loretto, with the sacred porringer, and a bed-gown of dark-coloured camlet, warranted to have belonged to the Blessed Virgin. The image, said to be of celestial workmanship, was sent to Paris, but was restored to the pope in 1802. We are not informed that any of the trea-

asures were given back along with the Madonna, to whom they had been devoted.

As the French army advanced upon the Roman territory, there was a menace of the interference of the king of Naples, worthy to be mentioned, both as expressing the character of that court, and showing Napoleon's readiness in anticipating and defeating the arts of indirect diplomacy. The prince of Belmonte-Pignatelli, who attended Buonaparte's head-quarters, in the capacity perhaps of an observer, as much as of ambassador for Naples, came to the French general in secrecy, to show him, under strict confidence, a letter of the queen of the Two Sicilies, proposing to march an army of thirty thousand men towards Rome. "Your confidence shall be repaid," said Buonaparte, who at once saw through the spirit of the communication—"You shall know what I have long since settled to do in case of such an event taking place." He called for the port-folio containing the papers respecting Naples, and presented to the disconcerted prince the copy of a dispatch written in November preceding, which contained this passage:—"The approach of Alvinzi would not prevent my sending six thousand men to chastise the court of Rome; but as the Neapolitan army might march to their assistance, I will postpone this movement till after the surrender of Mantua; in which case, if the king of Naples should interfere, I shall be able to spare twenty-five thousand men to march against his capital, and drive him over to Sicily." Prince Pignatelli was quite satisfied with the result of this mutual confidence, and there was no more said of Neapolitan armed interference.

From Ancona the division commanded by Victor turned westward to Foligno, to unite itself with another column of French which penetrated into the territories of the church by Perugia, which they easily accomplished. Resistance seemed now unavailing. The pope in vain solicited his subjects to rise against the second Alaric, who was approaching the holy city. They remained deaf to his exhortations, though made in the names of the Blessed Virgin, and of the apostles Peter and Paul, who had of old been the visible protectors of the metropolis of the Christian world in a similar emergency. All was dismay and confusion in the patrimony of Saint Peter's, which was now the sole territory remaining in possession of his representative. But there was an unhappy class of persons, who had found shelter in Rome, rather than disown whose allegiance they had left their homes, and resigned their means of living. These were the recusant French clergy, who had refused to take the constitutional oath, and who now, recollecting the scenes which they witnessed in France, expected little else, than that, on the approach of the republican troops, they would, like the Israelitish captain, be slain between the horns of the very altar at which they had taken refuge. It is said that one of their number, frantic at the thoughts of the fate which he supposed awaited them, presented himself to Buonaparte, announced his name and condition, and prayed to be led to instant death. Napoleon took the opportunity to show once more that he was acting on principles different from the brutal and persecuting spirit of Jacobinism. He issued a proclamation, in which, premising that the recusant priests, though banished from the French territory, were not prohibited from residing in countries which might be conquered by the French arms, he declares himself satisfied with their conduct. The proclamation goes on to prohibit, under the most severe penalty, the French soldiery, and all other persons, from doing any injury to these unfortunate exiles. The convents are directed to afford them lodging, nourishment, and fifteen French livres (twelve shillings and sixpence British) monthly, to each individual, for which the priest was to compensate by saying masses *ad valorem*;—thus assigning the Italian convents payment for their hospitality, in the same coin with which they themselves requited the laity.

Perhaps this liberality might have some weight with the pope in inducing him to throw himself upon the mercy of France, as had been recommended to him by Buonaparte in a confidential communication through the superior of the monastic order of Camalduli, and more openly in a letter addressed to

cardinal Mattei. The king of Naples made no movement to his assistance. In fine, after hesitating what course to take, and having had at one time his equipage ready harnessed to leave Rome and fly to Naples, the pontiff judged resistance and flight alike unavailing, and chose the humiliating alternative of entire submission to the will of the conqueror. It was the object of the directory entirely to destroy the secular authority of the pope, and to deprive him of all his temporalities. But Buonaparte foresaw, that whether the Roman territories were united with the new Cispadane republic, or formed into a separate state, it would alike bring on prematurely a renewal of the war with Naples, ere the north of Italy was yet sufficiently secure to admit the marching a French force into the southern extremities of the Italian peninsula, exposed to the descents of the English, and insurrections in the rear. These Napoleon foresaw would be the more dangerous and difficult to subdue, that, though he might strip the pope of his temporalities, he could not deprive him of the supremacy assigned him in spiritual matters by each Catholic; which, on the contrary, was, according to the progress of human feeling, likely to be more widely felt and recognised in favour of a wanderer and a sufferer for what would be accounted conscience sake, than of one who, submitting to circumstances, retained as much of the goods of this world as the clemency of his conqueror would permit.

Influenced by these considerations, Buonaparte admitted the pope to a treaty, which terminated in the peace of Tolentino, by which Sextus purchased such a political existence as was left to him, at the highest rate which he had the least chance of discharging. Napoleon mentions, as a curious instance of the crafty and unscrupulous character of the Neapolitans, that the same Pignatelli, whom we have already commemorated, attached himself closely to the plenipotentiaries during the whole treaty of Tolentino; and, in his ardour to discover whether there existed any secret article betwixt the pope and Buonaparte which might compromise the interests of his master, was repeatedly discovered listening at the door of the apartment in which the discussions were carried on. The articles which the pope was obliged to accept at Tolentino, included the cession of Avignon and its territories, the appropriation of which, by France, had never yet been recognized; the resigning the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; the occupation of Ancona, the only port excepting Venice which Italy has in the Adriatic; the payment of thirty millions of livres, in specie or in valuable effects; the complete execution of the article in the armistice of Bologna respecting the delivery of paintings, manuscripts, and objects of art; and several other stipulations of similar severity. Buonaparte informs us, that it was a principal object in this treaty to compel the abolition of the inquisition, from which he had only departed in consequence of receiving information, that it had ceased to be used as a religious tribunal, and subsisted only as a court of police. The conscience of the pope seemed also so tenderly affected by the proposal, that he thought it safe to desist from it. The same dispatch, in which Buonaparte informs the directory, that his committee of artist collectors "had made a good harvest of paintings in the papal dominions, and "which, with the objects of art ceded by the pope, included almost all that "was curious and valuable, excepting some few objects at Turin and Naples," conveyed to them a document of a very different kind. This was a respectful and almost reverential letter from Napoleon to the pope, recommending to his holiness to distrust such persons as might excite him to doubt the good intentions of France, assuring him that he would always find the republic most sincere and faithful, and expressing in his own name the perfect esteem and veneration which he entertained for the person of his holiness, and the extreme desire which he had to afford him proofs to that effect. This letter furnished much amusement at the time, and seemed far less to intimate the sentiments of a Sans-culotte general, than those of a civilized highwayman of the old school of Macheath, who never dismissed the traveller whom he had plundered, without his sincere good wishes for the happy prosecution of their journey.

A more pleasing view of Buonaparte's character was exhibited about this

time, in his conduct towards the little interesting republic of San Marino. That state, which only acknowledges the pope as a protector, not as a sovereign, had maintained for very many years an independence, which conquerors had spared either in contempt or in respect. It consists of a single mountain and a single town, and boasts about seven thousand inhabitants, governed by their own laws. Citizen Monge, the chief of the committee of collecting-artists, was sent deputy to San Marino to knit the bands of amity between the two republics,—which might well resemble a union between Lilliput and Brobdignag. There were no pictures in the little republic; or they might have been a temptation to the citizen collector. The people of San Marino conducted themselves with much sagacity; and although more complimentary to Buonaparte than Diogenes to Alexander the Great, when he came to visit the philosopher in his tub, they showed the same judgment in eschewing too much courtesy. They respectfully declined an accession of territory, which could but have involved them in subsequent quarrels with the sovereign from whom it was to be wrested, and only accepted as an honorary gift the present of four field-pieces, being a train of artillery upon the scale of their military force, and of which, it is to be hoped, the captain regents of the little contented state will never have any occasion to make use.

Rome might, for the present at least, be considered as completely subjugated. Naples was at peace, if the signature of a treaty can create peace. At any rate, so distant from Rome, and so controlled by the defeat of the papal arms—by the fear that the English fleet might be driven from the Mediterranean—and by their distance from the scene of action—the king of the Two Sicilies, or rather his wife, the high spirited daughter of Maria Theresa, dared not offer the least interference with the purposes of the French general. Tuscany had apparently consented to owe her political existence to any degree of clemency or contempt which Buonaparte might extend to her; and, entertaining hopes of some convention betwixt the French and the English, by which the grand duke's port of Leghorn might be restored to him, remained passive as the dead. The republic of Venice alone, feeling still the stimulus arising from her ancient importance, and yet painfully conscious of her present want of power, strained every exertion to place herself in a respectable attitude. That city of lofty remembrances, the Tyre of the middle ages, whose traders were princes, and her merchants the honourable of the earth, fallen as she was from her former greatness, still presented some appearance of vigour. Her oligarchical government, so long known and so dreaded, for jealous precautions, political sagacity, the impenetrability of their plans, and the inflexibility of their vigour, still preserved the attitude of independence, and endeavoured, by raising additional regiments of Slavonians, disciplining their peasantry, who were of a very martial character, and forming military magazines of considerable extent, to maintain such an aspect, as might make their friendship to be courted, and their enmity to be feared. It was already evident that the Austrians, notwithstanding all their recent defeats, were again about to make head on their Italo-German frontier; and France, in opposing them, could not be indifferent to the neutrality of Venice, upon whose territories, to all appearance, Buonaparte must have rested the flank of his operations, in case of his advancing towards Friuli. So circumstanced, and when it was recollected that the mistress of the Adriatic had still fifty thousand men at her command, and those of a fierce and courageous description, chiefly consisting of Slavonians, Venice, even yet, was an enemy not to be lightly provoked. But the inhabitants were not unanimous, especially those of the Terra Firma, or mainland, who, not being enrolled in the golden book of the insular nobility of Venice, were discontented, and availed themselves of the encouragement and assistance of the new-created republics on the Po to throw off their allegiance. Brescia and Bergamo, in particular, were clamorous for independence.

Napoleon saw, in this state of dissension, the means of playing an adroit game; and while, on the one hand, he endeavoured to restrain, till a more favourable opportunity, the ardour of the patriots, he attempted, on the

other, to convince the senate, that they had no safe policy but in embracing at once the alliance of France, offensive and defensive, and joining their forces with those of the army with which he was about to move against the Austrians. He offered, on these conditions, to guarantee the possessions of the republic, even without exacting any modification of their oligarchical constitution. But Venice declared for an impartial neutrality. It had been, they said, their ancient and sage policy, nor would they now depart from it. "Remain then neuter," said Napoleon; "I consent to it. I march upon Vienna, yet will leave enough of French troops in Italy to control your republic.—But dismiss these new levies; and remark, that if, while I am in Germany, my communications shall be interrupted, my detachments cut off, or my convoys intercepted in the Venetian territory, the date of your republic is terminated. She will have brought on herself annihilation." Least these threats should be forgotten while he was at a distance, he took the best precautions in his power, by garrisoning advantageous points on the line of the Adige; and trusting partly to this defence, partly to the insurgents of Bergamo and Brescia, who, for their own sakes, would oppose any invasion of the mainland by their Venetian masters, whose yoke they had cast aside, Napoleon again unfurled his banners, and marched to new triumphs over yet untried opponents.

By the direction of the Aulic council, the archduke Charles had taken up his position at Friuli, where it had been settled that the sixth Austrian army, designed to act against Buonaparte for the defence of the Italo-German frontier, should be assembled. This position was strangely preferred to the Tyrol, where the archduke could have formed a junction ten days sooner with an additional force of forty thousand men from the army of the Rhine, marching to re-inforce his own troops,—men accustomed to fight and conquer under their leader's eye; whilst those with whom he occupied Friuli, and the line of the Piave, belonged to the hapless imperial forces, which, under Beaulieu, Wurmser, and Alvinzi, had never encountered Buonaparte without incurring some notable defeat.

While the archduke was yet expecting those re-inforcements which were to form the strength of his army, his active adversary was strengthened by more than twenty thousand men, sent from the French armies on the Rhine, and which gave him at the moment a numerical superiority over the Austrian general. Instead, therefore, of waiting, as on former occasions, until the Imperialists should commence the war by descending into Italy, Napoleon resolved to anticipate the march of the succours expected by the archduke, drive him from his position on the Italian frontiers, and follow him into Germany, even up to the walls of Vienna. No scheme appeared too bold for the general's imagination to form, or his genius to render practicable; and his soldiers, with the view before them of plunging into the midst of an immense empire, and placing chains of mountains betwixt them and every possibility of re-inforcement or communication, were so confident in the talents of their leader, as to follow him under the most undoubting expectation of victory. The directory had induced Buonaparte to expect a co-operation by a similar advance on the part of the armies of the Rhine, as had been attempted in the former campaign.

Buonaparte took the field in the beginning of March, 1797, advancing from Bassano. The Austrians had an army of observation under Lusignan on the banks of the Piave, but their principal force was stationed upon the Tagliamento, a river whose course is nearly thirty miles more to the eastward, though collateral with the Piave. The plains on the Tagliamento afforded facilities to the archduke to employ the noble cavalry who have always been the boast of the Austrian army; and to dislodge him from the strong and mountainous country which he occupied, and which covered the road that penetrates between the mountains and the Adriatic, and forms the mode of communication in that quarter betwixt Vienna and Italy, through Carinthia, it was not only necessary that he should be pressed in front, a service which Buonaparte took upon himself, but also that a French division, occupying the mountains on the prince's right, should precipitate his retreat by main-

taining the perpetual threat of turning him on that wing. With this view, Massena had Buonaparte's orders, which he executed with equal skill and gallantry. He crossed the Piave about the 11th of March, and ascending that river, directed his course into the mountains towards Belluno, driving before him Lussignan's little corps of observation, and finally compelling his rear-guard, to the number of five hundred men, to surrender.

The archduke Charles, in the mean time, continued to maintain his position on the Tagliamento, and the French approached the right bank, with Napoleon at their head, determined apparently to force a passage. Artillery and sharpshooters were disposed in such a manner as to render this a very hazardous attempt, while two beautiful lines of cavalry were drawn up prepared to charge any troops who might make their way to the left bank, while they were yet in the confusion of landing. A very simple stratagem disconcerted this fair display of resistance. After a distant cannonade, and some skirmishing, the French army drew off, as if despairing to force their passage, moved to the rear, and took up apparently their bivouac for the night. The archduke was deceived. He imagined that the French, who had marched all the preceding night, were fatigued, and he also withdrew from the banks of the river to his camp. But two hours afterwards, when all seemed profoundly quiet, the French army suddenly got under arms, and, forming in two lines, marched rapidly to the side of the river, ere the astonished Austrians were able to make the same dispositions as formerly for defence. Arrived on the margin, the first line instantly broke up into columns, which throwing themselves boldly into the stream, protected on the flanks by the cavalry, passed through and attained the opposite bank. They were repeatedly charged by the Austrian cavalry, but it was too late—they had gotten their footing, and kept it. The archduke attempted to turn their flank, but was prevented by the second line of the French, and by their reserve of cavalry. He was compelled to retreat, leaving prisoners and cannon in the hands of the enemy. Such was the first disastrous meeting between the archduke Charles and his future relative. The Austrian prince had the farther misfortune to learn, that Massena had, at the first sound of the cannonade, rushed across the Tagliamento, higher up than his line of defence, and destroying what troops he found before him, had occupied the passes of the Julian Alps at the sources of that river, and thus interposed himself between the imperial right wing and the nearest communication with Vienna. Sensible of the importance of this obstacle, the archduke hastened, if possible, to remove it. He brought up a fine column of grenadiers from the Rhine, which had just arrived at Klagenfurt, in his rear, and joining them to other troops, attacked Massena with the utmost fury, venturing his own person like a private soldier, and once or twice narrowly escaping being made prisoner. It was in vain—all in vain. He charged successively and repeatedly, even with the reserve of the grenadiers, but no exertion could change the fortune of the day. Still the archduke hoped to derive assistance from the natural or artificial defences of the strong country through which he was thus retreating, and in doing so was involuntarily introducing Buonaparte, after he should have surmounted the border frontier, into the most fertile provinces of his brother's empire. The Lisonzo usually a deep and furious torrent, closed in by a chain of impassable mountains, seemed to oppose an insurmountable barrier to his daring pursuers. But nature, as well as events, fought against the Austrians. The stream, reduced by frost, was fordable in several places. The river thus passed, the town of Gradisca, which had been covered with field-works to protect the line of the Lisonzo, was surprised and carried by storm, and its garrison of two thousand five hundred men made prisoners, by the divisions of Bernadotte and Serrurier.

Pushed in every direction, the Austrians sustained every day additional and more severe losses. The strong fort of Chiusa-Veneta was occupied by Massena, who continued his active and indefatigable operations on the right of the retreating army. This success caused the envelopment, and dispersion or surrender, of a whole division of Austrians, five thousand of whom remained prisoners, while their baggage, cannon, colours, and all that

constituted them an army, fell into the hands of the French. Four generals were made prisoners on this occasion; and many of the mountaineers of Carniola, and Croatia, who had joined the Austrian army from their natural love of war, seeing that success appeared to have abandoned the Imperial cause, became despondent, broke up their corps, and retired as stragglers to their villages. Buonaparte availed himself of their loss of courage, and had recourse to proclamations, a species of arms which he valued himself as much upon using to advantage, as he did upon his military fame. He assured them that the French did not come into their country to innovate on their rights, religious customs, and manners. He exhorted them not to meddle in a war with which they had no concern, but encouraged them to afford assistance and furnish supplies to the French army, in payment of which he proposed to assign the public taxes which they had been in the habit of paying to the emperor. His proposal seems to have reconciled the Carinthians to the presence of the French, or, more properly speaking, they submitted to the military exactions which they had no means of resisting. In the mean while, the French took possession of Triest and Fiume, the only sea ports belonging to Austria, where they seized much English merchandise, which was always a welcome prize, and of the quicksilver mines of Idria, where they found a valuable deposit of that mineral.

Napoleon repaired the fortifications of Klagenfurt, and converted it into a respectable place of arms, where he established his head-quarters. In a space of scarce twenty days, he had defeated the Austrians in ten combats, in the course of which prince Charles had lost at least one-fourth of his army. The French had surmounted the southern chain of the Julian Alps; the northern line could, it was supposed, offer no obstacle sufficient to stop their irresistible general; and the archduke, the pride and hope of the Austrian armies, had retired behind the river Meuhr, and seemed to be totally without the means of covering Vienna. There were, however, circumstances less favourable to the French, which require to be stated. When the campaign commenced, the French general Joubert was posted with his division in the gorge of the Tyrol above Trent, upon the same river Levisa, the line of which had been lost and won during the preceding winter. He was opposed by the Austrian generals Kerpen and Laudon, who, besides some regular regiments, had collected around them a number of the Tyrolese militia, who among their own mountains were at least equally formidable. They remained watching each other during the earlier part of the campaign; but the gaining of the battle of Tagliamento was the signal for Joubert to commence the offensive. His directions were to push his way through the Tyrol to Brixen, at which place Napoleon expected he might hear news of the advance of the French armies from the Rhine, to co-operate in the march upon Vienna. But the directory, fearing perhaps to trust nearly the whole force of the republic in the hands of a general so successful and so ambitious as Napoleon, had not fulfilled their promises in this respect. The army of Moreau had not as yet crossed the Rhine.

Joubert, thus disappointed of his promised object, began to find himself in an embarrassing situation. The whole country was in insurrection around him, and a retreat in the line by which he had advanced, might have exposed him to great loss, if not to destruction. He determined, therefore, to elude the enemy, and, by descending the river Drave, to achieve a junction with his commander-in-chief Napoleon. He accomplished his difficult march by breaking down the bridges behind him, and thus arresting the progress of the enemy; but it was with difficulty, and not without loss, that he effected his proposed union, and his retreat from the Tyrol gave infinite spirit not only to the martial Tyrolese, but to all the favourers of Austria in the north of Italy. The Austrian general Laudon, sallied from the Tyrol at the head of a considerable force, and compelled the slender body of French under Bolland, to shut themselves up in garrisons; and their opponents were for the moment again lords of a part of Lombardy. They also re-occupied Triest and Fiume, which Buonaparte had not been able sufficiently to garrison; so that the rear of the French army seemed to be endangered.

The Venetians, at this crisis, fatally for their ancient republic, if indeed its doom had not, as is most likely, been long before sealed, received with eager ears the accounts, exaggerated as they were by rumour, that the French were driven from the Tyrol, and the Austrians about to descend the Adige, and resume their ancient empire in Italy. The senate were aware that neither their government nor their persons were acceptable to the French general, and that they had offended him irreconcilably by declining the intimate alliance and contribution of troops which he had demanded. He had parted from them with such menaces as were not easily to be misunderstood. They believed, if his vengeance might not be instant, it was only the more sure; and conceiving him now deeply engaged in Germany, and surrounded by the Austrian levies en masse from the warlike countries of Hungary and Croatia, they imagined that throwing their own weight into the scale at so opportune a moment, must weigh it down for ever. To chastise their insurgent subjects of Bergamo and Brescia, was an additional temptation. Their mode of making war savoured of the ancient vindictive temper ascribed to their countrymen. An insurrection was secretly organised through all the territories which Venice still possessed on the main land, and broke out, like the celebrated Sicilian vespers, in blood and massacre. In Verona they assassinated more than a hundred Frenchmen, many of them sick soldiers in the hospitals,—an abominable cruelty, which could not fail to bring a curse on their undertaking. Fioravante, a Venetian general, marched at the head of a body of Slavonians to besiege the forts of Verona, into which the remaining French had made their retreat, and where they defended themselves. Laudon made his appearance with his Austrians and Tyrolese, and it seemed as if the fortunes of Buonaparte had at length found a check. But the awakening from this pleasing dream was equally sudden and dreadful. News arrived that preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon, and an armistice signed between France and Austria. Laudon, therefore, and the auxiliaries on whom the Venetians had so much relied, retired from Verona. The Lombards sent an army to the assistance of the French. The Slavonians, under Fioravante, after fighting vigorously, were compelled to surrender. The insurgent towns of Vicenza, Treviso, and Padua, were again occupied by the Republicans. Rumour proclaimed the terrible return of Napoleon and his army, and the ill-advised senate of Venice were lost in stupor, and scarce had sense left to decide betwixt unreserved submission and hopeless defence.

It was one of the most artful rules in Buonaparte's policy, that when he had his enemy at decided advantage, by some point having been attained which seemed to give a complete turn to the campaign in his favour, he seldom failed to offer peace, and peace upon conditions much more favourable than perhaps the opposite party expected. By doing this, he secured such immediate and undisputed fruits of his victory, as the treaty of peace contained; and he was sure of means to prosecute farther advantages at some future opportunity. He obtained, moreover, the character of generosity; and, in the present instance, he avoided the great danger of urging to bay so formidable a power as Austria, whose despair might be capable of the most formidable efforts. With this purpose, and assuming for the first time that disregard for the usual ceremonial of courts, and etiquette of politics, which he afterwards seemed to have pleasure in displaying, he wrote a letter in person to the archduke Charles on the subject of peace. This composition affects that abrupt laconic severity of style, which cuts short argument, by laying down general maxims of philosophy of a trite character, and breaks through the usual laboured periphrastic introductions with which ordinary politicians preface their proposals, when desirous of entering upon a treaty.

"It is the part of a brave soldier," he said, "to make war, but to wish for peace. The present strife has lasted six years. Have we not yet slain enough of men, and sufficiently outraged humanity? Peace is demanded on all sides. Europe at large has laid down the arms assumed against the French republic. Your nation remains alone in hostility, and yet blood flows faster than ever. This sixth campaign has commenced under onri-

" nous circumstances—End how it will, some thousands of men more will be
 " slain on either side ; and at length, after all, we must come to an agree-
 " ment, for every thing must have an end at last, even the angry passions of
 " men. The executive directory made known to the emperor their desire
 " to put a period to the war which desolates both countries, but the inter-
 " vention of the court of London opposed it. Is there then no means of com-
 " ing to an understanding, and must we continue to cut each other's throats
 " for the interests or passions of a nation, herself a stranger to the miseries
 " of war ? You, the general-in-chief, who approach by birth so near to the
 " crown, and are above all those petty passions which agitate ministers, and the
 " members of government, will you resolve to be the benefactor of mankind,
 " and the true saviour of Germany ? Do not suppose that I mean by that
 " expression to intimate, that it is impossible for you to defend yourself by
 " force of arms ; but under the supposition, that fortune were to become
 " favourable to you, Germany would be equally exposed to ravage. With
 " respect to my own feelings, General, if this proposition should be the
 " means of saving one single man's life, I should prefer a civic crown so me-
 " rited, to the melancholy glory attending military success." The whole
 tone of the letter is ingeniously calculated to give the proposition the cha-
 racter of moderation, and at the same time to avoid the appearance of too
 ready an advance towards his object. The archduke, after a space of two
 days, returned this brief answer, in which he stripped Buonaparte's proposal
 of its gilding, and treated it upon the footing of an ordinary proposal for a
 treaty of peace, made by a party, who finds it convenient for his interest :—
 " Unquestionably, sir, in making war, and in following the road prescribed by
 " honour and duty, I desire as much as you the attainment of peace for the
 " happiness of the people, and of humanity. Considering, however, that in the
 " situation which I hold, it is no part of my business to inquire into and de-
 " termine the quarrel of the belligerent powers ; and that I am not furnish-
 " ed on the part of the emperor with any plenipotentiary powers for treat-
 " ing, you will excuse me, General, if I do not enter into negotiation with
 " you touching a matter of the highest importance, but which does not lie
 " within my department. Whatever shall happen, either respecting the fu-
 " ture chances of the war, or the prospect of peace, I request you to be equally
 " convinced of my distinguished esteem." The archduke would willingly
 have made some advantage of this proposal, by obtaining an armistice of five
 hours, sufficient to enable him to form a junction with the corps of Kerpen,
 which, having left the Tyrol to come to the assistance of the commander-in-
 chief, was now within a short distance. But Buonaparte took care not to
 permit himself to be hampered by any such ill-timed engagement, and after
 some sharp fighting, in which the French as usual were successful, he was
 able to interpose such a force as to prevent the junction taking place.

Two encounters followed at Neumark and at Unzmark—both gave rise to
 fresh disasters, and the continued retreat of the archduke Charles and the
 imperial army. The French general then pressed forward on the road to
 Vienna, through mountain-passes and defiles, which could not have been
 opened otherwise than by turning them on the flank. But these natural
 fastnesses were no longer defences. Judenberg, the capital of Upper Styria,
 was abandoned to the French without a blow, and shortly after Buonaparte
 entered Gratz, the principal town of Lower Styria, with the same facility.
 The archduke now totally changed his plan of warfare. He no longer dis-
 puted the ground foot by foot, but began to retreat by hasty marches towards
 Vienna, determined to collect the last and utmost strength which the exten-
 sive states of the emperor could supply, and fight for the existence, it might
 be, of his brother's throne, under the walls of his capital. However perilous
 this resolution might appear, it was worthy of the high-spirited prince by
 whom it was adopted ; and there were reasons, perhaps, besides those arising
 from soldierly pride and princely dignity, which seemed to recommend it.
 The army with which the enterprising French general was now about to de-
 bouche from the mountains, and enter the very centre of Germany, had suf-
 fered considerably since the commencement of the campaign, not only by

the sword, but by severity of weather, and the excessive fatigue which they endured in executing the rapid marches, by which their leader succeeded in securing victory; and the French armies on the Rhine had not, as the plan of the campaign dictated, made any movement in advance corresponding with the march of Buonaparte. Nor, in the country which they were about to enter with diminished forces, could Buonaparte trust to the influence of the same moral feeling in the people invaded, which had paved the way to so many victories on the Rhine. The citizens of Austria, though living under a despotic government, are little sensible of its severities, and are sincerely attached to the emperor, whose personal habits incline him to live with his people without much form, and mix in public amusements, or appear in the public walks, like a father in the midst of his family. The nobility were as ready as in former times to bring out their vassals, and a general knowledge of discipline is familiar to the German peasant as a part of his education. Hungary possessed still the high-spirited race of barons and cavaliers, who, in their great convocation in 1740, rose at once, and drawing their sabres, joined in the celebrated exclamation, "Moriatur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!" The Tyrol was in possession of its own warlike inhabitants, all in arms, and so far successful, as to have driven Joubert out of their mountains. Trieste and Fiume were retaken in the rear of the French army. Buonaparte had no line of communication when separated from Italy, and no means of obtaining supplies, but from a country which would probably be soon in insurrection in his rear, as well as on his flanks. A battle lost, when there was neither support, reserve, nor place of arms nearer than Klagenfurt, would have been annihilation. To add to these considerations, it was now known that the Venetian republic had assumed a formidable and hostile aspect in Italy; by which, joined to a natural explosion of feeling, religious and national, the French cause was considerably endangered in that country. There were so many favourers of the old system, together with the general influence of the Catholic clergy, that it seemed not unlikely this insurrection might spread fast and far. Italy, in that case, would have been no effectual place of refuge to Buonaparte or his army. The archduke enumerated all these advantages to the cabinet of Vienna, and exhorted them to stand the last cast of the bloody dye.

But the terror, grief, and confusion, natural in a great metropolis, whose peace for the first time for so many years was alarmed with the approach of the unconquered and apparently fated general, who, having defeated and destroyed five of their choicest armies, was now driving under its walls the remnants of the last, though commanded by that prince whom they regarded as the hope and flower of Austrian warfare, opposed this daring resolution. The alarm was general, beginning with the court itself; and the most valuable property and treasure were packed up to be carried into Hungary, where the royal family determined to take refuge. It is worthy of mention, that among the fugitives of the imperial house was the arch-duchess Maria Louisa, then between five and six years old, whom our imagination may conceive agitated by every species of childish terror derived from the approach of the victorious general, on whom she was, at a future and similar crisis, destined to bestow her hand.

The court of Vienna finally adopted the alternative of treaty, and that of Leoben was set on foot. Generals Bellegarde and Merfield, on the part of the emperor, presented themselves at the head-quarters of Buonaparte, 13th of April 1797, and announced the desire of their sovereign for peace. Buonaparte granted a suspension of arms, to endure for five days only; which was afterwards extended, when the probability of the definitive treaty of peace was evident. The articles in the treaty of Leoben remained long secret; the cause of which appears to have been, that the high contracting parties were not willing comparisons should be made between the preliminaries as they were originally settled, and the strange and violent alterations which occurred in the definitive treaty of Campo Formio. These two treaties of pacification differed, the one from the other, in relation to the degree and manner how a meditated partition of the territory of Venice, of the Cis-

alpine republic, and other smaller powers, was to be accomplished, for the mutual benefit of France and Austria. It is melancholy to observe, but it is nevertheless an important truth, that there is no moment during which independent states of the second class have more occasion to be alarmed for their security, than when more powerful nations in their vicinity are about to conclude peace. It is so easy to accommodate these differences of the strong at the expense of such weaker states, as, if they are injured, have neither the power of making their complaints heard, nor of defending themselves by force, that, in the iron age in which it has been our fate to live, the injustice of such an arrangement has never been considered as offering any counterpoise to its great convenience, whatever the law of nations might teach to the contrary.

It is unnecessary to enter upon the subject of the preliminaries of Leoben, until we notice the treaty of Campo Formio, under which they were finally modified, and by which they were adjusted and controlled. It may be, however, the moment to state, that Buonaparte was considerably blamed, by the directory and others, for stopping short in the career of conquest, and allowing the house of Austria terms which left her still formidable to France, when, said the censors, it would have cost him but another victory to blot the most constant and powerful enemy of the French republic out of the map of Europe; or, at least, to confine her to her hereditary states in Germany. To such criticism he replied, in a dispatch to the directory from Leoben, during the progress of the treaty: "If at the commencement of these Italian campaigns I had made a point of going to Turin, I should never have passed the Po—had I insisted prematurely on advancing to Rome, I could never have secured Milan—and now had I made an indispensable object of reaching Vienna, I might have destroyed the republic." Such was his able and judicious defence of a conduct, which, by stopping short of some ultimate and extreme point apparently within his grasp, extracted every advantage from fear, which despair perhaps might not have yielded him, if the enemy had been driven to extremity. And it is remarkable, that the catastrophe of Napoleon himself was a corollary of a doctrine which he now laid down; for, had he not insisted upon penetrating to Moscow, there is no judging how much longer he might have held the empire of France.

The contents of the treaty of Leoben, so far as they were announced to the representatives of the French nation by the directory, only made known as part of the preliminaries, that the cession of the Belgic provinces, and of such a boundary as France might choose to demand upon the Rhine, had been admitted by Austria; and that she had consented to recognise a single republic in Italy, to be composed out of those which had been provisionally established. But shortly after it transpired that Mantua, the subject of so much and such bloody contest, and the very citadel of Italy, as had appeared from the events of these sanguinary campaigns, was to be resigned to Austria, from whose tenacious grasp it had been wrenched with so much difficulty. This measure was unpopular; and it will be found that Buonaparte had the ingenuity, in the definitive treaty of peace, to substitute an indemnification, which he ought not to have given, and which was certainly the last which the Austrians should have accepted.

It was now the time for Venice to tremble. She had declared against the French in their absence; her vindictive population had murdered many of them; and the resentment of the French soldiers was excited to the utmost, and the Venetians had no right to reckon upon the forbearance of their general. The treaty of Leoben left the senate of that ancient state absolutely without support; nay, as they afterwards learned, Austria, after pleading their cause for a certain time, had ended by stipulating for a share of their spoils, which had been assigned to her by a secret article of the treaty. The doom of the oligarchy was pronounced ere Buonaparte had yet traversed the Noric and Julian alps, for the purpose of enforcing it. By a letter to the doge, dated from the capital of Upper Styria, Napoleon, bitterly upbraiding the senate for requiring his generosity with treachery and ingratitude, demanded that they should return by his aid-de-camp who bore the letter, their instant

choice betwixt war and peace, and allowing them only four-and-twenty hours to disperse their insurgent peasantry, and submit to his clemency.

Junot, introduced into the senate, made the threats of his master ring in the astounded ears of the members, and by the blunt and rough manner of a soldier, who had risen from the ranks, added to the dismay of the trembling nobles. The senate returned a humble apology to Buonaparte, and dispatched agents to deprecate his wrath. These envoys were doomed to experience one of those scenes of violence, which were in some degree natural to this extraordinary man, but to which in certain cases he seems to have designedly given way, in order to strike consternation into those whom he addressed. "Are the prisoners at liberty?" he said, with a stern voice, and without replying to the humble greetings of the terrified envoys. They answered with hesitation, that they had liberated the French, the Polish, and the Brescians, who had been made captive in the insurrectionary war. "I will have them all—all!" exclaimed Buonaparte—"all who are in prison—on account of their political sentiments. I will go myself to destroy your dungeons on the Bridge of Tears—opinions shall be free—I will have no inquisition. If all the prisoners are not set at instant liberty, the English envoy dismissed, the people disarmed, I declare instant war. I might have gone to Vienna if I had listed—I have concluded a peace with the emperor—I have eighty thousand men, twenty gun-boats—I will hear of no inquisition, and no senate either—I will dictate the law to you—I will prove an Attila to Venice. If you cannot disarm your population, I will do it in your stead—your government is antiquated—it must crumble to pieces."

While Buonaparte, in these disjointed yet significant threats, stood before the deputies like the Argantes of Italy's heroic poet, and gave them the choice of peace and war with the air of a superior being, capable at once to dictate their fate, he had not yet heard of the massacre of Verona, or of the batteries of a Venetian fort on the Lido having fired upon a French vessel, who had run into the port to escape the pursuit of two armed Austrian ships. The vessel was alleged to have been sunk, and the master and some of the crew to have been killed. The news of these fresh aggressions did not fail to aggravate his indignation to the highest pitch. The terrified deputies ventured to touch with delicacy on the subject of pecuniary atonement. Buonaparte's answer was worthy of a Roman. "If you could proffer me," he said; "the treasures of Peru—if you could strew the whole district with gold, it could not atone for the French blood which has been treacherously spilt." Accordingly on the 3rd of May, Buonaparte declared war against Venice, and ordered the French minister to leave the city; the French troops, and those of the new Italian republics, were at the same time commanded to advance, and to destroy in their progress, wherever they found it displayed, the winged lion of Saint Mark, the ancient emblem of Venetian sovereignty. The declaration is dated at Palma Nova.

The senate of Venice, rather stupefied than stimulated by the excess of their danger, were holding on the 30th of April a sort of privy council in the apartments of the doge, when a letter from the commandant of their flotilla informed them that the French were erecting fortifications on the low grounds contiguous to the lagoons or shallow channels which divide from the main land and from each other the little isles on which the amphibious mistress of the Adriatic holds her foundation; and proposing, in the blunt style of a gallant sailor, to batter them to pieces about their ears before the works could be completed. Indeed, nothing would have been more easy than to defend the lagoons against an enemy, who, notwithstanding Napoleon's bravado, had not even a single boat. But the proposal, had it been made to an abbess and a convent of nuns, could scarce have appeared more extraordinary than it did to these degenerate nobles. Yet the sense of shame prevailed; and though trembling for the consequences of the order which they issued, the senate directed that the admiral should proceed to action. Immediately after the order was received, their deliberations were interrupted by the thunder of the cannon on either side—the Venetian gun-boats pouring

their fire on the van of the French army, which had begun to arrive at Fiumina. To interrupt these ominous sounds, two plenipotentiaries were dispatched to make intercession with the French general; and to prevent delay, the doge himself undertook to report the result.

The grand council was convoked on the 1st of May, when the doge, pale in countenance, and disconcerted in demeanour, proposed, as the only means of safety, the admission of some democratic modifications into their forms, under the direction of general Buonaparte; or, in other words, to lay their institutions at the feet of the conqueror, to be re-modelled at his pleasure. Of six hundred and ninety patricians, only twenty-one dissented from a vote which inferred the absolute surrender of their constitution. The conditions to be agreed on were indeed declared subject to the revision of the council; but this, in the circumstances, could only be considered as a clause intended to save appearances. The surrender must have been regarded as unconditional and total.

Amidst the dejection and confusion which possessed the government, some able intriguer (the secretary, it was said, of the French ambassador at Venice, whose principal had been recalled) contrived to induce the Venetian government to commit an act of absolute suicide, so as to spare Buonaparte the trouble and small degree of scandal, which might attach to totally destroying the existence of the Republic. On the 9th of May, as the committee of the great council were in close deliberation with the doge, two strangers obtruded upon those councils, which heretofore—such was the jealous severity of the oligarchy—were like those of supernatural beings, those who looked on them died. But now affliction, confusion, and fear, had withdrawn the guards from these secret and mysterious chambers, and laid open to the intrusion of strangers those stern haunts of a suspicious oligarchy, where, in other days, an official or lictor of the government might have been punished with death even for too loud a foot-fall, far more for the fatal crime of having heard more than was designed to come to his knowledge. All this was now ended; and without check or rebuke the two strangers were permitted to communicate with the senate by writing. Their advice, which had the terms of a command, was to anticipate the intended reforms of the French—to dissolve the present government—throw open their prisons—disband their Slavonian soldiers—plant the tree of liberty on the place of Saint Mark, and to take other popular measures of the same nature, the least of which, proposed but a few months before, would have been a signal of death to the individual who had dared to hint at it.

As the friendly advisers had hinted that the utmost speed was necessary, the committee scarce interposed an interval of three days, between receiving the advice and recommending it to the great council; and began in the mean while to anticipate the destruction of their government and surrender of their city, by dismantling their fleet and disbanding their soldiers. At length the great council assembled on the 31st of May. The doge had commenced a pathetic discourse on the extremities to which the country was reduced, when an irregular discharge of fire arms took place under the very windows of the council-house. All started up in confusion. Some supposed the Slavonians were plundering the citizens; some that the lower orders had risen on the nobility; others, that the French had entered Venice, and were proceeding to sack and pillage it. The terrified and timid counsellors did not wait to enquire what was the real cause of the disturbance, but hurried forward, like sheep, in the path which had been indicated to them. They hastened to despoil their ancient government of all authority, to sign in a manner its sentence of civil death—added every thing which could render the sacrifice more agreeable to Buonaparte—and separated in confusion, but under the impression that they had taken the best measure in their power for quelling the tumult, by meeting the wishes of the predominant party. But this was by no means the case. On the contrary, they had the misfortune to find that the insurrection, of which the firing was the signal, was directed not against the aristocrats, but against those who proposed the surrender of the national independence. Armed bands shouted, "Long live

“ St. Mark, and perish foreign domination !” Others indeed there were, who displayed in opposition three coloured banners, with the war cry of “ Liberty for ever !” The disbanded and mutinous soldiers mixed among these hostile groups, and threatened the town with fire and pillage.

Amid this horrible confusion, and while the parties were firing on each other, a provisional government was hastily named. Boats were dispatched to bring three thousand French soldiers into the city. These took possession of the Place of Saint Mark, while some of the inhabitants shouted ; but the greater part, who were probably not the less sensible of the execrable tyranny of the old aristocracy, saw it fall in mournful silence, because there fell, along with the ancient institutions of their country, however little some of these were to be regretted, the honour and independence of the state itself.

The terms which the French granted, or rather imposed, appeared sufficiently moderate, so far as they were made public. They announced that the foreign troops would remain so long, and no longer, than might be necessary to protect the peace of Venice—they undertook to guarantee the public debt, and the payment of the pensions allowed to the impoverished gentry. They required, indeed, the continuation of the prosecution against the commander of the fort of Luco who had fired on the French vessel ; but all other offenders were pardoned, and Buonaparte afterwards suffered even this affair to pass into oblivion ; which excited doubt whether the transaction had ever been so serious as had been alleged. Five secret and less palatable articles attended these avowed conditions. One provided for the various exchanges of territory which had been already settled at the Venetian expense betwixt Austria and France. The second and third stipulated the payment of three millions of francs in specie, and as many in naval stores. Another prescribed the cession of three ships of war, and of two frigates, armed and equipped. A fifth ratified the exaction, in the usual style of French cupidity, of twenty pictures and five hundred manuscripts.

It will be seen hereafter what advantages the Venetians purchased by all these unconscionable conditions. At the moment, they understood that the stipulations were to imply a guarantee of the independent existence of their country as a democratical state. In the mean while, the necessity for raising the supplies to gratify the rapacity of the French, obliged the provisional government to have recourse to forced loans ; and in this manner they inhospitably plundered the duke of Modena (who had fled to Venice for refuge when Buonaparte first entered Lombardy) of his remaining treasure, amounting to one hundred and ninety thousand sequins.(1)

LETTER XXXI.

Affairs of Great Britain from the return of Lord Malmesbury to the peace of Amiens, 1796—1802.—Suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England.—Admiral Jervis defeats the Spanish Fleet.—Landing of a body of French conscripts in South Wales.—Mutiny in the British Navy.—Insurrection in Ireland.—Landing of some French troops there.—Threatened invasion of England.—French expedition to Egypt.—Naval victory of Aboukir.—Siege of Acre.—Union of England and Ireland.—Expedition to the coast of Holland.—Unsuccessful attempt on Ferrol.—Negotiations for peace.—Attack on Copenhagen.—Change of Ministry.—Defeat of the French army in Egypt.—Peace of Amiens.

THE situation of Great Britain at this period became in a high degree embarrassing to those who were intrusted with the management of public affairs ;

(1) History of the Campaigns, in the years 1796—1799, in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, &c. in four volumes 8vo, 2nd edition, 1812.—Account of the Fall of the Republic of Venice.—Memoires historiques et philosophiques sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat.—New Annual Register, 1797.

for, in proportion as, from an accessory, she became a principal in the war, difficulties and dangers had accumulated around her. She now saw united against her, two powerful members of the confederacy with which she at first acted; and she had to fight for her own security, instead of pursuing schemes for humiliating a rival, and dictating in her internal concerns. Those principles of civil society which had been thought so dangerous to all established governments, that their suppression was the object of a general league, had now taken such firm root in France, that they might bid defiance to external force; and the energy first excited in their defence had terminated in a spirit of conquest sufficiently formidable to all its neighbours.

The return of lord Malmesbury from his unsuccessful negotiation threw a deep gloom upon the prospects of the country; and the funds experienced a depression beyond that of any period in the American war. An opinion now became prevalent, that the ministry had only pretended a desire for peace, that they might, with less difficulty, obtain supplies for the prosecution of the war. In order to counteract this unfavourable impression, a message from his majesty was brought down to parliament, on the 26th of December, 1796, which was to declare, that the rupture of the negotiation did not proceed from the want of a sincere desire on his part for the restoration of peace; but from the pretensions of the enemy being inconsistent with the permanent interests of the kingdom, and the general security of Europe. At the same time his majesty directed all the memorials and papers which had been exchanged in the course of the negotiation, to be laid before both houses of parliament, which was accordingly done, and various parts of the proceedings were severely censured by the opposition.

But whilst the certainty of a continuation of the war, with augmented burdens and hazards, was depressing the spirits of the nation, they received an additional shock from a suspension of payment of their notes in cash by the bank of England. That body, which was now become essential to the financial operations of government, had been called upon for such large advances of money for the payment of foreign subsidies, and other exigencies of the state, that, in the course of the past year, the directors of the bank had several times represented to the minister the impossibility of supplying all his demands. The dread of an invasion, which was now seriously apprehended, had further contributed to the want of specie by a run upon the country bankers; and the governor of the bank of England, on the 9th of February, 1797, informed Mr. Pitt, that to comply with his request of an additional advance of a million and a half to Ireland, by way of loan, would threaten ruin to the bank, and probably force the directors to close their doors. In this state of affairs, the privy council, on the 26th of February, issued an order, prohibiting the directors of the bank of England from issuing any payments in specie, till the sense of parliament could be taken on the subject, and measures adopted for supporting the public credit. On the following day the subject was communicated to parliament by a message from the throne, and on the 28th it was taken into consideration. Several warm debates ensued, in which the opposition insisted on the violent stretch of power on the part of the privy council, in thus exonerating a trading company from the payment of its debts, and urged the necessity of an enquiry into the causes of this disaster. In consequence of this, motions were carried in both houses for appointing by ballot a secret committee to examine into the affairs of the bank; and in the mean time, to remedy the inconvenience arising from the want of a circulating medium, a bill was passed authorizing the bank to issue notes of the value of one and two pounds each. The secret committee in each house brought up their report, on the 2nd and 3rd of March, to the following effect:—That there was a surplus of property belonging to the bank of £3,826,890 beyond the total of their debts, exclusive of a permanent debt from government of eleven millions and a half:—that it had lately experienced a drain of cash, owing to the prevalence of alarm, which there was now reason to suppose would go on progressively increasing; so that it was to be apprehended the bank would be deprived of the means for supplying the cash necessary for the exigencies of

the public service; and consequently that it was expedient to continue the measures already taken, for such time, and under such limitations as the wisdom of parliament should direct.

A committee of the whole house of commons, having on the 9th of March, taken into consideration the report delivered to it respecting the bank, Mr. Pitt moved for a bill to continue and confirm, for a limited time, the restriction of the issue of specie by the bank of England. While this bill was passing through the house, various clauses were proposed by the minister, of which some of the most important were—That the army and navy should be paid in specie; that bank notes should be received in payment by the collectors in every branch of the revenue; that the offer of a bank note in payment of a demand should do away the effect of an arrest in the first instance; and that the bank should be permitted to issue a sum in cash, not exceeding one hundred thousand pounds, for the accommodation of private bankers and traders in the metropolis, all which points were carried.

The early part of this year 1797, was signalized by a brilliant exploit of the British navy. France had now acquired two allies, both of them capable of powerful exertions by sea; and she naturally became inspired with the hope of overthrowing that maritime superiority of England which was so essential to her security as well as her prosperity; and the ascendancy which the French had obtained in the councils of Holland and Spain was employed in urging them to use all their efforts in augmenting their navies. The court of Madrid had used so much diligence in this department, that a large fleet was equipped for the purpose of forming a junction with the French squadron at Brest. Its force consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line; six of them mounting one hundred and twelve guns, and one of one hundred and thirty-six guns. This formidable armament, however, was inadequately manned, a great proportion of the crews being landsmen; and a mixture of expert artillery men could not supply the deficiency of sailors.

The English squadron destined to intercept this threatened junction, was composed of only fifteen ships of the line and some frigates; but it was well manned, and placed under the command of admiral sir John Jervis, an officer of first-rate talents; aided by some of the most distinguished captains in the British navy. On the 14th of February, the English admiral, cruising off cape St. Vincent on the coast of Portugal, descried the Spanish fleet under a press of sail. Without a moment's hesitation, he bore down in a line, before the enemy had time to form a regular order of battle, and separating one-third of the Spanish fleet from the rest, he reduced its force nearly to an equality. An attempt by the Spanish admiral to rejoin his separated ships was prevented by commodore Nelson, who, at one time, had to encounter the admiral and the two first-rates; but from this perilous situation he was relieved by two British ships; when finding that he could not execute his design, he made the signal for the remainder of his fleet to form together for their defence. The British admiral, however, before they could get into their stations, directed the rear most of them, some of which were entangled by others, to be attacked, and four were captured. In the mean time, the part of the Spanish fleet which had been separated from the main body had nearly rejoined it with four other ships, two of which were not in the engagement. This was a force more than equal to that which remained of the British squadron, fit, after so severe a contest, for a fresh action. The Spaniards, however, declined to face their enemy in close engagement, and returned to Cadiz. The British fleet bore off the four captured prizes, two of them carrying one hundred and twelve guns each, one eighty-four, and one seventy-four. Sir John Jervis was rewarded for his valour and skill by the title of earl St. Vincent; and Nelson, who now first began to be known to fame, received the honour of knighthood. The action deservedly ranks among those which have most conspicuously illustrated the superior courage and skill of British seamen.

A singular and apparently unmeaning expedition was set on foot by France, in the month of February this year. An armament, consisting of fourteen hundred men embarked in four vessels, three of which were large frigates;

and sailing from Brest, entered the British channel, where, about the 30th they anchored in the harbour of Ilfracombe. On being informed that the North Devon regiment of volunteers were marching towards them, they stood over to Pembrokeshire, and came to anchor in a bay near Fishguard. There the soldiers were landed, and on the 23rd advanced into a wild country with which they were totally unacquainted. The alarm was immediately given, and people assembled from all parts to oppose them. Upwards of three thousand men were soon collected, among whom were seven hundred well trained militia. Lord Cawdor, placing himself at their head, marched directly against the invaders; but instead of the expected encounter, he met a French officer bearing a letter from his commander, in which he signified a desire to enter into a negotiation for a surrender. An answer was returned requiring their immediate submission as prisoners of war, which was readily complied with, and on the next day they laid down their arms. They had no field-pieces, but were well provided with ammunition. A great part of them were in rage, and apparently taken out of prison; but what the intention of this strange enterprize was, beyond that of showing how accessible the coast of England is to invaders, remains a mystery. It, however, afforded a proof of the readiness of the people of England to defend their country.

The same month added another success to the British arms. The island of Tripidad, one of the largest in the Caribbean cluster, and the nearest to the Spanish Main, was the object of an expedition under the joint command of general Abercrombie and admiral Hervey. The Spaniards, who expected an attack, had collected for its defence a naval force of four ships of the line and some frigates, which were anchored in a bay protected by strong batteries. On the 16th of February the English squadron arrived with the intention of making an attack; but during the night the Spanish ships accidentally took fire, and were all consumed, with the exception of one which was captured. The Spaniards being thus rendered incapable of any effectual resistance, general Abercrombie lauded his troops, and with little opposition made himself master of the principal town, after which the whole island surrendered by capitulation.

At this time, a circumstance unprecedented in the annals of Great Britain transpired, and infused a general despondency throughout the nation. The seamen, who had so long been the defence and glory of their country, seemed to threaten her overthrow. Discontents had for some time subsisted among them, the principal cause of which was the smallness of their pay, and of the Greenwich pensions, which had not been augmented from the reign of Charles II. They also complained of the unequal distribution of prize money, and the severity of the naval discipline, rendered more galling by the harsh and haughty behaviour of the officers to those under their command. Some anonymous petitions from ships' companies in the channel fleet under lord Bridport, craving relief from their grievances respecting pay, had been transmitted to lord Howe in the months of February and March, which had occasioned him to make particular enquiries whether discontents were prevailing in that fleet, when he was assured they were not. No sooner, however, had the fleet returned to Portsmouth, than a secret correspondence was set on foot, and an unanimous agreement entered into, that an anchor should not be lifted till redress was obtained.

On the 15th of April, the signal being hoisted to prepare for sea, three cheers were given from the Queen Charlotte, which was answered by the rest, and the mutiny was declared. "All the efforts of the officers to enforce subordination among the men were ineffectual. The ships' companies appointed two delegates from each, who held their consultations in the cabin of the Queen Charlotte; and on the 17th an oath was administered to every seaman in the fleet, to stand firm in the general cause. Some officers who were very obnoxious to the crews were sent on shore; but in other respects the strictest discipline was observed, and the most respectful attention to their officers was enjoined, under rigorous penalties. All their proceedings indicated a concerted plan, and fixed determination to carry their point. Two petitions were drawn up and signed by the delegates, one to the

admiralty, the other to the house of commons, both couched in the most decorous language, and stating their complaints, the grounds of which appeared not unreasonable. The matter seemed so serious to government, that the board of admiralty was transferred to Portsmouth, and a kind of negotiation was entered upon with the mutineers. It was at length notified to them, that their demands were complied with, and that it was expected all would return to duty. The delegates, however, declared it to be the general resolution, that nothing could be agreed to which was not sanctioned by parliament, and sanctioned by the king's proclamation; and one of the admirals having used menaces on the occasion, the meeting bore a more hostile aspect than ever. At length lord Bridport went aboard, hoisted his flag, and acquainted them that he brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and the king's pardon; the consequence of which was that obedience was immediately restored.

From the 23rd of April to the 7th of May, the fleet remained in due subordination, when a fresh mutiny broke out, on a suspicion among the sailors that the promises made to them were not intended to be fulfilled. Lord Howe, whose influence in the navy was greater than that of any other person, then went down: and his addresses and assurances having fully satisfied their minds, they were again reduced to order. In all these measures the seamen lying at Plymouth concurred. On the 8th of May, the ministry laid before the house of commons estimates for the augmentation of pay to the seamen and marines of the navy, the sum of which was stated at four hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds. Mr. Pitt, in moving for this grant, deprecated any discussions on the case, and hoped that the house would pass its judgment by a silent vote. The opposition, however, thought that the ministers had been culpably negligent, in not having sooner applied to the house on the business, and a motion of censure to that effect was made, though afterwards withdrawn.

It was now hoped that these concessions would prove entirely satisfactory to a body of men in general so well affected to their country; but they had unfortunately been extorted, not granted, and the same method lay open for further demands. On the 22nd of May, a mutiny broke out in the men of war lying at the Nore, the crews of which, taking possession of their ships, elected delegates, and drew up a statement of requisitions to be laid before the admiralty. They were joined on the 4th of June, by four men of war from admiral Duncan's fleet off the coast of Holland. At the head of this revolt was one Parker, a man of some education and good parts, and remarkable for a resolute disposition. The admiralty having returned a negative to their demands, as being incompatible with the orders and regulations of the navy, Parker replied with a declaration, that the seamen had determined to keep possession of the fleet till their grievances were redressed. The lords of the admiralty repairing to Sheerness had an interview with the delegates, whose behaviour was so audacious, that they returned without any prospect of agreement. This mutiny was the more alarming, as the position of the ships gave them the command of the navigation of the Thames, and as it was organized in a perfectly democratical form, and exhibited tokens of deep disaffection. It was, therefore, determined by government, after an ineffectual attempt to bring back the men to duty by an offer of pardon, to employ force for their reduction; and they were confirmed in this resolution by the disapprobation which the Portsmouth and Plymouth fleets manifested at these proceedings. The buoys at the mouth of the river were therefore taken up; batteries were erected on the banks for firing red-hot ball, and a proclamation was issued declaring the ships in a state of rebellion, forbidding all intercourse with them from the shore. At length, becoming sensible that their fellow-seamen and the whole nation were against them, they began to waver and differ among themselves. One ship after another stole away—the well-affected on board the remainder were encouraged to oppose the more violent—and after some blood-shed among themselves, all the ships submitted. Parker and his fellow-delegates were given up. The former, after a deliberate trial, was capitally condemned and executed, ac-

knowledging the justice of his sentence. Some of the other delegates also suffered, but at length a general pardon was issued to the revolted.

The subsequent conduct of the seamen, however, speedily effaced this stain from the annals of the British navy. The fleet under the command of admiral Duncan, consisting chiefly of ships which had been engaged in the mutiny, sailed to the Texel, where for some time it blockaded the Dutch fleet. On the latter venturing out, an engagement ensued on the 11th of October, in which the English obtained a complete victory—nine of the Dutch ships were captured, and their admiral, De Winter, taken prisoner. For this important service, the British admiral was raised to the peerage, by the title of viscount Duncan, and other marks of royal and national favour were conferred upon him. In such high estimation was this signal victory held, that a day of thanksgiving being appointed, the king and two houses of parliament went in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral, to acknowledge the divine interposition in behalf of the British arms.

During the course of the year 1797, the state of Ireland was calculated to inspire the rulers of France with a degree of confidence which they otherwise might not have assumed in their negotiations with the English minister. The dissensions in that part of the empire, inflamed by a variety of aggravations, had proceeded so far, that the malecontents, who assumed the title of United Irishmen, regularly organized themselves, throughout the country, and sent deputies to treat with the French for assistance in throwing off the yoke of England. Not discouraged by the failure of the expedition of general Hoche, at the close of the preceding year, they now laboured more firmly to cement their alliance with France, and establish a regular correspondence with the directory. A memorial was transmitted to the latter, stating that one hundred and fifty thousand United Irishmen were enrolled and organized in the province of Ulster. This statement, calculated to make their force appear worthy of the attention and support of the French republic, was no doubt much exaggerated, but their number was certainly formidable. The consequence was that new arrangements were made for the invasion of Ireland and great preparations for that purpose took place at Brest and in the Texel—it being intended that both the French and Batavian republics should unite in the attempt: but the memorable victory gained by lord Duncan over the Dutch fleet, on the 11th of October, rendered the whole plan abortive. Such, however, was the state of Ireland at the close of 1797.

The British parliament assembled on the 2nd of November, and was opened by a speech from the throne, of which the principal topics were, the failure of the negotiation for peace, the flourishing state of the revenue, and the naval successes, with the necessity of continuing the most vigorous exertions till a more just and pacific spirit should prevail on the part of the enemy. The state of Ireland became a more prominent object of attention this year, among the concerns of the British empire. The numerous class of the disaffected in that country, though much disconcerted by the failure of their expectations of assistance from France, were so hard pressed by the vigorous and severe measures of government, who had obtained intelligence of their plans, that they resolved no longer to delay making trial of their strength by arms. In the month of February they had formed a military committee, which drew up instructions for their officers and commanders; but the great body of the lower class were wholly destitute of proper arms and accoutrements, for which they had relied on importations from France and Holland. Such, however, was their ardour, that they crowded to the standards of their chiefs, and, during that and the following month, the spirit of disaffection had spread itself over many of the southern districts, whilst an active correspondence was carried on with those of the north. A general insurrection had been determined on, in which the castle of Dublin, the camp near it, and the artillery, were to have been surprised in one night, and other places seized at the same time. The disclosure of the plot, however, by one of the conspirators, led to the seizure of fourteen of the delegates at a house in Dublin; and the information of a militia officer, who had entered among them as a spy, produced other discoveries which entirely defeated their

design. Nothing now remained but an appeal to open arms. On the 24th of May 1798, they commenced their operations by an attack on the towns of Naas, Carlow, and other places, from which they were repulsed with loss. Next day they proceeded, about fifteen thousand strong, against Wexford, and entirely defeated part of the garrison which sallied out to meet them. On the 30th the town surrendered, after part of the Protestant inhabitants had escaped: those who remained were put under confinement. They also made themselves masters of Enniscorthy by the help of its Catholic inhabitants: but in a furious attack on New Ross, which was defended by a strong division of the army, they were repulsed with great slaughter. Enraged at this defeat, they massacred in cold blood more than a hundred of their Protestant prisoners at Wexford; for the insurrection had now assumed the precise character of a popish rebellion, as in former times, and the foresight of this result prevented any co-operation from the Protestant political malecontents in the north. Several other actions took place, of which the issues were various, until general Lake, who had collected a powerful force, on the 21st of June attacked the main body of the rebels posted on Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy. After a vigorous resistance, they were broken and fled; and such was their loss in the battle, and during the pursuit, that the whole party were completely disheartened. Wexford, and all the other towns which they had taken, were given up; and in the south of Ireland none remained in arms except a few strolling parties, who subsisted by pillage and plunder. In the north the counties of Down and Antrim had joined in the insurrection, and a force was mustered which ventured to oppose the troops sent against them; but a defeat which they sustained on the 12th of June, near Ballinahinch, reduced them to submission.

Lord Camden, who was at this time viceroy, was now recalled, and earl Cornwallis, an officer of high military character, was appointed to succeed him. He carried out with him a general pardon for all who should submit, with a few exceptions. Some of those who had been apprehended for the conspiracy above mentioned were executed; of others the punishment was commuted, and justice was duly tempered with mercy. Ireland would now in all probability have been soon tranquillized, had not the French at that moment sent among them a body of about nine hundred regular troops, under the command of general Humbert. These men were landed at Killybegs, on the 22nd of August, from three French frigates, and instantly marched to Castlebar, where they were joined by a small number of Catholics of the neighbourhood. From Castlebar they proceeded eastward into the heart of the country, probably expecting to become the rallying point of all the disaffected in the island. The invaders and those who had joined them crossed the Shannon, the British force following in column to watch their movements. In the mean time, lord Cornwallis advanced with a body of troops to Carrick, and being joined on the 8th of September by general Lake, at a place called Ballinamuck, a short action ensued, which terminated in the surrender of the French, and the dispersion or capture of the rebels.

Another attempt on the part of the French to foment the expiring embers of disaffection in Ireland was made soon after, but with no better success. A squadron, consisting of one line of battle ship and eight frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, destined for Ireland, was fallen in with off the north western coast of that island by the English squadron under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, on the 12th of October, who captured the ship of the line and three of the frigates; and eventually the whole, except two of the frigates, came into possession of the English. This abortive effort terminated the unhappy rebellion in the sister country, an enterprise more alarming than dangerous, and not less weakly conducted than rashly undertaken. Of the number of lives lost in this deplorable contest, every estimate that has been made must be vague and uncertain: but a moderate computation will not reduce them below thirty thousand. The British empire, in a war kindled within its own bowels, lost a great number of its bravest troops, who might have been profitably employed against its foreign enemy; and

the multitude of insurgents, who fell victims to a fatal delusion could not be calculated.

Foiled in all their attempts upon Ireland, the directory, about the end of October 1797, announced that there should be instantly assembled on the shores of the ocean, an army, to be called the army of England, and the citizen-general Buonaparte, now recently returned from Italy, was named to the command of it. The intelligence was received in every part of France with all the éclat which attends the anticipation of certain victory. The address of the directory enumerated all the conquests which France had won, and the efforts she had made; and prepared the French nation to expect the fruit of so many victories and sacrifices when they had punished England for her perfidy and maritime tyranny. "It is at London," said they, "where the misfortunes of all Europe are forged and manufactured—it is in London that they must be terminated." In a solemn meeting held by the directory, for the purpose of receiving the treaty of peace with Austria, which was presented to them by Berthier and Mongé on the part of Buonaparte, the latter who had been one of the commissioners for pillaging Italy of her pictures and statues, and who, in all probability, looked forwards to a new harvest of rarities in England, accepted, on the part of the army and general the task imposed by the French rulers. "The government of England," said they, "and the French republic cannot both continue to exist—you have given the word which shall fall—already our victorious troops brandish their arms, and Scipio is at their head!"

Buonaparte now made a complete survey of the coast of the British channel, pausing at each remarkable point, and making those observations and calculations which induced him to adopt at a subsequent period the renewal of the project for a descent upon England. The result of his observations decided his opinion, that in the present case the undertaking should be abandoned. The immense preparations and violent threats of invasion were carried into no more serious effect than the landing of a handful of men in South Wales. The demonstrations of invasion, however, were ostensibly continued, and every thing seemed arranged on either side for a desperate collision betwixt the two most powerful nations in Europe. But while all France and England had their eyes fixed on the fleets and armies destined against the latter country, the directory and their general had no intention of using their preparations, except as a blind to cover their real object, which was the celebrated expedition to Egypt.

Laying aside, therefore, the character of general of the army of England, and adjourning to a future day the conquest of that hostile island, Napoleon turned his eyes and his thoughts eastward, and meditated in the distant countries of the rising sun, a scene worthy his talents, his military skill and his unbounded ambition. The directory, on the other hand, eager to rid themselves of his perilous residence among them, hastened to accomplish the means of his expedition to Egypt, upon a scale far more formidable than any which had yet sailed from Modern Europe, for the invasion and subjection of distant and peaceful realms. It was soon whispered abroad, that the invasion of England was to be postponed, until the conqueror of Italy, having attained a great and national object, by the success of a secret expedition fitted out on a scale of stupendous magnitude, should be at leisure to resume the conquest of Britain.

On the 19th of May, 1798 this magnificent armament set sail from Toulon, illuminated by a splendid sun-rise. The line-of-battle ships extended for a league, and the semicircle formed by the convoy was at least six leagues in extent. They were joined on the 8th of June, as they swept along the Mediterranean, by a large fleet of transports, having on board the division of general Dessaix. The 10th of June, brought the armament before Malta, where Buonaparte landed some of his troops, and took possession of the almost impregnable fortresses with scarce any opposition. Having established a garrison in Malta, which he destined to be an intermediate station between France and Egypt; on the 19th, the general resumed his expedition. On the coast of Candia, while the *savants* were gazing on the rock, where Jupiter is

fabled to have been nurtured, Napoleon learned that a new enemy of a different description from the Knights of Malta, was in his immediate vicinity. This was the English squadron under the command of lord Nelson. This British admiral, uniformly unconquerable on his own element as Buonaparte had hitherto shewn himself upon shore, was now in full and anxious pursuit of his renowned cotemporary. Re-inforced by a squadron of ten ships of the line, a meeting with Napoleon was the first wish of his heart, and was echoed back by the meanest sailor on board his numerous fleet. The French had been heard of at Malta, but as the British admiral was about to proceed thither, he received news of their departure, and concluding that Egypt must unquestionably be the object of their expedition he shaped his course for the mouth of the Nile. It happened singularly enough, that although lord Nelson anticipated the arrival of the French at Alexandria, and accordingly directed his course thither, yet keeping a more direct path than the French fleet had taken, when he arrived there on the 28th of June, he heard nothing of the enemy, who, in the mean time were proceeding to the very same port. Nelson, therefore, set sail for Rhodes and Syracuse; and thus were the two large and hostile fleets traversing the same narrow sea, without being able to attain any certain information concerning each others movements. This was partly owing to the English admiral having no frigates with him, which might have been detached to cruise for intelligence; and partly to a continuance of thick hazy weather, which at once concealed the French fleet from their adversaries, and obliging them to keep close together diminished the chance of discovery. On the 26th, according to Denon, lord Nelson's fleet was actually seen by the French standing to the westward, although the haze prevented the English from observing their enemy, whose squadron held an opposite direction.

On the 20th of June the French fleet came in sight of Alexandria, and saw before them the city of the Ptolemies and of Cleopatra, with its double harbour, its Pharos, and its ancient and gigantic monuments of grandeur. The disembarkation of the French army took place about a league and a half from Alexandria, at an anchorage called Marabout. It was not accomplished without the loss of boats and men; but as soon as five or six thousand men were landed, Buonaparte commenced his march towards Alexandria, when the Turks, incensed at this hostile invasion on the part of a nation with whom they were at profound peace, shut the gates and manned the walls against their reception. But the walls were ruinous, and presented breaches in many places; and the chief weapons of resistance were musketry and stones. The conquerors of Italy forced their passage over such obstacles, though neither easily nor with impunity. Two hundred French were killed. There was severe military execution done upon the garrison, and the town was abandoned to plunder for three hours.

From the moment that Buonaparte conceived the idea of invading Egypt, the destruction of the power of the Mamelukes must have been determined on as his first object; and no sooner had he captured Alexandria than he announced his purpose. He issued a proclamation, in which he professed his respect for God, the prophet, and the Koran: his friendship for the Sublime Porte, of which he affirmed the French to be the faithful allies; and his determination to make war upon the Mamelukes. He commanded that prayers should be continued in the mosques as usual, with some slight modifications, and that all true Mussulmen should exclaim, "Glory to the sultan, and to the French army his allies! Accursed be the Mamelukes, and good fortune to the land of Egypt!"

On the 7th of July, the army marched from Alexandria against the Mamelukes. Their course was up the Nile; and a small flotilla of gun-boats ascended the river to protect their right flank, while the infantry traversed a desert of burning sands, at a distance from the stream, and without a drop of water to relieve their tormenting thirst. The army of Italy, accustomed to the enjoyments of that delicious country, were astonished at the desolation they saw around them. "Is this the country," said they, "in which we are to receive our farms of seven acres each? The general might have

“ allowed us to take as much as we chose ; no one would have abused the “ privilege.” Their officers, too, expressed disgust and horror ; and even generals of such celebrity as Murat and Lannes threw their hats on the sand, and trod on their cockades. It required all Buonaparte’s authority to maintain order : so much were the French disgusted with the commencement of the campaign. But to add to this embarrassment, the enemy began to appear around them. Mamelukes and Arabs, concealed behind the hillocks of sand, interrupted their march at every opportunity, and woe to the soldier who straggled from the ranks, were it only fifty yards : some of these horsemen were sure to dash at him, slay him on the spot, and make off ere a musket could be discharged at him.

As the French army advanced they had the mortification to see the whole plain covered with Mamelukes, mounted on the finest Arabian horses, and armed with pistols, carabines, and blunderbusses of the best English workmanship, their plumed turbans waving in the air, and their rich dresses and arms glittering in the sun. Entertaining a high contempt for the French force, as consisting almost wholly of infantry, this splendid barbaric chivalry watched every opportunity for charging them, nor did a single straggler escape the edge of their sabres. Their charge was nearly as swift as the wind, and as their severe bits enabled them to halt, or wheel their horses at full gallop, their retreat was as rapid as their advance. Even the practised veterans of Italy were at first embarrassed by this new mode of fighting, and lost several men, especially when fatigue caused any one to fall out of the ranks, in which case his fate became inevitable. They were, however, soon reconciled to fighting the Mamelukes, when they discovered that each of these horsemen carried about him his fortune, and that it frequently consisted of considerable sums in gold.

After fourteen days of such marches as have now been described, the French army arrived within six leagues of Cairo, and beheld at a distance the celebrated pyramids ; but they learned at the same time, that Murad Bey, with twenty two of his brethren, at the head of their Mamelukes, had formed an entrenched camp at a place called Embabat, with the design of covering Cairo, and giving battle to the French. On the 21st of July, as the latter continued to advance, they saw their enemy in the field and in full force. A splendid line of cavalry, under Murad and the other Beys, displayed the whole strength of the Mamelukes. Their right rested on the imperfectly entrenched camp, in which lay twenty thousand infantry defended by forty pieces of cannon ; but the infantry were an undisciplined rabble—the guns wanted carriages, and were mounted on clumsy wooden frames—and the fortifications of the camp were but commenced, consequently presented no formidable opposition. Buonaparte made his dispositions, extending his line to the right so as to keep out of gun-shot of the entrenched camp, and have only to encounter the line of cavalry. Murad Bey saw his movement, and perfectly aware of its consequences, prepared to charge with his magnificent body of horse, declaring he would cut the French up like gourds. Buonaparte, as he directed the infantry to form squares to receive them, called out to his men, “ From yonder Pyramids, twenty centuries behold your actions.” The Mamelukes advanced with the utmost speed and corresponding fury, charging with horrible yells. They disordered one of the French squares of infantry, which would have been sabred in an instant, but that the mass of this fiery militia was a little behind the advanced guard. The French had a moment to restore order and they availed themselves of it. The combat then in some degree resembled that which about twenty years afterwards took place at Waterloo :—the hostile cavalry furiously charging the squares, of infantry and trying by the most undaunted efforts of courage, to break in upon them at every practicable point, while a tremendous fire of musketry, grape-shot, and shells crossing in various directions, repaid their audacity. Nothing in war was ever seen more desperate than the exertions of the Mamelukes. Finding it impossible to force their horses through the French squares, they were seen to wheel them round, and rein them back on the ranks, that they might disorder them by kicking. As they became frantic with despair, they

hurled at the immovable phalanxes, which they could not break, their pistols, their poniards, and their carabines. Those who fell wounded, to the ground, dragged themselves on, to cut at the legs of the French with their crooked sabres; but their efforts were fruitless. The Mamelukes after the most courageous exertions to accomplish their purpose were finally beaten off with great slaughter; and as they could not form nor act in squadron, their retreat became a confused flight. The greater part attempted to return to their camp, from that sort of instinct, as Napoleon expressed it, which leads fugitives to retire in the same direction in which they had advanced. By taking this route they placed themselves betwixt the French army and the Nile; and the continued insupportable fire of the former soon obliged them to plunge into the river, in the hope of escaping by swimming to the opposite bank—a desperate effort in which few succeeded. Their infantry at the same time evacuated their camp without a show of resistance, precipitated themselves into the boats, and endeavoured to cross the Nile, most of whom also lost their lives. The French soldiers long afterwards occupied themselves in fishing for the drowned Mamelukes, and rarely failed to find money and valuables upon all whom they could recover.

Thus were destroyed, in a great measure, the finest cavalry, considered as individual horsemen, that were ever known to exist. "Could I have united the Mameluke horse to the French infantry," said Buonaparte, "I should have reckoned myself master of the world." The destruction of a body hitherto regarded as invincible, struck terror, not only through Egypt, but far into Africa and Asia, wherever the Mahometan religion prevailed; and the rolling fire of musketry by which the victory was achieved, procured for Napoleon the oriental appellation of "sultan Kebir," the king of fire. After this combat, which, to render it more striking to the Parisians, Buonaparte denominated "the battle of the pyramids," Cairo surrendered without resistance. The shattered remains of the Mamelukes who had swam the Nile and united under Ibrahim Bey, were compelled to retreat into Syria. A party of three hundred French cavalry ventured to attack them at Salahieh, but were severely handled by Ibrahim Bey and his followers, who having cut many of them to pieces, pursued their retreat without further interruption. Lower Egypt was now completely in the hands of the French, and thus far the expedition of Buonaparte had been perfectly successful. But the sequel will shew that even the most fortunate of men cannot always escape reverses, and a severe one now awaited Napoleon.

The order of events has thus brought us to notice one of the most brilliant actions of the English navy,—a conquest achieved by the admiral whose exploits so indisputably asserted the right of Britain to the dominion of the ocean:—a tale at which the hearts of Britons will long continue to glow with honest pride.

When Buonaparte and his army were safely landed in Egypt, policy seemed to demand that the naval squadron by which they had been escorted, should have been sent back to France as soon as possible; but why this plan was not adopted has never been satisfactorily explained. Napoleon himself asserted that he positively commanded admiral Brueyes either to carry his squadron into the harbour of Alexandria, or, that being found impracticable, instantly to sail for Corfu. The harbour, according to the reports of the Turkish pilots, was much too shallow to admit without danger vessels of such a depth of water; and it can scarcely be questioned that the admiral would have embraced the alternative of proceeding to Corfu, had such a step been in reality permitted by his orders. But vice-admiral Gantheume, who was himself in the battle of Aboukir, and who with difficulty escaped from the slaughter, and was entrusted by Buonaparte with drawing up the account of the disaster, which he transmitted to the minister of war, gives a different statement; for thus his dispatch runs: "Perhaps it may be said that it would have been advisable to have quitted the coast as soon as the disembarkation had taken place. But considering the orders of the commander-in-chief, and the incalculable force afforded to the land-army by the presence of the squadron, the admiral thought it his duty not to quit

"these seas." Unable, therefore, to enter the harbour of Alexandria, the French admiral believed his squadron safely moored in the celebrated bay of *Aboukir*. There they formed a compact line of battle, of a semi-circular form, anchored so close to the shoal-water and surf, that it was thought impossible to get between them and the land; and they consequently concluded that they could be brought to action on the starboard side only.

On the 1st of August, the British fleet appeared; and Nelson had no sooner reconnoitred the French position than he resolved to force it at every risk. Where the French ships could ride, he argued with instantaneous decision, that there must be room for English vessels to anchor between them and the shore. Accordingly he made signal for the attack. As the vessels approached the French anchorage, they received a heavy and raking fire, to which they could make no return; but they kept their bows to the enemy, and continued to near their line. The squadrons were nearly of the same numerical strength; the French had thirteen ships of the line and four frigates—the English, thirteen ships of the line and one fifty-gun ship. But the French had three eighty-gun ships, besides the *L'Orient*, a superb vessel of one hundred and twenty guns—all the British were seventy-fours. The van of the English fleet, six in number, rounded successively the French line, and dropping anchor betwixt them and the shore, opened a tremendous fire. Nelson himself, and his other vessels ranged along the same French ships on the outer side, thus placing them betwixt two fires, while the rest of the French line remained for a time unable to take a share in the combat. The battle commenced with the utmost fury, and lasted till the sun having set and the night fallen, there was no light by which the combat could be continued, except the flashes which issued from the continuous broadsides. Already, however, some of the French ships were captured, and the British advancing onwards assailed those which had not yet been engaged. In the mean time, a broad and dreadful light was thrown on the scene of action, by the breaking out of a conflagration on board the *L'Orient*, the French admiral's flag-ship. Brueyes himself had by this time fallen by a cannon shot. The flames soon mastered the immense vessel, when the carnage was so terrible as to prevent every attempt at extinguishing them; and the *L'Orient* remained blazing like a volcano in the middle of the combat, rendering, for a time, the dreadful spectacle visible. At length, and while the battle continued as furious as ever, the burning vessel blew up with an explosion so tremendous, that for a while it silenced the fire on both sides, and made an awful pause in the midst of what had been but lately so horrible a tumult. The cannonade was at first slowly and partially resumed; but ere midnight it raged with all its original fury. In the morning the only two French ships, who had their colours flying, cut their cables and put to sea accompanied by two frigates; being all that remained undestroyed and uncaptured of the gallant navy that so lately escorted Buonaparte and his fortunes in triumph across the Mediterranean.

Such was the victory of *Aboukir*: the advantages of the day, great as they were, might have been pushed much farther if Nelson had been possessed of frigates and small craft. The store-ships and transports in the harbour of Alexandria would then have been infallibly destroyed. As it was, the results were of the utmost importance, and the destinies of the French army became proportionally altered. They had no longer any means of communicating with the mother-country, but became the inhabitants of an insulated province, compelled to rely exclusively on the resources which they had brought with them, joined to those which Egypt might afford. Buonaparte, however surprised at this reverse, is said to have exhibited great composure of mind. Three thousand French seamen, the remainder of nearly six thousand engaged in that dreadful battle, were sent ashore by cartel, and formed a valuable addition to Napoleon's forces. Nelson, more grieved if possible at being frustrated of his complete purpose, than rejoiced at his victory, left the coast after establishing a blockade on the port of Alexandria.

Buonaparte now set himself in good earnest to augment his means of defence, or conquest, and in acquiring the information necessary to protect

what he had gained and extend his dominions. He undertook a journey to the isthmus of Suez, the well known interval which connects Asia with Africa—and visited the celebrated fountains of Moses, where, misled by a guide, he had nearly been drowned in the advancing tides of the Red Sea. This, he observed, would have furnished a text to all the preachers in Europe! While engaged in this expedition, or speedily after his return, he learned that two Turkish armies had assembled, one at Rhodes, and the other in Syria, with the view of recovering Egypt. The daring genius, which had always desired to anticipate the attempts of the enemy, determined him to march with a strong force for the occupation of Syria, and thus at once to alarm the Turks by the progress which he expected to make in that province, as well as to avoid being attacked in Egypt by two Turkish armies at the same time. His commencement was as successful as his enterprise was daring. A body of Mamelukes was dispersed by a night attack. The fort of El-Arish, considered as one of the keys of Egypt, fell easily into his hands; and ultimately at the head of about ten thousand men, he traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, and entered Palestine without much loss. While his soldiers looked with fear on the “waste-howling wilderness” which they saw around, there was something in the extent and lowliness of the scene that corresponded with the swelling soul of Napoleon, and accommodated itself to his ideas of immense and boundless space.

When he entered the Holy Land, Buonaparte was again called to attack a body of Mamelukes whom he defeated, and his army occupied without resistance Gaza, anciently a city of the Philistines, in which they found supplies of provisions. Jaffa, a celebrated city during the Crusades was the next object of attack; it was bravely assaulted and fiercely defended. The French valour and discipline, however, surmounted all obstacles, the place was carried by storm; three thousand Turks were put to the sword, and the town was abandoned to the license of the soldiery, which, Buonaparte himself admitted, never assumed a shape more frightful! It was not, however, to the ordinary horrors attending the storming of a town that the charge against Napoleon is on this occasion limited. He is accused of having been guilty of an action of great injustice and horrid barbarity; and what is still worse, he admitted the fact and justified the charge. The case, when stripped of colouring and exaggeration stands as follows.

After the breach had been stormed, a large part of the garrison of Jaffa, estimated by Buonaparte himself at twelve hundred men, remained on the defensive, and held out in the mosques, and a sort of citadel to which they had retreated, till, at length, despairing of succour, they surrendered their arms, and were apparently admitted to quarter. Of this body, such as were Egyptians were carefully separated from the Turks, Maugrabians, and Arnaouts; and while the first were restored to liberty, and sent back to their country, these last were placed under a strong guard. Provisions were distributed to them, and they were permitted to go by detachments in quest of water. This happened on the 7th of March when, according to all appearance, they were treated as prisoners of war. Two days afterwards, this body of prisoners were marched out of Jaffa in the centre of a large square battalion, commanded by general Bon. Miot, who wrote the history of the expedition to Egypt, assures us that he himself mounted his horse, accompanied the melancholy column, and witnessed the event. The Turks foresaw their fate, but used neither entreaties nor complaints to avert it; they marched on silent and composed. Having been escorted to the sand-hills on the south-east of Jaffa, they were divided into small bodies and shot. The execution lasted a considerable time, and the wounded were dispatched with the bayonet. Their bodies were heaped together, and formed a pyramid which is said to be still visible; but the mangled corpses are now converted into a heap of human bones.

Determined to prosecute the conquest of Syria, Buonaparte now resolved to advance to Saint Jean d’Acre, so renowned in the wars of Palestine. The Turkish pacha, or governor of Syria, at this time was Achmet, who by his unrelenting cruelties and executions, had procured for himself the terrible

distinction of Djezzar, or the Butcher. Buonaparte addressed this formidable chief in two letters, offering his alliance, and threatening vengeance should his proffer be rejected; but to neither did the pacha return any answer; in the second instance he put the messenger to death. The French general advanced against Acre vowing revenge; but there were obstacles to the success of his enterprise on which he had not calculated. The pacha had communicated information of the approach of Napoleon to sir Sidney Smith, to whom had been committed the charge of assisting the Turks, and who for that purpose was cruizing in the Levant. He hastened to sail for Acre with the *Tigre* and *Theseus*, two ships of the line; and arriving there two days before the French made their appearance, contributed greatly to place the town in a respectable state of defence.

Sir Sidney Smith, who so highly distinguished himself on this occasion, had been long celebrated for his enterprising spirit and intrepid courage. Scarcely had he arrived at Acre, when the *Theseus*, which had been detached to intercept any French vessels that might be attending on Buonaparte's march, descried a small flotilla stealing along under Mount Carmel, and he had the good fortune to capture seven out of nine of them. They proved to be a convoy from *Damietta*, bound for Acre, having on board heavy cannon, platforms, ammunition, and other necessary articles. These cannon and military stores, designed to form the siege of Acre, now became eminently useful in its defence, and the result of their capture was eventually decisive of the struggle. General Philippeaux, a French royalist, an officer of engineers, immediately applied himself to place the cannon thus acquired, amounting to between thirty and forty pieces, upon the walls which they had been intended to destroy. On the 17th of March, the French came in sight of Acre, and immediately commenced their operations. They proceeded to open trenches, although the guns which they had to place in them were only twelve pounders. The point of attack was a large tower, which predominated over the rest of the fortifications.

On the 28th of March a breach was effected, and a mine that had been run under the extreme defences, was sprung, and on that day the French proceeded to the assault. They advanced at the charging step, under a murderous fire from the walls, but had the mortification to find a deep ditch between them and the tower. They, nevertheless, crossed it by means of the scaling ladders which they carried with them, and forced their way as far as the tower, from which, it is said, the defenders, terrified by the fate of Jaffa, were beginning to fly. But they were checked by the interference of Djezzar himself, who fired his own pistols at the French, and upbraided the moslems who were retreating from the walls. The defences were again manned; the French, unable to support the renewed fire, were checked and forced back, and the Turks falling upon them in their retreat with sabre in hand, put to death a number of their best men, among whom was Maily the commander of the detachment. Sorties were made from the place to destroy the French works. While the contest was thus fiercely maintained on both sides, the besiegers were threatened with other dangers. An army of moslems of various nations, all actuated by the same religious zeal, had formed themselves in the mountains of Samaria, and uniting with them the warlike inhabitants of the country, now called *Naplous*, determined on the plan of attacking the French army lying before Acre on one side, while Djezzar and his allies should assail them on the other. Kleber, with his division, was dispatched by Buonaparte to disperse this assemblage. But though he obtained considerable advantages over detached parties of the Syrian army, their strength was so disproportioned, that in a little time, while maintaining a position near Mount Tabor, with two or three thousand men, he was surrounded by ten times his own number. Buonaparte was, therefore, compelled to hasten to his assistance; and leaving two divisions to keep the trenches before Acre, he penetrated into the country in three columns. The attack, made on various points was everywhere successful: the camp of the Syrian army was taken; and their defeat, almost their dis-

persian was accomplished, while their scattered remains fled to Damascus. Buonaparte now returned, crowned with laurels, to the siege of Acre.

The arrival of thirty pieces of cannon from Jaffa, now seemed to promise that success to the French which hitherto had been denied them. It was about this time that, walking on the mount which still retains the name of Richard Cœur de Lion, Napoleon thus addressed himself to Murat, as he pointed to Saint Jean d'Acre: "The fate of the east depends upon yonder petty town. Its conquest will insure the main object of my expedition, and Damascus will be the first-fruit of it." Repeated and desperate assaults, indeed, proved that the consequence which he attached to the taking of Acre, was as great as his words expressed. The assailants suffered severely on these occasions, for they were exposed to the fire of two ravelins, or external fortifications, constructed under Philippeaux's directions, and at the same time enfiladed by the fire of the British shipping. At length, employing all the power of their heavy artillery, Buonaparte, in spite of a bloody and obstinate opposition, forced his way to the disputed tower, and made a lodgment on the second story. It, however, afforded no access to the town; and the troops remained there as in a *cul-de-sac*, the lodgment being covered from the English and Turkish fire by a screen constructed partly of packs of cotton, partly of the dead bodies of the slain, built up along with them.

At this critical moment, a fleet, bearing re-inforcements long hoped for and much needed, appeared in view of the garrison. It consisted of Turkish troops under the command of Hassan Bey. Yet near as they were, the danger was imminent that Acre might be taken ere they could land. To prevent such a misfortune, sir Sidney Smith in person proceeded to the disputed tower, at the head of a body of British seamen armed with pikes. They united themselves to a corps of brave Turks, who defended the breach rather with heavy stones than with other weapons. The heap of ruins which divided the contending parties served as a breast-work to both. The muzzles of the muskets touched each other, and the spearheads of the standards were locked together. At this moment one of the Turkish regiments of Hassan's army, which had by this time landed, made a sortie upon the French; and though they were driven back, yet the diversion occasioned the besiegers to be forced from their lodgment. Abandoning the ill-omened tower, which had cost the besiegers so many men, Buonaparte now turned his efforts towards a considerable breach that had been effected in the curtain, and which promised a more easy entrance. It proved indeed to them but too easy; for Djezzar pacha opposed to the assault on this occasion, a new mode of tactics. Confiding in his superior numbers, he suffered the French, who were commanded by the intrepid general Lannes, to surmount the breach without opposition, by which they penetrated into the body of the place. They had no sooner entered, however, than a numerous body of Turks mingled among them with loud shouts, and ere they had time or room to avail themselves of their discipline, brought them into that state of close fighting, where strength and agility are superior to every other acquirement. The Turks, wielding the sabre in one hand and the poniard in the other, cut to pieces almost all the Frenchmen who had entered. General Rambaud lay a headless corpse in the breach. Lannes was with difficulty brought off severely wounded. The Turks gave no quarter; and instantly cutting off the heads of those whom they slew, they carried them to Djezzar, who sat in public distributing money to those who brought him the bloody trophies which now lay piled in heaps around him. This was the sixth assault upon these tottering and blood-stained ramparts. "Victory," said Napoleon, "is to the most persevering;" and, contrary to the advice of Kleber, he resolved upon another and yet more desperate attack.

This last and final effort was made on the 21st of May, 1799. The attack in the morning failed, and colonel Veneux renewed it at mid-day. "Be assured," said he to Buonaparte, "Acre shall be yours to-night, or Veneux will die on the breach." He kept his word, but it was at the expense of his life! Bon was also slain, whose division had been the executioners of the garrison of Jaffa. The French now retreated, dispirited, and despairing of

success. The contest had been carried on at half a musket shot distance; the bodies of the dead lying around, putrid under the burning sun, and spreading disease among the survivors. An attempt was made to establish a suspension of arms, for removing this horrible annoyance. Miot says, that the pacha returned no answer to the proposal of the French; but sir Sidney Smith stated in his official report, that the armistice for this humane purpose was actually agreed upon, but broken off by the French firing upon those who were engaged in the melancholy office, and then rushing on to make their last unsuccessful charge and assault upon the breach.

The siege of Acre had now continued sixty days from the time of the opening of the trenches. The besiegers had marched no less than eight times to the assault, while eleven desperate sallies were evidence of the obstinacy of the defence. Several of the best French generals were killed; among the rest Caffarelli, an officer for whom Napoleon had a particular esteem; and the army was greatly reduced by the sword and pestilence which raged at once among their devoted bands. Retreat, therefore, became inevitable; yet Buonaparte endeavoured to gloss it over so as to make the measure seem on his part voluntary. At one time he would announce that his object in going to Acre was sufficiently accomplished when he had battered down the palace of the pacha; at other times he affirmed, that he had left the whole town a heap of ruins; and finally, he informed the directory that he could easily have taken the place, but that the plague raging within its walls, and it being impossible to prevent the troops from seizing on infected clothes for the sake of booty, he had declined the capture of Acre, rather than run the risk of introducing this horrid malady among his soldiers! What his real feelings must have been, while covering his chagrin with such flimsy pretexts, may be conjectured from the following frank avowal to his attendants at Saint Helena. Speaking of the dependance of the most important affairs on the most trivial incidents, he remarked, that the mistake of a captain of a frigate, who bore away instead of forcing his passage to the place of his destination, had prevented the face of the world from being totally changed. "Acre," he said, "would otherwise have been taken; the French army would have flown to Damascus and Aleppo; in the twinkling of an eye they would have been on the Euphrates; the Syrian Christians would have joined us—the Druses, the Armenians would have united with us." Some one replied, "We might have been re-inforced to the number of an hundred thousand men."—"Say six hundred thousand," said Napoleon; "who can calculate the amount? I would have reached Constantinople and the Indies—I would have changed the face of the world."

The siege of Acre being raised, the French army retreated to Jaffa, where their military hospitals had been established during the siege. On the 27th of May, leaving Jaffa, Buonaparte was under the necessity of continuing his retreat, and in the mean time such of the patients as were convalescent were sent forward on the road to Egypt, under the necessary precautions for their safety. There remained about twenty or thirty whose condition was desperate; their disease was the plague, and to carry them onward, seemed to threaten the army with infection; while to leave them behind, was abandoning them to the cruelty of the Turks, by whom all stragglers and prisoners were cruelly murdered, often with protracted torture. It was on this occasion that Buonaparte submitted to Desgenettes, chief of the medical staff, the propriety of ending the misery of these poor fellows by a dose of opium! The physician answered, with the heroism belonging to his profession, that "his art taught him how to cure men, not to kill them." The report, however, was current in the French army, that this tragical experiment had been carried into effect upon several hundred men—but there are good grounds for discrediting it *in toto*, however consonant to Napoleon's creed.

Buonaparte continued his retreat from Syria, annoyed by the natives, who harassed his march, and on whom he retaliated the injuries he received, by plundering and burning the villages which lay in the course of his march. On the 14th of June he re-entered Cairo, with a reputation not so much increased by the victory at Mount Tabor, as diminished and sullied for the time

by the retreat from Acre. However, it now became a subject of momentous enquiry to him, what course he should pursue for the future. All his splendid visions of eastern glory and universal dominion had vanished before Acre; the victory of the Nile had cut off the possibility of the return of his army to Europe, except as prisoners of war: and, though he himself might fortunately escape the English cruisers, there were obvious objections to the attempt being made under existing circumstances. It would not do to return to France under the humiliating recollection of the defeat which he had met with at Acre; at any rate, it became desirable by some grand military movement to efface, as far as possible, the strength of these impressions. He therefore continued in Egypt from the middle of June to the middle of August, no doubt, deeply pondering on his fate. During the period of his expedition into Syria, Egypt had remained generally tranquil, and seemed entirely at the command of the French. Dessaix, whom Napoleon had left in charge of the conquered country, had been engaged in several skirmishes, with detached parties of the Mamelukes, and particularly with Murad Bey, one of their ablest chiefs; but he had been uniformly successful, and had ultimately compelled them, with their allies the Arabs, to take shelter in the desert. But in the course of three or four weeks after Buonaparte's return from Syria, this flattering state of tranquillity seemed on the point of being disturbed. Murad Bey, re-entering Upper Egypt with his Mamelukes and allies, descended the Nile in two bodies, one occupying each bank of the river. Ibrahim Bey, formerly his partner in the government, made a corresponding movement towards the frontiers of Syria, as if to communicate with the right hand division of Murad's army. La Grange was dispatched against those who under the Bey himself, were descending the Nile. The French amused themselves with the idea of the two Murats, as they termed them, from the similarity of their names, meeting and encountering each other; but the Mameluke Murad retreated before *Le beau sabreur*, the handsome swordsman of the French army.

The cause of this incursion was now sufficiently developed by the appearance of a Turkish fleet off Alexandria, from which eighteen thousand men were disembarked at Aboukir. This Turkish army possessed themselves of the fort, and proceeded to fortify themselves, expecting the arrival of the Mamelukes, according to a plan which had been previously concerted for expelling the French from Egypt. This news reached Buonaparte while near the Pyramids, to which he had advanced, in order to insure the destruction of Murad Bey. The arrival of the Turks instantly re-called him to Alexandria, whence he marched to Aboukir to repel the invaders. He joined his army, which had assembled from all points within a short distance of the Turkish camp, and was employed late in the night making preparations for the battle on the following morning. Murat was alone with Buonaparte, when the latter suddenly made the oracular declaration: "Go how it will, this battle will decide the fate of the world."—"The fate of this army, at least," replied Murat, who seems not to have taken in the full import of Napoleon's secret meaning.—Murat added, "but the Turks are without horse, and if ever infantry was charged to the teeth by cavalry, they shall be so charged to-morrow by mine." Buonaparte's meaning, however, referred not to Egypt only, but to Europe, whither, in all probability, he now meditated an unexpected return, which must have been prevented had he not succeeded in obtaining a most decisive victory over the Turks.

On the morning of the 25th of July, Buonaparte commenced an attack on the advanced posts of the enemy, and succeeded in driving them in upon the main body, which was commanded by Seid Mustapha Pacha. In their first attack the French were eminently successful, and pursued the fugitive Turks to their entrenchments, doing great execution. But when the batteries opened upon them from the trenches, while they were exposed at the same time to the fire from the gun-boats in the bay, their impetuosity was checked, and the Turks sallying out upon them with their muskets slung at their backs, made such havoc among the French with their sabres, poniards, and pistols, as compelled them to retreat in their turn. The advantage, how-

ever, was lost by the eagerness of the Turks to possess themselves of the heads of their fallen enemies, for which they received a certain reward. To obtain these bloody testimonials, they threw themselves confusedly out of the entrenchments and were in considerable disorder, of which the French troops availed themselves, suddenly rallied, charged them with great fury, drove them back into the works, and scaled the ramparts along with them. Murat had made good his promise of the preceding evening, and had been constantly in the front of the battle. When the French had surmounted the entrenchments, he formed a column which reversed the position of the Turks, and pressing them with the bayonet, threw them into utter and inextricable confusion. Fired upon and attacked on every point, they became, instead of an army, a confused rabble, who, in the impetuosity of terror, threw themselves by hundreds and thousands into the sea, which at once seemed covered with turbans. It was no longer a battle but a massacre, and it was only when wearied with slaughter, that quarter was given to about six thousand men—the remainder of the Turkish army, originally consisting of eighteen thousand; all the rest perished on the field or in the waves. Buonaparte returned in triumph to Cairo, on the 9th of August, having previously set on foot a negotiation for the liberation of the Turkish prisoners. This splendid and most decisive victory concluded Napoleon's career in the east. It was imperiously necessary, ere he could have ventured to quit the command of the army, with the hope of preserving his credit with the public; and it enabled him to plead that he left Egypt for the time in perfect security.

While these events were transacting in Africa, a sad reverse of fortune was taking place in regard to French affairs, on the continent of Europe. A file of English newspapers, sent him by sir Sidney Smith, in the way of taunt, is said to have been the means of apprizing Napoleon of the confusions which distracted the French councils at home, and of the successes of the Russians in Italy, under the command of marshal Suwarrow; and he lost no time in acting upon it. Despairing of being able to realize in the east the visions of glory which had haunted his imagination, he turned his attention towards Europe, as now offering a more promising field for his own ambitious views, and the advancement of his interests; and he at once determined to try his fortune at Paris. With all the secrecy which such a step required, he ordered admiral Gantheaume, who had been with the army ever since the destruction of the fleet, to make ready for sea, with all possible expedition, two frigates, then lying in the harbour of Alexandria; and selecting, of military chiefs, Berthier, Murat, Lannes, Marmont, Dessaix, Andreosy, and Bessieres, the best and most attached of his staff officers, to accompany him, he committed the command of the army to Kleber and Menou. As soon as he heard the frigates were ready for sea, he left Cairo, making a visit to the Delta the pretext of his tour, and on the 23rd of August he embarked from an unfrequented part of the beach, leaving behind him a proclamation, apprizing the army that news of importance from France had re-called him to Europe, but promising that they should soon hear tidings of him. After a perilous and tedious voyage, during which he was repeatedly in danger of being captured by the English cruisers, on the 9th of October, he was safely landed at St. Rapheau, near Frejus. He had departed from Europe at the head of a powerful fleet, and a victorious army, on an expedition designed to alter the destinies of the most ancient nations of the world. The result had been far from commensurate to the means employed or the expectations formed. The fleet had perished—the army was blockaded in a distant province, at a time when their arms were more necessary at home; and the conqueror of Italy returned from his eastern expedition, clandestinely and almost alone. Yet providence designed that in this apparently deserted condition, he should be the instrument of more extensive and more astonishing changes, than the efforts of the greatest conquerors had ever before been able to effect upon the civilized world.

I shall close the present letter with a rapid sketch of the affairs of our own country at this fearful juncture.

The British ministry now fully aware of the designs of France upon the

sister kingdom, which were obviously that of promoting a separation between England and Ireland, determined to frustrate it; and with that view a plan was submitted to parliament, for uniting the two islands into one kingdom, under the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." During the month of January 1799, Mr. Pitt, in his place, brought forward the subject, and it was speedily carried into effect. The particular enactments of the union were, that the succession to the crown should be limited and settled as heretofore—that the United Kingdom should be represented by one common parliament, in which a number of lords and commons, should have a seat on the part of Ireland—that the churches of England and Ireland be preserved as then by law established—that the king's subjects of Ireland be entitled to the same privileges, in point of trade and navigation, with those of Great Britain—that the charge for the payment of the interest of the debt of each kingdom incurred previous to the union, should continue to be a distinct concern and defrayed by each country separately; but that the future ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom should be defrayed by them jointly, according to proportions, to be established by the parliament of each kingdom, as agreed upon previous to the union—that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts civil and ecclesiastical in each kingdom, should remain as heretofore, subject only to such alterations as from circumstances may seem requisite to the united parliament. Such was the basis of the union then carried into effect between the two countries.

The military affairs of the continent of Europe during this year 1799, were thought sufficiently interesting to encourage an effort on the part of England for recovering Holland from the grasp of French fraternization. A plan was accordingly concerted between the courts of Great Britain and St. Petersburg for a joint expedition to the Dutch coast, in the hope that they would be relieved by the people as their deliverers from a galling servitude. A body of troops was collected, early in August, on the coast of Kent, and on the 13th of that month, sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was entrusted with the command, set sail with admiral Mitchell, and joined the fleet of lord Duncan in the north seas. After encountering some very unfavourable weather, they came to anchor off the Helder, a point which commands the entrance to the Zuyder Zee, where on the 27th the troops were disembarked. The fort of the Helder being abandoned by its garrison, was taken possession of and strengthened, and the island of the Texel was occupied by the fleet. On the 30th, admiral Mitchell summoned the Dutch fleet to surrender, and to hoist the Orange flag, which was complied with without a shot being fired. The number of ships were eight of the line, three of fifty-four guns, eight of forty-four, seven of inferior rates, and four Indiamen. The French and Batavian troops under general Bruno, amounting to twenty-five thousand men, occupied a position between the Helder and Alkmaar, and on the 10th of September they made an attack on the British forces, but were repulsed with considerable loss.

His royal highness the duke of York landed in Holland on the 13th of September to take the chief command of the army, which when joined by all its re-inforcements now consisted of about thirty-five thousand men, of whom seventeen thousand were Russians. On the 19th a general attack being determined on, the army advanced in four columns through a tract of country intersected with ditches, and forced their way with great gallantry; but the Russian column being, through their own impetuosity, thrown into disorder, they were repulsed with great loss, and their generals D'Herman and Tchorchokoff were made prisoners, the latter being dangerously wounded. The English lost in this action near two thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Russians between three and four thousand; but the loss of the French and Dutch was still more considerable; upwards of three thousand of them with sixty officers, being made prisoners. The British army also destroyed sixteen pieces of cannon and large supplies of ammunition, which the peculiar state of the country prevented them from carrying away.

Re-inforcements having arrived from England, the army renewed its attack on the 2nd of October, and after a warm action of a whole day, the

French were again defeated with great loss, and the duke of York took possession of Alkmaar, obliging the French army to take up a new position near Berwyck, almost at the extremity of North Holland. An attempt made on the 6th to force this position proved unsuccessful; and the French having received a re-inforcement of six thousand men, and occupying a strongly fortified post, which it was necessary to dislodge them from before the army could advance; the state of the weather, the season of the year, the badness of the roads, and the consequent want of necessary supplies, presented insurmountable obstacles to the further success of the expedition, and it was resolved to persist no longer in fruitless efforts. The consequence was that a suspension of arms was agreed upon by the respective commanders, the conditions of which were, that all prisoners should be given up on either side; and that, as the price of permitting the British to embark without molestation, eight thousand seamen, Dutch or French prisoners in England, should be liberated. The army was to evacuate Holland before the close of November, which in fact was done without delay. The Russians were landed and quartered in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; and thus terminated an expedition prepared at a vast expense, and of which the most sanguine expectations had been formed; but which cost the English and Russian armies little short of thirteen thousand men. The principal advantage that resulted from it to Great Britain was the capture of the Dutch fleet, an event which nearly annihilated the naval power of Holland.

In the month of August 1800, a British fleet under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, sailed on a secret expedition, having on board a land force under the command of sir James Pulteney. Having looked into Bellisle, which was found to be defended by works, the strength of which discouraged any attempt upon it, the armament proceeded to the coast of Spain, and on the 25th of the month arrived before the fort of Ferrol. The troops landed without opposition, and marched to the heights overlooking the harbour, where they had a successful skirmish with the Spaniards. But a survey of the place from that eminence, and the report of the prisoners whom they had made, convinced the commander that an attempt to carry it would be attended with more hazard than hope of success; he therefore re-embarked his troops, and returned home. Thus terminated an expedition which afforded little satisfaction to the public.

The different nations now began to sigh for peace; and during some of the autumnal months of the year 1800, it was notified to the French government by the Austrian ambassador, that the British minister resident at Vienna, had expressed the wish of his court to be included in a negotiation for peace which was then carrying on between the emperor and the French republic. In consequence of this communication, M. Otto, the French commissioner for prisoners in England, was authorized to demand an explanation of the proposals of the British cabinet, and to request that a truce might be concluded between the forces of the two countries by sea and land. The English ministry declared their readiness to send a plenipotentiary to any place that might be appointed, but objected to an armistice respecting naval operations. This topic became a subject of much discussion between M. Otto and lord Grenville, and various schemes were brought forward by each party, which were as constantly objected to by the other. At length, in the month of October, it was signified by M. Otto, that events having occurred which entirely changed the ground of the proposed truce, the negotiation was at an end; but that the first consul was ready to receive any overtures for a separate peace with Great Britain. This, however, was decidedly objected to by the English ministry.

Peace being now restored on the continent of Europe, the most important point that remained to be settled in its political state related to the maritime confederacy of the northern powers, the direct object of which was to annul the marine code maintained by England, and by which she arrogated a kind of naval dominion. This confederacy, openly declared at the close of the last year, now occupied the fixed attention of the British ministry; and on the 14th of January 1801, an embargo was laid on all the ships in the

British ports, belonging to any of the confederate powers, Prussia excepted, and letters of marque were issued for the seizure of their vessels at sea. A note was at the same time delivered to the Danish and Swedish ambassadors, explaining the reason of this procedure, and endeavouring to bring back these courts to their former amicable relations. In the answer returned to these official notes, the courts of Denmark and Sweden expressed a resolution to persevere in their determination to liberate neutral commerce, and they retaliated by an embargo on all English shipping in their ports.

With Prussia, a negotiation was carried on for some time by the British ministry, in the hope of prevailing on her to abandon the coalition, an adherence to which it was foreseen would endanger the king's German dominions; but it proved unsuccessful. On the 30th of March the king of Prussia notified to the electoral college of Hanover, his intention not only to shut the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but also to take possession of the States belonging to the king of England in Germany, at the same time demanding the disarming of the Hanoverian troops—a requisition with which the regency of Hanover found it expedient to comply. The Prussian troops then entered the Hanoverian territory, and an embargo was laid on the English shipping, but those that were laden with corn were allowed to put to sea. About the same time a body of Danish troops took possession of Hamburgh, for the alleged purpose of stopping the British trade of that port.

This bold measure on the part of Prussia brought the matter in dispute to the test of arms. An English fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, four frigates, and a number of bomb-vessels and gun-boats, having on board some regiments of marines and riflemen, was accordingly sent to the Baltic, under the command of admiral Parker and vice-admiral Nelson. Great preparations on the other hand were made to guard the passage of the Sound on both the Danish and Swedish sides, and to protect all the approaches to Copenhagen. On the 30th of March the British fleet passed that strait without much opposition, and anchored near the isle of Huen. The whole fleet of Denmark was from thence seen stationed in the road of Copenhagen, flanked by very powerful batteries. On this formidable force the attack was committed to lord Nelson, at his own request; and on the 2nd of April it took place, with twelve ships of the line, and all the frigates and smaller vessels of the fleet. The action, which was maintained on both sides with extraordinary bravery, was very sanguinary. During its continuance, lord Nelson, perceiving his success to be certain, and regretting the loss of so many brave men, sent a proposal to the crown-prince of Denmark to cease hostilities, and landed personally to adjust the terms of conciliation. At this period, the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown Islands, consisting of seventeen sail, were sunk, or burnt, or taken. Three of the English ships of the line, which had grounded, were exposed to the fire of the crown batteries—a circumstance which no doubt quickened lord Nelson's efforts to put an end to the carnage. From his own account, the battle of Copenhagen was the most dreadful that he had ever witnessed.

The succeeding armistice terminated hostilities in the Baltic; for an event had already taken place which altered the whole state of affairs in the north of Europe. The emperor Paul, whose conduct sufficiently indicated insanity, and who was become intolerable to his subjects, and dangerous to those about him, was hurled from his throne by the only mode of deposition practicable under a despotic monarchy! On the 22nd of March it was officially announced, that he was found dead in his bed. His son Alexander succeeded him in the throne, and immediately on his accession declared for the laws and institutions of his august grandmother. One of his first acts was to liberate and bring back from their places of confinement, all the British sailors belonging to the sequestered ships. Negotiations were entered into with the court of London, and on the 17th of June a convention was signed at Petersburgh by lord St Helens and the Russian ministers, in which all disputes were adjusted. The courts of Denmark and Sweden also acceded to the same amicable compact, by which were obtained a limitation and explicit defini-

tion of the right of search and the principle of blockade, together with a reduction of articles considered as contraband of war, to those of real military or naval ammunition. The Danish troops evacuated Hamburg; the navigation of the German rivers was restored; and the court of Berlin engaged to evacuate Bremen and Hanover, after certain arrangements had been made.

During the progress of these military achievements, changes of an extraordinary and very important nature had been taking place in the domestic affairs of great Britain. The first imperial parliament was opened by commission on the 22nd of January, when the house of commons re-elected Mr. Addington for their speaker. But the most memorable occurrence with which the year was ushered in, was that of a change in the British ministry. After an administration of seventeen years, Mr. Pitt gave in his resignation, which was followed by that of lord Grenville, earl Spencer, the lord chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham. They were succeeded by Mr. Addington as the successor of Mr. Pitt; lord Eldon was appointed to the office of lord chancellor; earl St. Vincent to that of first lord of the admiralty; lord Hawkesbury was made secretary of state for foreign affairs; lord Pelham succeeded to the home department; and colonel York was made secretary at war. But before the new ministers could regularly enter on their respective offices, his majesty was seized with a return of his indisposition, which, under the name of a fever, was announced on the 16th of February, and did not entirely give way till the middle of March.

The breaking up of a ministry at such a critical time naturally engaged the attention of parliament; and on February the 10th a motion by lord Darnley, for an inquiry into the conduct of his majesty's ministers, was taken into consideration. Lord Grenville, on that occasion, stated the failure of their intentions in favour of the Catholics to have been their inducement to resign their places, which they now held only till their successors were appointed. At the earnest request of several peers, lord Darnley postponed his motion. In the house of commons, on the same day, a letter was read from Mr. Addington, tendering the resignation of his office of speaker, on account of his majesty's declared intention of appointing him to a situation incompatible with that post. The election of a new speaker accordingly followed, in which the choice fell upon sir John Mitford, the attorney-general.

While these things were transacting at home, Egypt became a splendid theatre of British glory. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in office had refused to ratify the treaty of El-Arish, which was much censured by many as a very impolitic measure; but it afforded to the British troops the opportunity of acquiring immortal renown. A formidable armament was dispatched from England, under the command of admiral Keith and sir Ralph Abercrombie, in order to effect, at an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, the expulsion of the French from Egypt, which sir Sidney Smith would, by the convention of El-Arish, have achieved without contest or cost.

The British land forces consisted of more than sixteen thousand men, with whom a body of troops from India was to co-operate by the way of the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez. On the 1st of March the fleet arrived off Alexandria, and on the following day, anchored in the Bay of Aboukir. Till the 7th the sea ran so high as to render the disembarkation of the troops impracticable; but on that day the first division made good their landing, in the face of a body of French advantageously posted, and under a heavy fire of grape-shot. Although the front of the landing place was narrow, and commanded by a hill on which the French had taken their position, and which appeared almost inaccessible, the British troops advanced with the greatest intrepidity, and forced the enemy to retire and leave behind them seven pieces of artillery, and a number of horses. On the 12th the whole army moved forwards, and came within sight of the French, who were advantageously posted on a ridge between the canal of Alexandria and the sea.

The British general being determined to commence the attack on the following day, the army marched in two lines, by the left, with an intention

of turning the right flank of the enemy. His design, however, was anticipated by the French commander, who, descending with his army from the heights on which they were formed, attacked the leading brigades of both lines, which were consequently obliged to change their position. In this action the English had a superiority of numbers, as only one division of the enemy's army was engaged, but the advantages of position were on the side of the French. After a severe conflict, victory declared in favour of the English, though not without considerable loss.

The British army now followed up its success with extraordinary vigour; and on the 21st of March was fought the memorable battle of Alexandria, at a distance of about four miles from that city. The French troops were under the command of general Menou, whose dispositions were excellent, but whose precipitancy in resolving on an attack under existing circumstances has been thought injudicious. With the advantages which he possessed in point of position, having the city of Alexandria in his rear, his part was to act defensively, since the British general could not, from his situation, have long delayed offensive measures. Had Menou waited only forty-eight hours, general Abercrombie had intended to make an assault by night, which probably would have been the most difficult and dangerous ever hazarded. But the die was cast—the case was desperate. It was necessary to make the attempt or abandon the enterprise; and in the latter case, the English might have been attacked during their re-embarkation. The French general, however, by his precipitancy, lost all the advantages arising from his situation, and freed the English from the necessity of making a hazardous attack on his camp.

The action commenced in the morning before day-light by a feigned attack on the left of the English, in which the French were repulsed. But the most vigorous efforts of the enemy were directed against the right of the British army, which they endeavoured to turn. The attack on that point was made with great impetuosity by the French infantry, supported by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in a column. The contest was extremely obstinate; but the French were twice repulsed, and ultimately thrown into confusion. At the same time a column of their infantry attempted to penetrate the centre of the British army, but was repulsed and obliged to retreat. A corps of light troops, supported by infantry and cavalry, also advanced to keep in check the left of the English, which was the weakest part of their line; but all the efforts of the enemy were in vain. Victory at length declared completely in favour of the English, who remained masters of the field, with the loss of nearly two thousand men killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the French was computed at double that number.

In this action, the famous invincible standard of the French, which has been so much the subject of conversation, was taken by Anthony Luty, a private in the regiment of Minorca. But the glory gained by the British troops was dearly purchased by the loss of their general. In the heat of the battle, the gallant Abercrombie was attacked by some French cavalry, and thrown from his horse. One of them, supposed from the tassel of his sword to have been an officer, made a blow at him; but while the sword was falling, the general seized it, and wrested it from his hand. At that instant the officer was attacked by a soldier of the forty-second regiment, who plunged his bayonet into him. General Abercrombie was wounded in the thigh, but was unconscious of it at the time. At first he complained merely of a contusion in the breast, supposed to have been occasioned by the fall from his horse, or given by the hilt of the sword in the scuffle with the French officer. Sir Sidney Smith was the first British officer who came up to sir Ralph Abercrombie. He had broken his own sword, which sir Ralph perceiving, he instantly presented him with that which he had wrested from the Frenchman. The gallant general continued to command, till weakness, proceeding from the effusion of blood, rendered it necessary to convey him off the field, and he died on the 23rd, just a week after the battle had taken place. Seldom has a commander fallen more gloriously, or more regretted by his army, than

general Abercrombie. His death in all respects corresponded with the uniform tenor of his life. He closed a military career which, in America, in Belgium, and in Holland, had been distinguished by consummate skill in command, and the most brilliant exploits. In the engagement in which Abercrombie fell, general Moore was also dangerously wounded. On the same melancholy occasion three of the French generals lost their lives.

The command of the British army in Egypt now devolved on general Hutchinson, who nobly perfected the work which his gallant predecessor had commenced. The situation to which he succeeded was certainly arduous. The French were defeated, but they had lost no ground: they were still in great force, both at Alexandria and Cairo; and the whole of Egypt was still in their possession. The British general lost no time in proceeding to Alexandria, where the principal force of the enemy was concentrated. In order to facilitate the blockade, it was found necessary, on the 13th of April, to cut the famous canal of Alexandria, and let the waters of the sea into the lake Mareotis. In the interim the town and castle of Rosetta were taken by a division of the British army under colonel Spenser, aided by a body of Turks. The French garrison offered but a feeble resistance, and retired across the Nile. The English and Turkish forces then proceeded to attack the enemy near Ramaniah, where they defeated them and drove them towards Cairo, and on the following day the place surrendered to the English troops.

General Hutchinson now proceeded to the reduction of Cairo, rather than to commence the siege of Alexandria, and commenced his march towards that city. In the mean time, colonel Lloyd, with a detachment of troops from Bombay, arrived at Suez, and after suffering excessively from the heat in crossing the desert, a distance of more than sixty miles, arrived on the 10th of June at the camp of the grand vizier.

About the middle of June, general Hutchinson, with the army under his command, arrived in the vicinity of Cairo. The captain pacha, at the same time, posted himself at Gizah, on the opposite side of the Nile; and the grand vizier took a position within cannon-shot of the city. Cairo being thus completely invested, a flag of truce was sent from the garrison to the British camp, and, after a negotiation of several days' continuance, on the 27th of June the terms of surrender were agreed on, between the French general Belliard and general Hutchinson. The substance of the capitulation was, that the French army in Cairo, with all the private property of the officers and men, should be conveyed in ships of the allied powers, and at their expense, to the nearest French ports in the Mediterranean; and general Menou, who commanded in Alexandria, was to be at liberty to avail himself of this convention. Surprise has been expressed, that a garrison which consisted of nearly fourteen thousand men, including Greeks, Copts, Mamelukes, and French, did not resolve to stand a siege; but the reason assigned is that of the discontents that prevailed among them. The French troops displayed their wonted valour on various occasions in Egypt; but they had no desire to remain in the country.

While these things were pending in Egypt, an army under the command of general Baird arrived from India, by the way of the Red Sea, and was joined by a small force from the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of sir Home Popham, sir Roger Curtis, colonel Carruthers, and others. Hearing of the successes of the British troops, general Baird landed at Coseir on the 8th of June, with a force of seven thousand five hundred men, and proceeded across the desert to Kinneh, a distance of an hundred and twenty miles. From Kinneh, where they arrived on the 30th of June, they proceeded to Egypt, to join the English troops and assist in its reduction.

The convention of Cairo not being acceded to by general Menou, the combined British and Turkish armies, on the 17th of August, commenced the siege of Alexandria; and on the 1st of September, the garrison, consisting of ten thousand men, French, Syrians, and Greeks, surrendered on the conditions of the capitulation of Cairo. Alexandria was defended by three hundred and twelve pieces of cannon, and seventy-seven more were found on board the ships of war in the harbour. In the magazines were found four-

teen thousand one hundred and two cartridges, and one hundred and ninety five thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds of powder in barrels. But notwithstanding these means of defence, general Menou soon perceived that it was impossible, without succours from France, to make an effectual resistance. In his circumstances, therefore, to have exposed his troops to the effects of a long siege or a murderous assault, would have been nothing less than an useless sacrifice of the lives of men who had suffered so many hardships in the service of their country. While, therefore, it is only an act of justice to acknowledge the bravery of general Menou, and of the troops under his command, we must, on military principles, justify his conduct in the surrender of the city.

Thus terminated this celebrated expedition, in which the British troops acquired great glory, and sustained less loss than might have been expected, from the circumstances of their not being inured to the climate, and from the strength of the enemy. Humanity, indeed, mourns over the effusion of so much blood, and the expenditure of so much money, in this expedition, when we recollect that the French army evacuated Egypt on nearly the same conditions as had been stipulated at El-Arish. In justification, however, of the British ministers, who had refused to ratify that convention, it must be observed, that the stipulations of El-Arish tended only to remove the French army from Egypt, and to place it in Italy, where it might have immediately proceeded to act against the Austrians, who were the allies of England. It should be kept in mind, that when general Menou capitulated, circumstances were changed: a treaty of peace was concluded between Austria and France; and Russia had declared herself hostile to Great Britain. It was, therefore, no longer necessary to prevent the return of the French army to Europe.

Before we dismiss the narrative of the year 1801, it will be necessary to glance at the naval warfare that was still maintained between England and France.

An important action took place, on the 6th of July, off the coast of Spain, between sir James Saumarez and a squadron of French and Spanish ships of war. The British admiral, in a previous engagement with three French ships of the line, had the misfortune to lose the Hannibal, which, having run aground within reach of one of the land batteries, was obliged to be left in the hands of the enemy. But, on the 12th of July he succeeded in bringing them to action, together with five Spanish ships of the line that had joined them; and his intrepid conduct and good fortune procured him a compensation for his former disaster. The admiral came up with them about eleven o'clock at night; and a fatal mistake of the enemy soon decided the contest. In the darkness and confusion that prevailed, the Spanish ships fired upon each other. One of them, the Real Carlos, of one hundred and twelve guns, took fire, and blew up with a dreadful explosion. Another, of the same rate, mistaking her for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared the same melancholy fate; while the San Antonio, of seventy-four guns and seven hundred and thirty men, being unsupported, was obliged to strike to the British flag. The rest of the ships immediately crowded all the sail they could carry, and before day-break had made a successful retreat.

The project of destroying the enemy's ships at Boulogne was not yet abandoned, and another expedition, under the command of admiral Nelson, was fitted out for that purpose. His lordship found twenty-four vessels of the enemy's flotilla anchored in a line before the mouth of the harbour; and on the 4th of August, the wind being favourable, he made the signal for battle, giving orders to direct the bombs not against the town but against the shipping. This, however, like all other expeditions of ours to the coast of France, even in the hands of Nelson, had an unsuccessful issue. After a severe engagement, the admiral was obliged to retreat with the loss of about one hundred and twenty men.

France being now set free from her continental war by the treaty of Lunéville, naturally directed her arms and resources against her only remaining enemy; and the invasion of England became the leading object of policy

pursued by her government, throughout a great part of the present year. Encampments were formed and occupied on the coasts of France and Flanders; a large combined fleet of French and Spanish ships of war was collected in the harbour of Brest; and every effort was made to restore the French navy, and equip in different ports a great number of vessels fitted for the purpose of landing men. On the other hand, these menaces were met in England by suitable preparations, and a spirit fully answerable to the danger. A circular letter from the home secretary of state to the lords-lieutenants of counties, was issued in July, intimating to commanding officers of the various bodies of cavalry and infantry, the necessity of keeping their corps in a state of constant preparation for immediate service; and particularly recommending that they should be frequently assembled for military exercise. The naval force of the empire, which surpassed that of any former period, was disposed in such a manner as to keep the closest watch on the movements of the enemy, and blockade all their principal ports. In the English channel, a petty war was maintained, chiefly between cruisers and gun-boats, the latter of which were frequently intercepted as they attempted to steal from port to port along the French coast. But this petty warfare is too insignificant for the page of history.

A vigorous effort was made at this time by the rulers of France, to detach Portugal from her connexion with great Britain; and in the month of March the court of Madrid, stimulated by the French, under the pretext of an affront, declared war against Portugal. Accordingly, in May, a Spanish army of forty thousand men, headed by the prince of the peace, entered Portugal, and in a short time reduced all the strong places in the province of Alentejo. Scarcely any resistance was made; and it has therefore been supposed, that there was a secret understanding between the two courts. On the 6th of June preliminaries of peace were signed at Badajoz, by which the fortress and district of Olivenza were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal shut against the English. The French government refused to concur in this treaty, on the ground that it was contrary to a convention between them and Spain, a condition of which was, that peace should not be made with Portugal, unless certain places in that country were allowed to be occupied by French troops till a general peace. The result was, that a French army entered Portugal from Salamanca, and invested the town and fort of Almeida. To animate the exertions of Portugal in their defence against French aggression, a subsidy was granted them by England. They found it expedient, however, in a short time, to negotiate; and a definitive treaty was concluded at Madrid on the 29th of September, by which all the territory of Portugal was preserved, but some extension was given to French Guiana out of its American possessions. During this contest, an expedition was dispatched from England, to take possession of the island of Madeira, in order to secure it to the crown of Portugal.

The ministers of his Britannic majesty were now occupied with deliberations on the subject of peace. The dissolution of the northern confederacy, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt, had removed the most powerful obstacles to peace. The war between France and England was now without any adequate object, each country appearing to stand firm on its own basis, without the power of effecting any material alteration in the condition of the other. The new administration, consequently, had the prudence not to neglect the opportunity which these circumstances presented. Negotiations were commenced and carried on for some time with a degree of secrecy, between M. Otto, who still resided in London, and lord Hawkesbury; and on the 1st of October the preliminaries were signed. The tidings of this event were received by the people of both countries with extraordinary indications of joy. They now hoped to be relieved from the accumulating burdens under which they had so long laboured; and a spirit of mutual amity between two nations, which, though habitually political enemies, have always retained much private respect for each other, seemed at once to be restored. This pacification was soon followed by treaties between France and the Ottoman Porte, and also between France and Russia. A concordat

was likewise entered into between the French republic and the pope, the substance of which was not made public in France till the following year.

The war which was thus brought to a close, will stand fatally distinguished in history for the formidable armies that were brought into the field; the extensive combinations of military plans; the numerous and sanguinary contests that took place; the prodigious destruction of the human species; and the extraordinary result of the contest. During this important and memorable war, the military establishments of Europe far surpassed every thing of the kind witnessed in this quarter of the globe, in either ancient or modern times. The armies of France were more numerous than those which any other European nation had ever brought into the field. Posterity will scarcely credit the pages of history which shall relate, that in a war of ten years, against the most powerful combination of enemies that ever was formed, France, though rent with intestine divisions, and oppressed by the most horrible tyranny, acquired so vast an extent of territory, with an almost unlimited control over Italy, Spain, and the provinces of Belgium.(1)

LETTER XXXII.

Continuation of the internal affairs of France from the insurrection of the Sections in 1795, to the end of the Directorial government in 1800.—Jacobinical conspiracy frustrated.—Elections of May 1797.—Royalist attempt at conspiracy, and exile of many members of the councils.—Return of Buonaparte to Paris, May 1798.—His expedition to Egypt.—Return of Napoleon, October 1799—he obtains the Consulate and dissolves the legislative body, 1800.

SINCE the grand event of the reformation, the French revolution may be regarded as the most important occurrence of modern times; less, certainly, on account of its immediate consequences with regard to France herself, than of the immense influence it has had on the destinies of mankind in general. Our insular situation, and still more, the ignorance and apathy of men's minds on political subjects, had kept the principles of the English revolution shut up within our own country. The principles of that of America, another grand epoch in the history of the human race, are only applicable to colonies which have thrown off the recently imposed yoke of conquest, and the questionable claims of mother countries. Besides, each of these revolutions was but a return to a former state of things; and, strictly speaking, the only matter in dispute was the reclamation of ancient rights, by men who had been deprived of them. But the revolution in France was of a different character; it appealed to claims still more ancient, more universal; claims inherent in human nature—it appealed to the rights of man—it proposed to itself an object more absolute and decisive, and, above all, more calculated to serve for future example; a complete social re-organization, not founded on obsolete charters drawn forth from ancient archives, but on the imprescriptible right which she recognised as belonging to men in a state of society, to settle among themselves the terms of their association. It is this view of the matter, my son, which has led me to detail to you so minutely as I have done, the more striking incidents of this eventful period. The history of the French revolution will continue to interest the human race to distant ages; and it will afford lessons of instruction, not only to governors but to the governed, which both may turn to profitable account. Nevertheless, after the attention hitherto bestowed upon it, we may be excused in taking

(1) Dodaley's Annual Register, 1797—1803.—Dr. Aikin's Annals of George III.—Dr. Bissett's History of the Reign of George III.—Debrett's State Papers.—London Gazette.—Boisselin's History of Malta.—Intercepted Letters from Buonaparte in Egypt.—Southey's Life of Lord Nelson.—Precis des Evénemens Militaires, 1799.—History of the Campaign in Holland, in the year 1799.—Baldwin's political recollections concerning Egypt.

a more general and superficial survey of the state of their domestic concerns from this period.

The French revolution, which had destroyed the ancient system of government, and entirely overturned the ancient state of society, had two distinct objects in view—a free constitution and an increased civilization. We have traced it through a period of six years, during which, each of the great classes, of which the nation was composed, attempted the establishment of its own peculiar system. The privileged class endeavoured to establish theirs against the court and the citizens, by retaining the distinction of orders and the States-general: the citizens endeavoured to establish theirs against the privileged class and the multitude, by the code of 1791: and the multitude theirs against the rest of the nation, by the constitution of 1793. None of these governments, however, could be consolidated, because they were of an exclusive character; but whilst they were in operation, each class, as it obtained a temporary superiority, destroyed whatever was intolerant, and whatever was calculated to retard the march of civilization in the classes above it.

When the directory succeeded the convention, the contest between the classes had become much less violent than heretofore. The most considerable persons in each of them, however, formed a party, which still struggled for the possession of power and the establishment of its own form of government, but the mass of the population which had been so profoundly shaken from 1789 to 1795, longed for repose, and was ready to conform to the new order of things. It was at this period that the general impulse in favour of liberty came to a pause; and a better order of things in regard to civilization commenced; the revolution, after the troubles and commotions attending the first years of its existence, and the total destruction of its immense labours, now assumed its second character—a character of order, of solidity, and repose. This second period was marked by this peculiar feature, that it seemed as if the nation had in some measure abandoned all idea of liberty. Parties finding themselves no longer able to enjoy it in a lasting and exclusive manner, grew discouraged and retired from the ardent pursuit of politics to a more peaceful and private life. The revolution now became every day more consolidated: after giving birth to a nation of partisans, it produced first a nation of labourers and then of soldiers.

At the time the directory were appointed, the situation of the country was sufficiently discouraging: the public treasury was exhausted, and the couriers were often detained for want of the small sum that was necessary to defray the expenses of their journey. At home, anarchy and distress every where prevailed; paper-money, the issues and credit of which were alike exhausted, destroyed all commerce, and all confidence; famine stalked abroad, for every one refused to sell his commodities, because it was only to give them away; and in addition to these distresses, the arsenals were empty. Abroad, the armies were unprovided with waggons, horses, or provisions; the soldiers were destitute of clothes; and the generals frequently in want of that part of their pay which was in cash, amounting to eight francs a-day, a very moderate, but indispensable addition to their pay in assignats. And lastly, the troops, whose wants had rendered them discontented, and impaired their discipline, had again been defeated, and were acting on the defensive. Such was the distressing situation of the country after the fall of the committee of Public Safety, which during its existence had provided against scarcity both in the army and in the interior, by means of requisitions and the Maximum.

The men who were selected to remedy this disordered state of affairs were, for the most part, persons of ordinary capacities, but they applied themselves to their task with earnestness, courage and prudence; and, in a short time, they succeeded in re-establishing confidence, industry, commerce and plenty. The convention had directed Pichegru and Jourdan—the one at the head of the army of the Rhine, and the other of the Sambre and Meuse, to surround and make themselves masters of Mayence, in order that they might by that means occupy the whole line of the Rhine; but the scheme failed through the misconduct of Pichegru. Though invested with the full confidence of

the republic, and deservedly enjoying the greatest military reputation of that period, he entered into counter-revolutionary plots with the prince of Condé, but they were unable to come to a right understanding with each other. Pichegru invited the emigrant prince to enter France, by Switzerland or by the Rhine, promising that he would remain passive, the only thing which depended upon himself. The prince, however, was desirous that Pichegru should, as a preliminary step, hoist the white flag in his army, which was entirely republican. This hesitation could not but injure the cause of the re-actionists, who now began to prepare the conspiracy of October, or Vendémiaire. Pichegru, however, having determined in one way or other to serve his new allies and betray his country, allowed himself to be beaten at Heidelberg, compromised the army of Jourdan, evacuated Mannheim, raised the siege of Mayence with considerable loss, and exposed his frontier.

Carnot projected a new plan for the ensuing campaign, and it had for its object to carry the arms of the republic into the very heart of the hostile states. Buonaparte, who, as we have already seen, had been made general of the interior, after the insurrection of October, was now appointed to the command of the army of Italy. Jourdan was continued at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; and Moreau was chosen to succeed Pichegru in the command of the army of the Rhine. An offer was made to the latter, whose treason, though not proved, was strongly suspected by the directory, to appoint him ambassador to the court of Sweden, but the offer was refused, Pichegru preferring to retire to Ambois, his native place. It was arranged that the great armies under the command of Buonaparte, Jourdan, and Moreau, should attack the Austrian territories by way of Italy and Germany, form a junction at the passage of the Tyrol, and by degrees march upon Vienna. This great movement, the success of which would render the republic mistress of the chief seat of the continental coalition, the generals prepared to execute.

It was not without difficulty, however, that the directory could be protected from the attacks of the two opposing factions, the democrats and the royalists, whose ascendancy it was the means of preventing. The former were incessantly labouring to establish absolute equality in spite of the state of society, and democratic liberty, notwithstanding the increased degree of civilization. But they had been so effectually subdued, that there was no probability of their ever again obtaining the possession of power. Yet though ejected from the government, and expelled society,—though disorganized and proscribed, it was far from having disappeared, it once more rose from its state of depression. They re-established their club at the Pantheon, and it was for some time tolerated by the directory, to whom, as it became daily more numerous, it became daily more alarming. Its leader was Gracchus Babeuf, self-denominated “the tribune of the people,” a bold man, of a heated imagination, and fanatically attached to an extraordinary kind of democracy. He possessed great influence over his party, preparing it by his journal for the reign of “general happiness.” At first the directory endeavoured to restrain this democratic faction within bounds, but its sittings were prolonged to a late hour, and in process of time, the members of the club proceeded thither in arms, and were projecting an expedition against the directory and the councils, when the directory found it high time to interfere, and accordingly on the 26th of February 1796, it closed the doors of the Pantheon, and on the following day sent a message to the councils, apprising them of the measure it had adopted.

This democratic faction, finding themselves deprived of their place of meeting, now resorted to other expedients. They succeeded in seducing the legion of police, in concert with which they proposed to destroy the existing constitution; but the directory, informed of this manœuvre, disbanded and disarmed the legion of police. The conspirators, taken a second time by surprise, now resolved upon a plan of insurrection and attack: they appointed “an insurrectionary committee of Public Safety,” which established communications with the Parisian mobility. The leaders of the party fre-

quently assembled in a place which they denominated "the Temple of Reason," where they chanted elegies on the death of Robespierre, and lamented over "the slavery of the people!" They now prepared every thing for the attack: they agreed to establish "general happiness," in order to which they proposed to make an equal distribution of property—to institute a government of "true and absolute democrats"—to form a convention, consisting of sixty-eight Mountainists, together with a democrat from each department; and lastly, to unite from the several points where they were distributed, and immediately march against the directory and the councils. On the night of the intended insurrection, they were to post up two placards, one of which was to contain these words, "Constitution of 1793, liberty, equality, general happiness;" the other, this declaration, "Those who usurp supreme power ought to be put to death by freemen." They were all ready, the proclamations were printed, and the day fixed, when they were betrayed. On the 10th of May, the evening preceding the intended attack, the conspirators were seized in their council chamber. The plan and all the details of the plot were found at Babœuf's house. The directory informed the councils of it by message, and announced it to the people by proclamation. This singular attempt, which was so strongly tinged by fanaticism, excited the greatest terror; the recent domination of the Jacobins, still presented a fearful image to the imagination.

Babœuf, prisoner as he was, like a bold conspirator, wrote to the directory, proposing terms of peace; but the latter, after publishing his letter, sent the writer of it and his accomplices to the high court of Vendôme, which sentenced them to death, when Babœuf and Darthé, hearing their sentence, dispatched themselves with their own daggers. Their partisans made another and feeble attempt at overthrowing the government. In the night of the 7th of September, about eleven o'clock, they marched, to the number of six or seven hundred, armed with sabres and pistols, against the directory, which, however, they found defended by its guards. They then proceeded to the camp of Grenelle, which, from the supposed understanding between themselves and it, they had hopes of gaining over. The camp had retired to rest when the conspirators arrived; but when the sentinels demanded "Who goes there?" they replied, "Long live the republic! long live the constitution of 1793!" the sentinels immediately gave the alarm—the commander ordered his men to sound to horse, and his dragoons, who were half naked, to mount. Surprised at this reception, the conspirators made but a feeble resistance—they were put to flight, leaving a number dead, and many made prisoners. A commission was appointed at Grenelle to try the conspirators, of whom thirty-one were put to death, thirty were sentenced to transportation, and twenty-five to imprisonment. This unfortunate catastrophe was nearly the ruin of the party—from that period democrats still existed, but the party was disorganized. It was at this moment that the contest between the authorities appointed by the sections, and the directory which was supported by the army, commenced. As each resorted to its own party for support and protection, when those who had the elective power placed themselves at the disposal of the counter-revolutionists, the directory was compelled to introduce the army into the government, a measure which in the sequel produced dreadful inconveniences.

The situation of the directory became considerably altered by the elections of May 1797. These elections, by introducing the royalist party into the legislature and the government, renewed the question which the battle of Vendémiaire had decided. Until this period a perfectly good understanding had been kept up between the directory and the councils. Both composed of conventionalists, united by a common interest, and equally animated by the wish to establish the republic, after it had been shaken by all the storms of party, they had manifested much good will to each other in their communications, and great concert in their measures. There existed an anti-constitutional majority, which formed an opposition in the councils, but it was cautious and guarded in its measures; and this party, which acquired increased strength by the elections of May 1797, now became less equivocal in

its intentions, and in their attitude more menacing. The royalists were in fact an active and formidable body, which had its chiefs, its agents, its lists, and its journals. They prevented the election of the republicans, and, for the moment, assumed the banner of the multitude, which, as it always follows the most energetic party, was carried away with their enthusiasm.

On the 28th of May, the councils assembled; and, from that moment, they showed the spirit which animated them. Pichegru, whom the royalists introduced upon the new field of battle, was chosen president of the council of five hundred with enthusiasm, and Barbé Marbois was called with the same animation to the presidency of the ancients. The legislative body next proceeded to the nomination of a director, in the place of Latourneuir, who retired by rotation or ballot on the 19th of May. Their choice fell upon Barthélemy, who being a royalist and an advocate for peace, was agreeable to both the councils and to Europe. But all this was ominous to the directory, and indicated hostility both against it and the conventional party. Their administration and their policy were speedily and openly attacked; though every thing which could have been done by a legal government in their present circumstances, had been done by the directory. Yet it was reproached with the continuance of the war and the disordered state of the finances. In this train matters proceeded for some time, the two parties watching each other, and the multitude in the attitude of spectators. The directory, aware that matters were advancing towards a crisis, though it relied on public opinion, did not neglect its chief security, the support of the troops. Several regiments of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Hoche, were ordered to advance towards Paris. The councils complained of this to the directory, who affected to be ignorant of the matter, and made very unsatisfactory excuses.

An intermediate party, whose principles were of a constitutional and pacific nature, attempted to prevent this struggle, and to re-establish harmony, but their efforts proved ineffectual. Carnot was at the head of this party, and some members of the council of five hundred, directed by Thibadeau, together with a considerable number of the ancients, supported his scheme. Carnot, who at this period was the director of the constitution, and Barthélemy, who was the director of the legislature, constituted a minority in the executive government. The former, austere in his conduct and self-willed in his views, could agree neither with Barras nor Reubell, who, supported by their colleague Larévillière, were by no means indisposed to resort to violence against the councils, whilst Carnot was desirous of strictly adhering to the provisions of the law. Alarmed at the preparations of the directory, the councils manifested a desire to compromise matters, on the sacrifice of certain ministers who did not possess their confidence; but the directory refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, the only effect of which, they were well aware, would be to postpone their ruin, and that of the republic, until the elections of the year six. They procured menacing addresses from the armies against the councils. The councils protested, but without effect against this interference of the army; and they made dispositions for an engagement, in case it should become necessary. At the point to which the two parties had now arrived, a victory was necessary, in order once more to decide the great contest between the revolution and the old government.

The two leading men among the royalist conspirators were Pichegru and Willot. The latter, an intemperate military officer was anxious that the councils should strike the first blow by decreeing the accusation of the three directors, Barras, Reubell, and Larévillière, but Pichegru hesitated; and the advice of the indecisive part of the councils prevailing, they pursued the tardy course of constitutional proceedings. Not so with the directory. They determined to proceed to the attack without a moment's delay. The morning of the 4th of September was appointed for the execution of this project. The troops stationed round Paris entered the city on the preceding evening under the command of Augereau. The project of Barras and his two colleagues was to take possession of the Tuileries with troops, before the legislative body could assemble, and thus avoid a forcible expulsion; to

convene the councils in the vicinity of the Luxembourg, after having arrested their principal leaders, and to complete, by a legislative enactment, a stroke of policy which had been commenced by force. They were supported by the minority of the councils, and they relied upon the approbation of the multitude. At one o'clock in the morning the troops arrived at the Hotel-de-Ville, and stationed themselves upon the quays, the bridges, and the champs Elysées. In a very short time twelve thousand men, and forty pieces of cannon surrounded the Tuileries. At four o'clock the alarm gun was fired and general Augereau presented himself at the gate of the Pont-Tournant.

The guard of the legislative body was under arms, and the inspectors of the hall, apprized on the preceding evening of what was to take place, had repaired to the Tuileries for the purpose of defending the entrance. Ramel, who had the command of the legislative guard, was devoted to the councils, and he had stationed his eight hundred grenadiers at the different avenues of the garden, which was secured by gates. "But it was not with so feeble a force that Pichegru, Willot, and Ramel could oppose any effectual resistance to the directory. Augereau had no occasion even to force the passage of the Pont-Tournant; he had scarcely arrived within hearing of the grenadiers, before he called to them.—"Are you republicans?" The latter immediately replied, by lowering their arms and shouting, "long live Augereau! long live the directory!" and joined him.

Augereau now traversed the garden, penetrated the hall of the councils, and arrested Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, and all the inspectors of the hall, whom he sent to the Temple. The members of the councils were hastily convened by the inspectors, and repaired in crowds to the place of meeting, but the troops either arrested, or refused to admit them. At six o'clock in the morning the whole business was completed. The Parisians on rising, found the troops still under arms, and the walls placarded with proclamations announcing the discovery of a formidable conspiracy. The people were invited to retain their confidence and preserve order. A letter addressed to the directory by general Moreau had already been printed, in which he detailed the plots of his predecessor, Pichegru with the emigrants, and also another letter from the prince of Condé to one of the members of the council of ancients. The whole population remained quiet, manifesting neither approbation nor regret.

The directory were desirous that this extraordinary proceeding should obtain the sanction of the legislature, and above all that it should be completed. As soon, therefore, as the members of the five hundred and those of the ancients were assembled at the Odéon and the school of Medicine, to which places they were directed on the shutting up of the hall of the convention, and found themselves in sufficient number for the purposes of deliberation, a message from the directory announced to them the motives by which it had been actuated in all its measures. "Legislative citizens," said this message, "if the directory had but delayed one day longer, the republic would have fallen a victim to its enemies. The very place in which you sit was appointed for the meeting of the conspirators: it was there that they yesterday distributed their passes and their certificates for the delivery of arms. It was from that point that they this night carried on correspondence with their accomplices; and, finally, it was from that place, or in the neighbourhood, that they again attempted those clandestine and seditious assemblages which the police is at this moment engaged in dispersing. To have allowed the faithful representatives of the people to be thus confounded with the enemies of their country, would have been to endanger not only the public safety, but their own."

The council of five hundred appointed a commission composed of the Abbé Siéyes, Paulain-Grandpré, Villers, Chazel, and Boulay-de-la-Meurthe, with instructions to prepare a law of public safety. The measure they adopted was that of banishment, which thus succeeded the guillotine in this second period of revolution and dictatorship. In this act of ostracism, were included upwards of forty members of the council of five hundred—eleven

of the council of ancients—and of the directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, with many others who belonged to none of those bodies, among whom were the conductors of thirty-five journals. Some of the condemned members contrived to evade the sentence of exile, of which number Carnot was one. The greater part were transported to Cayenne, but a great many never quitted the isle of Rhé. This was the fourth defeat of the royalists; two had taken place when it was deprived of power, namely, those of the 14th of July, and the 10th of August; and two when it was prevented from resuming its power, viz. those of the 5th of October and the 4th of September. This repetition of impotent attempts, and these successive failures contributed in no small degree towards reducing this party to submission under the consulate and the empire.

The principal effect of the late measure was the return of the revolutionary government, a little modified. The two ancient privileged classes were again driven into the back ground; the refractory priests were a second time exiled. All who had formed a part of the military household of the Bourbons, the superior agents of the crown, the members of parliament, the commanders of the orders of the Holy Ghost and of St. Louis, the knights of Malta—all, in short, who had protested against the abolition of the nobility and retained its titles, were ordered to quit the territory of the republic. The old nobles, as well as those recently created, were rendered incapable of exercising the rights of citizens until the expiration of seven years, after having served, as it were, an apprenticeship to the republic. Thus did this party, in its thirst for rule, bring back the dictatorship. The directory at this time reached the height of its power. The armies of the republic had been every where victorious; and now freed from all intestine opposition, it imposed peace on Austria, by the treaty of Campo Formio, and on the empire by the congress of Rastadt. The coalition of 1792, and three was now dissolved, and England was the only belligerent power that remained. To pacify the people of the latter country lord Malmesbury was sent, in the character of plenipotentiary, first to Paris and then to Lisle. The negotiations were twice broken off, and the war between the two powers continued. Whilst England was negotiating at Lisle, she was preparing at St. Petersburg the triple alliance, or second coalition.

The directory, on their part, destitute of money, unaided by any party at home, and possessing no other support than the army, and no other means of obtaining *éclat* than the continuation of its victories, was no more in a condition to consent to a general peace than England was disposed to grant it on the terms proposed. The public discontent was increased by the imposition of certain taxes, and by the reduction of the public debt to a *consolidated third*, and that payable only in money, an arrangement by which the fund-holders were ruined. War was necessary to its existence. An immense body of soldiers could not be disbanded without danger. This embarrassing state of things led the directory to undertake the expedition to Egypt, and the invasion of Switzerland.

Napoleon, the conqueror of Italy, and the pacificator of the continent, had now returned to Paris, where he was received with enthusiasm by the populace. Honours were granted to him, such as no other general of the republic had ever enjoyed. A patriotic altar was prepared in the Luxembourg, and in his passage to the triumphal ceremony, of which he was the object, he passed under an arch formed of the colours taken in Italy. He was addressed by Barras, president of the directory, who after congratulating him on his victories, invited him "to crown so glorious a life by a conquest which the great nation owed to its outraged dignity." This was nothing less than the conquest of England! and every preparation was apparently made for a descent—whilst the real object was the invasion of Egypt. Such an enterprise suited both Buonaparte and the directory. The independent conduct of this general in Italy, his ambition which could not be wholly concealed under a studied simplicity, rendered his presence at home by no means desirable to the directory. On the other hand, he himself was not without apprehensions that the exalted opinion which had already been formed of him.

might be diminished by an inactive life: for, the world always expects from those whom it terms great, more than they are able to perform. While the directory, in the expedition to Egypt, thought only of the removal of a formidable general, and of attacking the English in India, Buonaparte regarded it as a gigantic conception, an employment perfectly congenial to his taste, furnishing him with new opportunities of astonishing mankind. But having detailed the particulars of the Egyptian Expeditions in my former letter, it is needless to dwell upon them in this place.

The directory, which was desirous of procuring the neutrality of the Ottoman Porte, that it might attack the English, violated that of Switzerland, that it might expel the emigrants from its territories. Republican principles had penetrated into Geneva, and the Pays de Vaud: but the policy of the Swiss confederation was, the influence of the aristocracy of Berne, avowedly of a counter-revolutionary cast. They had driven from the cantons all the Swiss who had shown themselves partisans of the French republic. Berne was the head-quarters of the emigrants, and there most of the plots against the revolution were hatched. The directory complained but received no satisfaction. The Vaudois, placed by ancient treaties under the direction of France invoked its support against the tyranny of Berne. The appeal of the Vaudois, its own grievances, and the desire of extending its own system in Switzerland, much more than the temptation to seize the petty treasure of Berne, with which it has been reproached, decided the directory. After some negotiations, which led to nothing, the war commenced. The Swiss defended themselves with great courage and obstinacy; they thought of bringing back the times of their forefathers; but they were at length compelled to yield. Geneva was re-united to France, and Switzerland exchanged its ancient constitution for that of the year three. From that moment two parties existed in the confederation, one of which advocated the cause of France and the revolution, and the other that of Austria and a counter-revolution. Switzerland, from this period, ceased to be a common barrier, and became the high road of Europe.

The revolution of Switzerland was speedily followed by that of Rome, where general Duphot being killed in a disturbance, which the pontifical government made no effort to prevent, that state was, as a punishment for the offence, changed into a republic. All these events tended to complete the system of the directory, and to give it a preponderance in Europe; it was now at the head of the Helvetian, Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, all of which were constructed after the same model. But whilst the directory extended its influence abroad, it was again threatened by parties at home.

The elections of May 1796 were by no means favourable to the directory; they were entirely of a different character from those of the year five. Since the 4th of September, the removal of the counter-revolutionists had restored all the influence of the exclusive republicans, who re-established clubs under the name of *constitutional circles*. This party preponderated in the electoral assemblies, which, by an extraordinary casualty, had to name four hundred and thirty-seven deputies; two hundred and ninety-eight for the council of five hundred, and one hundred and thirty-nine for that of the ancients. As soon as the elections approached, the directory began to exclaim loudly against the anarchists. But its proclamations not having had the effect of preventing democratic elections, it determined to annul them by virtue of a law of circumstance (*loi de circonstance*) by which the councils had, after the 4th of September, granted it the *power of judging* the proceedings of the electoral assemblies. It invited the legislative body, by message, to appoint a commission of five members for this purpose. A great portion of the elections was in consequence, on the 11th of May annulled. This blow was aimed by the directorial party at the ultra republicans, as, nine months before, it had aimed a blow at the royalists.

The directory was desirous of retaining that political equilibrium which had characterized the first two years of its existence, but its situation was materially changed. Since its last measure, it could no longer be deemed

an impartial government, because it was no longer a constitutional one. Its pretensions to independence excited general discontent ; it continued, however, in the same state until the elections of the year seven. It displayed great activity, but it was of a narrow and bustling kind. Merlin (de Douai) and Treilhard, who had succeeded Carnot and Barthélémy, were two political pettifoggers ; Rewbell had in the highest degree the courage requisite for a statesman, without possessing enlarged views ; La Réveillère was too much occupied with the sect of theophilanthropists for the head of a government. As to Barras, he continued his dissolute course of life and his directorial regency ; his palace was the resort of gamblers, women of intrigue, and stock-jobbers of every kind. The administration of the directors partook of their character, but was in a peculiar manner influenced by their situation, the embarrassments of which were still further increased by war with the whole of Europe.

Whilst the republican plenipotentiaries were still negotiating a peace with the emperor at Rastadt, the second coalition commenced its campaign. The treaty of Campo-Formio was nothing more than a suspension of hostilities between the republic and Austria, and England had no difficulty in engaging her in a new confederacy, in which all the European powers, with the exception of Prussia and Spain, took a part. The subsidies of the British cabinet, and the attractions of the West, decided Russia ; the Porte and the Barbary states embraced the confederacy on account of the invasion of Egypt ; the empire, in order to recover the left bank of the Rhine ; and the petty princes of Italy, for the purpose of destroying the new republics. They were discussing at Rastadt the treaty relative to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, the navigation of that river, and the demolition of some fortresses on the right bank, when the Russians passed into Germany, and the Austrian army began to move. The French plenipotentiaries were taken by surprise, and received orders to depart within twenty-four hours ; they instantly obeyed, and, after having obtained safe conduct from the enemy's general, commenced their journey. At some distance from Rastadt they were stopped by a party of Austrian hussars, who having ascertained their names and titles, assassinated them : Bonnier and Roberjot were killed, and John de Bry was left for dead. This unexampled violation of the law of nations, a premeditated assassination of three men invested with a sacred character, excited universal horror. The legislative body indignantly decreed war against the governments to which the guilt of this enormous crime attached.

Hostilities had already commenced in Italy and upon the Rhine. The directory, apprized of the march of the Russian troops, and suspecting the intentions of Austria, obtained from the councils a law empowering them to raise recruits. The *military conscription* placed two hundred thousand young men at the disposition of the republic. This law, the consequences of which were incalculable, was the result of a more regular order of things. The levies in mass had been made for the service of the revolution, the conscription became the legal service of the country.

The troops belonging to the most impatient powers, and who formed the vanguard of the coalition, had already commenced the attack. The king of Naples had advanced upon Rome, and the king of Sardinia had levied troops, and threatened the Ligurian republic ; but not being strong enough to bear the shock of the French armies, they were easily vanquished. General Championnet, after a sanguinary victory, entered Naples, and the Lazzaroni, after defending the interior of the city for three days, were subdued, and the *Parthenopean republic* was proclaimed. General Joubert took possession of Turin, and when the new campaign opened, the whole of Italy was in the hands of the French.

The coalition, which had the advantage of the republic in preparations and in effective force, attacked it by the three great openings of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. A strong Austrian force debouched in the duchy of Mantua, defeated Shérer twice upon the Adige, and was soon afterwards joined by the whimsical, and until then victorious Suwarrow. Moreau succeeded Shérer, and was, like him, defeated : he retreated on the side of

France, in order to protect the barrier of the Apennines, and to join the army of Masséna commanded by Mandonald, who was also routed at Trebia. The confederates next directed their principal force against Switzerland. Some Prussian corps joined the archduke Charles, who had defeated Jourdan on the upper Rhine, and who was making preparations for crossing the Helvetic frontier. The duke of York at the same time landed in Holland with forty thousand Anglo-Russian troops. The small republics which protected France were invaded, and, after some new victories, the confederates were enabled to penetrate into the very seat of the revolution.

In the midst of these military disasters, to which was added the discontent of all parties, the elections of May 1799 took place; they were like those of the preceding year, republican. The directory was no longer possessed of sufficient strength to contend against public misfortunes and the animosity of parties. The retirement of Rewbell, who was succeeded by Siéyès, deprived it of the only man who could make head against the storm, and introduced in his stead the most decided opponent of this obnoxious and worn-out government. The moderate party and the ultra-republicans concurred in demanding of the directors an account of the internal and external state of the republic.

The councils declared themselves permanent, and Barras deserted his colleagues. The animosity of the councils was directed solely against Treilhard, Merlin, and La Réveillère, the last supports of the old directory. They removed Treilhard, because the interval of a year had not elapsed between his legislative and directorial functions, as required by the constitution. The ex-minister of justice, Goheir, was immediately put in his place. The orators of the council next vigorously attacked Merlin and La Réveillère, whom, as they could not depose, they wished to compel to resign. The directors, who were thus menaced, sent a justificatory message to the councils, and proposed peace. On the 18th of June, the republican Bertrand (du Calvados), ascended the tribune; and, after having examined the offers of the directors, proceeded in these terms: "You have proposed a re-union; and I propose that you should consider whether you can still retain your offices. If you desire the welfare of the republic, you will not hesitate to decide. You have no power to do good: you will never have either the confidence of your colleagues, or that of the people, or that of the representatives, without which it is impossible for you to execute the laws. Thanks to the constitution, there already exists in the directory a majority which enjoys the confidence of the people, and of the national representatives. Why do you hesitate to restore unanimity both in design and principle, between the two first authorities of the state? You have no longer even the confidence of those vile flatterers who have hollowed out your political grave. Terminate your career by an act of devotion, which the sound hearts of republicans will alone know how to appreciate."

Merlin and La Réveillère, deprived of the support of government by the retirement of Rewbell, the deposition of Treilhard, and the desertion of Barras, and influenced by the demands of the councils as well as by patriotic motives, at length yielded to circumstances, and resigned the directorial authority. This victory, gained by the united efforts of the republicans and the moderate party, proved advantageous to both. The first introduced general Moulins into the directory, the latter Roger-Ducos. The councils, by the transaction of the 18th of June, which disorganized the old government of the year three, took their revenge against the directory for the 4th of September and the 11th of May. At this period, each of the two great powers of the state had in its turn violated the constitution: the directory, in decimating the legislature; the legislature, in expelling the directory. It was hardly possible that this form of government, of which all parties had cause to complain, should have a prolonged existence.

Siéyès, after the successful issue of the 18th of June, endeavoured to destroy what still remained of the government of the year three, in order that he might establish a legal government upon another plan. He was a man of a capricious temper, and fond of system, but he possessed an accurate per-

ception of what was required in different situations. He since more entered upon the theatre of the revolution, but at a singular epoch, with the design of closing it by a definitive constitution. After having materially assisted in effecting the principal changes of 1789 by his motion of the 16th of June, which transformed the States-general into a national assembly, and, by his plan of internal organization, which substituted the departments for the provinces, he had ever since remained silent and passive. He had waited until such time as the measures for the public defence should again give place to measures for the defence of institutions. Appointed, under the directory, ambassador to Berlin, the continuance of the neutrality of Prussia was attributed to him. At his return, he accepted the office, which until then he had refused, of director, because Rewbell had retired from the government, and he believed that all parties were sufficiently tired to co-operate in a final pacification, and the establishment of liberty. For carrying his views into effect, he relied upon Roger Ducoq, in the directory; upon the council of ancients, in the legislature; and out of doors, upon the moderate party and the middling class, who, after having wished for laws as a novelty, now wished for repose as a novelty too. This party was desirous of establishing a firm and steady government, which should have neither retrospections nor enmities, and which should thenceforward satisfy all opinions and all interests.

As effects similar to those which had been produced, between the 14th and 27th of July, by the people, in conjunction with a part of the government, had since the 2nd of October been brought about by the army, Siéyes determined to avail himself of the latter. For this purpose, it was necessary to have the assistance of a general, and he cast his eyes upon Joubert, who was put at the head of the army of the Alps, in order that he should first, by means of victories, and the liberation of Italy, gain a great political reputation.

The constitution of the year three, however, was still supported by the two directors Gohier and Moulins, and by the council of five hundred, and out of doors by the party of the *Manège*. The decided republicans had assembled as a club in that hall in which the first assembly had held its sittings. The new club, formed of the wreck of that of Salm, which had existed before the 4th of September, of that of the Pantheon, which had existed at the commencement of the directory, and of the old society of Jacobins, professed republican principles with enthusiasm, but not the democratic opinions of the lower orders. Each of the two parties also possessed a share in the ministry, which had been renewed at the same time as the directory. Cambacérés had the department of justice; Quinette, the home department; Reinhard, who had been placed in office during the ministerial inter-regnum of Talleyrand, was minister of foreign relations; Robert Lindet, of the finances; Bourdon (of Vatry) of the marine; Bernalotte, of war; and Bourguignon, soon afterwards succeeded by Fouché (of Nantes), of police.

Barras, this time, remained neuter between the two divisions of the legislature, of the directory, and of the ministry. Perceiving that affairs were proceeding to a more considerable change than that of the 18th of June, he imagined that the destruction of the republic would bring along with it the restoration of the Bourbons, and he began to treat with Louis XVIII. It appears that Barras, in negotiating for the restoration of monarchy by his agent David Mounier, by no means forgot himself. He espoused nothing through conviction, and never failed to declare himself for the party which had the greatest chance of victory. After having been a democratic Mountainist on the 31st of May; a re-actionary Mountainist on the 27th of July; a revolutionary director against the royalists on the 4th of September; an ultra-republican director against his old colleagues on the 18th of June; he now became a royalist director against the government of the year three.

The faction which had been disconcerted by the 4th of September and by the peace of the continent, had also resumed its courage. The military success of the new coalition, the law of the forced loan, and that of the hostages, which obliged each family of emigrants to give securities to the government, had induced the royalists of the south and west to take up arms. They re-

appeared in bands which became every day more formidable, and which recommenced the petty but disastrous warfare of the *Chouans*. They expected the arrival of the Russians, and believed in the speedy restoration of monarchy. This was the moment for a new contest between all parties. Each of them aspired to the inheritance of the expiring constitution, as was seen at the end of the conventional session. In France they are warned by a sort of political odour that a government is dying, and all parties immediately fly to the prey.

Happily for the republic, the war changed its aspect upon the two principal frontiers of the higher and lower Rhine. The allies, after having acquired Italy, attempted to penetrate into France through Switzerland and Holland; but their progress, until then victorious, was arrested by generals Massena and Brune. Massena advanced against Korsakof and Suwarrow, and in a series of grand combinations and consecutive victories, during twelve days, running first to Constance and thèn to Zurich, the Russians were repulsed and forced to retreat, and the coalition was thus disorganized. Brune also defeated the duke of York in Holland, and compelled him to re-embark, and to renounce his attempt at invasion. The army of Italy alone was less successful: Joubert, its general, was killed at the battle of Novi, whilst charging the Austro-Russian army. But notwithstanding the defeat of Novi, this frontier, which was at a great distance from the centre of events, was not passed, but was skilfully defended by Championnet. The republican troops were themselves likely very soon to be in a situation to cross it; for after having been for a moment beaten, they began to resume their superiority at every fresh conflict, and once more commenced their career of victories. Europe, in giving by its repeated attacks more exercise to the military power, rendered it every day more formidable.

But nothing was changed at home, where divisions, discontent, and uneasiness remained as before. The contest between the moderate and the ultra republicans had become still more decided. Siéyes pursued his projects against the latter. He attacked the Jacobins on the anniversary of the 10th of August, in the Champ-de-Mars. Lucien Buonaparte, who had obtained great influence in the council of five hundred, by his character, his talents, and the military importance of the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, presented a frightful picture of *terror* to the assembly, and declared that France was in danger of its return. About this time, Siéyes effected the removal of Bernadotte; and Fouché, with his concurrence, closed the assembly of the *Manège*. The multitude, to whom it is only necessary to present the phantom of the past, in order to inspire it with dread, ranked themselves, in their apprehension of the return of the system of *terrors*, on the side of the moderate party; and the ultra republicans failed in an attempt to get the country declared in danger, as at the end of the legislative assembly. Siéyes, after having lost Joubert, looked around for a general who would enter into his designs, one who would protect the republic, without becoming its oppressor. Hoche had been dead more than a year; Moreau no longer possessed the public esteem, on account of his equivocal conduct towards the directory before the 4th of September, and of his sudden accusation of his old friend Pichegru, whose treason he had concealed for more than a year; Massena was not at all a political general; and Bernadotte and Jourdan were devoted to the party of the *Manège*. Siéyes, finding himself in this situation of poverty, adjourned his political measure for want of a man.

Buonaparte while in Egypt had learned the state of France. His expedition, of which I have given you the chief incidents in my former letter, and which, therefore, I will not here repeat, had been brilliant, but had produced no results. After having beaten the Mamelukes, and put an end to their domination in low and in high Egypt, he had advanced into Syria; but his failure in the siege of St. Jean d'Acres had compelled him to return to his first conquest. There, after having defeated an Ottoman army on the banks of Aboukir, so fatal the year before to the French fleet, he decided upon quitting this land of fame and of banishment, that he might render the new crisis in France subservient to his elevation. He left general Kléber in com-

mand of the army of the east, and crossed the Mediterranean, which was covered with English vessels, in a frigate. He landed at Fréjus on the 9th of October 1799, and made a rapid and triumphal progress from the coast of the Mediterranean to Paris. His expedition, which had the appearance of a fabulous story, astonished all France, and added still more to a reputation which the conquest of Italy had already raised to a great height. These two enterprises had distinguished him from all the other generals of the republic. The remoteness of the theatre upon which he had fought had already allowed him to prepare the way for his career of independence and authority. A victorious general, an acknowledged diplomatist, the founder of republics, he had treated all interests with address, all creeds with moderation. Preparing his plans of ambition at a distance from the capital, he had taken care not to make himself the partisan of any system; and he had so managed all parties, as to effect his elevation with their consent. Ever since his victories in Italy, he had entertained thoughts of usurpation. If the directory had been vanquished by the council on the 4th of September, he proposed to march against the latter with his army, and seize the protectorate of the republic. Finding, after the 4th of September, that the directory was too powerful, and the inactive state of the continent too dangerous for him, he accepted the expedition to Egypt, that he might not fall into obscurity and be forgotten. On the news of the disorganization of the directory on the 18th of June, he repaired with all possible expedition to the seat of action.

His arrival excited the enthusiasm of the moderate part of the nation; he received general congratulations, and was emulously sought after by all the different parties who were equally anxious to gain him. The generals, the directors, the deputies, even the republicans of the *Manège*, waited upon him, and sounded him. They amused him with feasts and entertainments; he appeared grave, simple, observing, and not very eager; he already possessed the familiarity of a superior, and displayed involuntary habits of command. Notwithstanding his apparent want of eagerness, and the absence of overtures, it was manifest that he entertained ulterior designs: without saying it, he allowed it to be divined: for, in order to accomplish a thing, it is necessary that it should be expected. He could not rely upon the republicans of the *Manège*, who wished neither for a stroke of state policy, nor a dictator; and as to Sieyès, his apprehension that Buonaparte would be too ambitious to enter into his constitutional views, was not without foundation. But, through the importunity of common friends, an interview at length took place, which terminated in an alliance. On the 5th of November they arranged their plan of attack against the constitution of the year three. Sieyès undertook to prepare the councils by the *commissions of inspectors*, who had an unlimited confidence in him. Buonaparte was to gain over the generals and the different bodies of troops, which were stationed at Paris, and who displayed much enthusiasm and devotion for his person. They agreed to convoke an extraordinary meeting of the most moderate members of the councils; to lay before the councils a description of the public dangers; and, after exhibiting to them the menacing position of the Jacobins, to demand the removal of the legislative body to St. Cloud, and the appointment of general Buonaparte to the command of the armed force, as the only man who could save the country. They then proposed, by means of the new military power, to effect the disorganization of the directory, and the momentary dissolution of the legislative body. The morning of the 8th of November was appointed for carrying this enterprise into effect.

During the three intervening days the secret was faithfully kept. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, who formed the majority of the directory, of which the last was then president, might, by anticipating the conspirators, as on the 4th of September, have disconcerted their projects. But they thought of their own hopes and not of other person's schemes. On the morning of the 8th of November, the members of the ancients were convoked in an unusual manner by the *inspectors*; they repaired to the Tuileries, and entered on their session about seven o'clock, under the presidency of Lemercier. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Farquès, three of the most influential conspirators in the

council, presented a most alarming picture of the public situation : they assured it that the Jacobins were coming in crowds from all the departments, that they wished to re-establish the revolutionary government, and that *terror* would again desolate the republic, if the council had not the courage and the wisdom to prevent its return. Another conspirator Regnier (de la Meurthe) proposed that the ancients, who were already giving way, should, by virtue of the power vested in them by the constitution, transfer the seat of the legislative body to St. Cloud, appoint Buonaparte to the command of the 17th military division, and instruct him to superintend the removal. Either the whole council was an accomplice of this manœuvre, or was struck by a real panic after so precipitate a meeting, and such alarming speeches : however this may be, it granted every thing that the conspirators required.

Buonaparte waited impatiently in his house, in the street Mont-Blanc, for the result of this discussion ; he was surrounded by generals, by the commandant of the guard of the directory, Lefèvre, and three regiments of cavalry, which he was about to review. The decree of the council of ancients, which was passed at eight o'clock, was brought to him by a messenger of state at half-past. He received the congratulations of those who formed his *cortege*, and the officers drew their swords in token of fidelity. He placed himself at their head, and they marched to the Tuileries, where he had no sooner arrived, than he repaired to the bar of the council of ancients, took the oath of fidelity, and named Lefèvre, the commandant of the directorial guard, for his lieutenant.

This, however, was only the beginning of his success ; for, although he was at the head of the military power, the authority of the directory and the legislative power of the councils still existed. In the contest which must infallibly ensue, it was not clear that the grand, and until then victorious, energy of the revolution, would not prevail. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos proceeded from the Luxembourg to the legislative and military camp of the Tuileries, and delivered in their resignations. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, being apprized, though at a late hour, of what was passing, attempted to use their authority, and secure the protection of their guard ; but the latter having, through Buonaparte, received intelligence of the decree of the ancients, refused to obey them. Barras became discouraged, sent in his resignation, and set out for his estate of Grosbois. The directory was in fact dissolved ; and there was one antagonist less in the contest. The council of five hundred and Buonaparte alone remained in the field.

The decree of the council of ancients, and the proclamations of Buonaparte, were posted on the walls of Paris, the inhabitants of which experienced that agitation which always accompanies extraordinary events. The republicans felt, and not without reason, serious apprehensions for liberty. But when they manifested alarm as to the designs of Buonaparte, in whom they beheld a Cæsar or a Cromwell, they received a reply in the words of the general : " Bad parts, worn-out parts, unworthy of a man of sense, if not of an honest man. It would be sacrilegious to think of attempts against the representative government, in an age of intelligence and liberty. None but a fool would wish wantonly to lose the stake of the republic against royalty, after having supported it with some danger as well as credit." Nevertheless the importance which he assumed in his proclamations was but a bad omen ! and he also reproached the directory with the situation of France in a most extraordinary manner. " What have you done," said he, " with that France which I left you so brilliant ? I left you peace, I have found war : I left you victories, I have found defeats : I left you the millions of Italy, and I have found nothing but spoliation and misery. What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all of them my companions in glory ? they are dead. This state of things cannot last : before three years it will lead us to despotism." It was the first time during the last ten years, that one man referred every thing to himself, and demanded an account of the republic as of his own estate. One is grievously surprised at seeing a single individual, brought forward by the revolution,

thus introduce himself into the inheritance so laboriously acquired by a whole people.

On the 9th of November, the members of the council repaired to St. Cloud. Thither also Siéyes and Roger Ducos accompanied Buonaparte, with the view of opposing the designs of the conspirators. Siéyes, who understood the tactics of revolutions, proposed, in order to secure the success of their scheme, that their chiefs should be provisionally arrested, and that none but the moderate party should be admitted into the councils; but Buonaparte refused to accede to this proposal; for being no party man, and having hitherto only acted and conquered with soldiers, he thought that he could move the legislative body like an army by the word of command. The gallery of Mars was prepared for the council of ancients; the Orangery for that of the five hundred. A considerable armed force surrounded the seat of the legislature, as the mob on the 2nd of June surrounded the convention. The republicans assembled in groups in the gardens, and waited for the opening of the session: they were agitated with a generous indignation against the military brutality with which they were threatened, and communicated to each other their projects of resistance. The young general, followed by a few grenadiers, traversed the courts and the apartments, and prematurely yielding to his natural character, he said, like the twentieth king of a dynasty: "I will have no more factions: there must be an end of them. I positively will have no more of them." About two o'clock in the afternoon the councils assembled in their respective halls, to the sound of instruments which played the air of *la Marseillaise*.

As soon as the session opened, Emile Gaudin, one of the conspirators, ascended the tribune of the five hundred, and proposed a vote of thanks to the council of the ancients for the measures which it had adopted, and that its opinion should be requested as to the means of saving the republic. This motion became the signal of the most violent tumult; cries arose against Gaudin from all sides of the hall. The republican deputies besieged the tribune and the chair in which Lucien Buonaparte presided. The conspirators Cabinis, Boulay (de la Meurthe), Chazal, Gaudin, Lucien, &c., grew pale upon their seats. After a protracted commotion, amidst which no one could be heard, order was for a moment restored, and Delbred proposed that they should renew the oath to the constitution of the year three: no voice being raised against this motion, which at such a juncture was vital, the oath was taken with a burst of enthusiasm, and a unanimity which endangered the conspiracy.

Buonaparte being informed of what was passing in the council of five hundred, and seeing himself in great peril of desertion and defeat, presented himself before the council of ancients. If the latter, which inclined towards the conspiracy, was led away by the enthusiasm of the younger council, he was lost. "Representatives of the people!" said he, "you are placed in no ordinary circumstances; you are upon a precipice. Yesterday, when you summoned me to notify the decree of removal, and entrusted me with the execution of it, I was at ease: I immediately assembled my comrades; we flew to your assistance. Well, to-day I am overwhelmed with calumnies. They talk of Cæsar, they talk of Cromwell, they speak of military government! If I had wished to oppress the liberties of my country I should not have submitted to the orders you gave me; I should not have had occasion to receive this authority from your hands. Representatives of the people! I swear to you that the country has not a more zealous defender than myself; but it is upon you that its safety depends. The government no longer exists: four of the directors have delivered in their resignation; the fifth (Barras) has been placed under *surveillance* for security; the council of five hundred is divided; the council of ancients alone remains. Let it adopt the necessary measures; let it but speak, I am here to execute them. Let us save liberty, let us save equality." A republican member (Linglet) then rose and addressed him: "General, we applaud what you say: swear then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year three, which can alone maintain the republic." It had been all over with him if this proposition

had been hailed with the same enthusiasm as it was in the council of five hundred. It however surprised the council, and Buonaparte was for a moment disconcerted. But he soon resumed: "The constitution of the year 'three! you no longer have it. You violated it on the 4th of September; you violated it on the 11th of May. The constitution! it is invoked by all factions, and it has been violated by all; it cannot be a means of safety to us, because it no longer possesses the respect of any body: the constitution being violated, we must have another compact, and other guarantees." The council applauded the reproaches which Buonaparte addressed to it, and rose up as a sign of their approbation.

Buonaparte, deceived by the easy success which his demeanour had obtained for him in the council of ancients, imagined that his presence alone would appease the stormy council of five hundred. Thither he repaired at the head of some grenadiers, whom he left at the door, but in the interior of the hall, and he advanced alone with his hat in his hand. At the sight of the bayonets the whole council rose by a sudden impulse. Conceiving that his entrance was the signal of military violence, they all joined in the cry Outlaw him! Down with the dictator! Many members rushed towards him, and Bigonet seizing him by the arms: "What are you doing, rash man!" said he; "retire, you violate the sanctuary of the law." Buonaparte turned pale, became perturbed, retired, and was carried off by the grenadiers who had served him as an escort.

The tumultuous agitation of the council did not cease with his disappearance. All the members spoke at once, every one proposed measures of public safety and defence. They overwhelmed Lucien Buonaparte with reproaches; he justified his brother, but with timidity. After many efforts he at last succeeded in getting to the tribune, and inviting the council to judge his brother with less rigour. He assured them that he had no design against liberty; he recalled his services: but many voices were instantly heard to exclaim, He has destroyed all the merit of them: Down with the dictator! Down with the tyrants! The tumult then became more violent than ever, and they demanded the outlawry of general Buonaparte. "What," said Lucien, "you would have me pronounce sentence of outlawry against my brother?"—"Yes, yes, outlawry, that is for tyrants!" Amidst this confusion it was proposed, and put to the vote, that the council should be permanent, that it should instantly repair to its palace in Paris; that the troops assembled at St. Cloud should form part of the guard of the legislative body, and that the command of them should be given to Bernadotte. Lucien, astounded by all these propositions, and by the *outlawry* which he imagined was adopted like the others, quitted the chair, ascended the tribune, and said in the greatest agitation, "Since I have not been able to obtain a hearing in this assembly, I lay down with a deep sense of outraged dignity the ensigns of the popular magistracy." At the same time he took off his cap, his cloak, and his scarf.

In the mean time, Buonaparte had experienced some difficulty in effecting his retreat from the council of five hundred, in order to recover himself from his perturbation. Little accustomed to popular scenes, he was sensibly affected by the repulse he had so unexpectedly received. His officers surrounded him; and Siéyès, who had more revolutionary practice than himself, advised him to lose no time, but instantly to employ force. General Lefebvre immediately gave orders to bring off Lucien from the council. A detachment entered the hall, proceeded to the chair which Lucien again occupied, took him into their ranks, and returned with him into the midst of the troops. As soon as Lucien came out, he mounted on horseback by the side of his brother, and although deprived of his legal character, he harangued the troops, as president. In concert with Buonaparte, he invented the fable, so often since repeated, of poniards being raised against the general in the council of five hundred, and he exclaimed, "Citizen soldiers! the president of the council of five hundred declares to you that the vast majority of the council is at this moment under the dread of some representatives, who with daggers besiege the tribune, threaten their colleagues with death,

“and carry on the most dreadful deliberations!—General, and you, soldiers, and all ye citizens! you will only acknowledge as the legislators of France those who are willing to repair to me. As to those who remain in the Orangery, let them be driven out by force. Those brigands are no longer the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard!” After this furious incentive, addressed to the soldiery by a conspiring president, who, according to custom, calumniated those whom he wished to proscriber, Napoleon took up the speech. “Soldiers!” said he, “I have led you to victory; may I rely upon you?” “Yes, yes! Long live the general!”—“Soldiers! there was reason to believe that the council would save the country; it has, on the contrary, given itself up to discord: the factious endeavour to excite it against me. Soldiers! may I rely upon you?”—“Yes, yes! Long live Buonaparte!”—“Well then, I will bring them to reason.” He instantly commanded some superior officers who surrounded him, to clear the hall of the five hundred.

The council, after the departure of Lucien, became a prey to extreme anxiety and the greatest irresolution. Some of the members proposed that they should issue forth in a body and seek an asylum in the midst of the people of Paris. Others were anxious that the national representatives should not abandon their post, but should withstand the interference of military violence to the last. During this discussion, a troop of grenadiers slowly entered the hall, and the officer who commanded it apprized the council that it must disperse. The deputy Prudhon reminded the officers and soldiers of the respect due to the chosen representatives of the people, and general Jourdan depicted to them the enormity of such an attempt. The troop remained for an instant undecided; but a re-inforcement entered in close column, and general Leclerc exclaimed, “In the name of general Buonaparte, the legislative body is dissolved; let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, forward!” Cries of indignation arose from every seat in the hall, but they were drowned by the sound of drums. The grenadiers, presenting bayonets, advanced slowly along the whole length of the Orangery, and thus drove the members before them, who still however made the air ring with the cry of “Long live the republic!” At half-past five o’clock of the 9th of November 1799, there was no longer a national representation.

Thus was consummated this last violation of law, this final blow against liberty; and from this period military government commenced its dominion. The 8th of November was in effect another 31st of May as between the army and the representatives, except that it was not directed against a party but against the popular power. On that day the revolution expired: but it is right that we should distinguish the 18th Brumaire from the consequences which resulted from it. It might at that time have been supposed that the army was merely an auxiliary of the revolution, as on the 5th of October, and the 4th of September, and that this indispensable change would not solely turn to the advantage of a single individual, who would soon convert France into a regiment, and who would allow nothing to be heard in the world, which until then had been agitated by so great a moral commotion, but the march of his army and the communication of his will.(1)

(1) Histoire de la Revolution Française, par A. F. Mignet—Planta’s History of the Helvetic Confederacy.—Memoirs of Talleyrand, vol. ii.—Anecdotes Secretes sur la Revolution, et Nouveaux Mémoires des Déportés à la Guiane.

LETTER XXXIII.

State of France consequent on the appointment of Napoleon to the Consulship—a provisional government nominated—the Constitution of the Abbé Siéyes entirely changed in the Constitution of the year eight.—Formation of the government.—Pacific professions of Napoleon.—Campaign of Italy, and celebrated battle of Marengo.—Peace of the Continent by the treaty of Luneville, and with England by the treaty of Amiens. A. D. 1799—1803.

THE events which had recently taken place at Paris, and which I have detailed to you, my son, towards the close of my preceding letter, gave rise to much speculation as to their probable results on the liberties of France. From the party of Siéyes to that of the ancient regime, the royalists of 1788, every one was eager to congratulate himself on the future practical advantages of the change which had taken place. The moderate constitutionalists hoped that a defined liberty would be established; the royalists flattered themselves with the expectation of a similar beneficial result; the mass of the people, ill-informed and desirous of repose, reckoned upon the return of order under a powerful protector; while the proscribed and the ambitious anticipated their amnesty or their elevation. During the three months that followed the singular proceedings of the 8th and 9th of *November 1799*, approbation and hope were general. A *provisional government* was nominated, consisting of three consuls, Buonaparte, Siéyes, and Roger Ducos, with two legislative commissions who were charged with preparing the constitution, and an order of things which should be definitive.

On the 24th of December 1799, the constitution of the year 8, was published; and it was composed of the wreck of that of the abbé Siéyes which was now regarded as a constitution of slavery. The government was placed in the hands of a first consul, who had for seconds two consuls, with a voice in council. The senate, primarily chosen by the consuls, itself now chose from the list of national candidates the members of the tribunate and the legislative body. The government alone had the initiation of laws. This put an end to the body of electors who nominated the candidates of the different lists, the tribunes of the legislators—an end of the independent tribunes, who pleaded the cause of the people before the legislative assembly—an end of the legislative assembly that emanated from the body of the nation, and which was accountable to it alone—and, finally, an end of the body politic. In the place of all this there arose, under the new order of things, a consul omnipotent, having the disposal of the army and of power—a general and a dictator; a council of state destined to place itself in the front rank of usurpation; and finally, a senate of twenty-four members whose solitary function was to abrogate the influence of the people, to choose tribunes without authority, and legislators who should be silent. The spirit of vitality passed from the nation to the government. It deserves to be remarked that, up to this period, all the constitutions had been derived from the social contract; but that subsequently, until the year 1814, they were all derived from the new-modified constitution of the abbé Siéyes.

The new government, however, was regularly installed. Napoleon was appointed first consul, but he now associated with himself as second and third consuls, Cambacérès and Le Brun. The ex-archbishop Talleyrand, and the ex-mountainist Fouché were appointed ministers of foreign affairs and of police. Considerable objection was started to the making use of the services of the latter, but Buonaparte wished it and his voice prevailed. "We shall form," said he, "a new epoch—of what has passed, we must remember only the good, and forget the bad." In fact, he now gave himself little concern under what banner persons had hitherto served, provided they

now ranged themselves under his own, and that they summoned around it the ancient supporters of royalism or the revolution.

One of the first and most popular measures of Buonaparte, on his elevation to the consular dignity, was to make proposals of peace to England. This offer was made early in the year 1800, in a letter, not written according to etiquette, by one of his ministers to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, but addressed by him to the king himself, whose patriotic virtues he did not omit to applaud. He mentioned the necessity of peace, and the true glory derivable from it; and expressed his hope that two nations so enlightened as France and Great Britain would no longer be actuated by false ideas of glory and greatness. The reply to this singular document was returned by lord Grenville at the king's command, declaring, that his majesty had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe, denied that he either was or had been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory, since he had only endeavoured to maintain against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects; and he added, that it would be useless to negotiate while the French seemed still to cherish those principles which had involved Europe in a long and destructive warfare. The continuation of war was therefore decided, and the consuls issued a proclamation, remarkable for its being addressed to a new class of national feelings. Hitherto France had been summoned to arms, for the defence of liberty; the consuls now began to rouse it in the name of honour. "Frenchmen! you desire peace: your government desires it even more anxiously; its first wishes, its constant efforts have been for peace. The English ministry rejects our offers: the English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy, to sever France, to destroy its marine and its harbours, to blot it from the map of Europe; to degrade it to the rank of secondary powers; to keep all the nations of Europe separated by divisions, to monopolize the commerce of them all, and enrich itself with their spoils. It is to obtain these frightful successes that England expends her treasures, lavishes her promises, and multiplies her intrigues. It is for you to command peace: to command it we must have money, military stores, soldiers: all should be eager to pay the tribute which they owe to the common defence! The young should rush to enrol themselves in the ranks! It is no longer a question of faction! It is no longer for the choice of tyrants, that they are going to arm; it is for the guarantee of all that they hold dear; it is for the honour of France; it is for the sacred interests of humanity."

Disappointed in the hope of negotiating a peace with England, Buonaparte thus roused the population of France to renewed exertions, and began in good earnest to address himself for one of the most important campaigns of his life; and in which he added, if that were possible, to the high military reputation he had acquired. Committing the charge of the campaign upon the Rhine to Moreau, the first consul reserved for himself the task of bringing back victory to the French standards, on the fields in which he won his earliest laurels. His plan of victory again included a passage of the Alps, as boldly and unexpectedly as in 1795, but in a different direction. That earlier period had this resemblance to the present, that, on both occasions, the Austrians menaced Genoa; but in 1800, it was only from the Italian frontier and the Col de Tende, whereas, in 1795, the enemy were in possession of the mountains of Savoy, above Genoa. Switzerland, too, formerly neutral, and allowing no passage for armies, was now as open to the march of French troops as any of their own provinces, and of this Buonaparte determined to avail himself. He was aware of the Austrian plan of taking Genoa and entering Provence; and he formed the daring resolution to put himself at the head of the army of reserve, surmount the line of the Alps, even where they are most difficult of access, and, descending into Italy, place himself in the rear of the Austrian army, interrupt their communications, carry off their magazines, parks, and hospitals, coop them up betwixt his own army and that of Massena, which was in their front, and compel them to battle, in a situation where defeat must be destructive. But to accom-

plish this daring movement, it was necessary to march a whole army over the highest chain of mountains in Europe, by roads which afford but a dangerous passage to the solitary traveller, and through passes where one man can do more to retard, than ten to force their way. Artillery was to be carried through sheep-paths and over precipices impracticable to wheel carriages; and ammunition and baggage were to be transported at the same disadvantages; and provisions were to be conveyed through a country poor in itself, and inhabited by a nation which had every cause to be hostile to France, and might therefore be expected prompt to avail themselves of any opportunity which should occur of revenging themselves for her late aggressions.

The strictest secrecy was necessary, to procure even the opportunity of attempting this audacious plan of operations; and to ensure this secrecy, Buonaparte had recourse to a singular mode of deceiving the enemy. It was made as public as possible, by orders, decrees, proclamations, and the like, that the first consul was to place himself at the head of the army of reserve, and that it was to assemble at Dijon. Accordingly, a numerous staff was sent to that place, and much apparent bustle took place in assembling six or seven thousand men there, with great pomp and fracas. These, as the spies of Austria truly reported to their employers, were either conscripts, or veterans unfit for service; and caricatures were published of the first consul reviewing troops composed of children and disabled soldiers, which was ironically termed his army of reserve. When an army so composed was reviewed by the first consul himself with great ceremony, it impressed a general belief that Buonaparte was only endeavouring, by making a show of force, to divert the Austrians from their design upon Genoa, and thus his real purpose was effectually concealed. Bulletins, too, were privately circulated by the agents of police, as if scattered by the royalists, in which specious arguments were used to prove that the French army of reserve neither did, nor could exist—and these also were designed to withdraw attention from the various points on which it was at the very moment collecting.

The pacification of the west of France had placed many good troops at Buonaparte's disposal, which had previously been engaged against the Chouans; the quiet state of Paris permitted several regiments to be detached from the capital. New levies were made with the utmost celerity; and the divisions of the army of reserve were organized separately, and at different places of rendezvous, but ready to form a junction when they should receive the signal for commencing operations.

On the 6th of May 1800, seeking to renew the fortunes of France, now united with his own, the chief consul left Paris, and, having reviewed the pretended army of reserve at Dijon on the 7th, arrived on the 8th at Geneva. Here he had an interview with the celebrated financier Necker; but a more interesting conversation with general Marescot, dispatched to survey Mont Bernard, and who had, with great difficulty, ascended as far as the convent of the Chartreux. "Is the route practicable?" said Buonaparte.—"It is barely possible to pass," replied the engineer.—"Let us set forward then," said Napoleon, and the extraordinary march was commenced.

On the 13th, arriving at Lausanne, Buonaparte joined the van of his real army of reserve, which consisted of six effective regiments, commanded by the celebrated Lannes. These corps, together with the rest of the troops intended for the expedition, had been assembled from their several positions by forced marches. Carnot, the minister at war, attended the first consul at Lausanne, to report to him that fifteen thousand, or from that to the number of twenty thousand men, detached from Moreau's army, were in the act of descending on Italy by St. Gothard, in order to form the left wing of his army. The whole army, in its various divisions, was now united under the command of Berthier nominally as general-in-chief, though in reality under that of the first consul himself. This was in compliance with a regulation of the constitution, which rendered it inconsistent for the first consul to command in person. It was a form which Buonaparte at present evaded, and afterwards laid aside; thinking truly, that the name, as well as office of

generalissimo, was most fittingly vested in his own person, since, though it might not be the loftiest of his titles, it was that which best expressed his power. The army might amount to sixty thousand men, but one third of the number were conscripts.

During the interval between the 15th and 16th of May, all the columns of the French army were put into motion to cross the Alps. Tureau, at the head of five thousand men, directed his march by Mount Cenis, on Exilles and Susa. A similar division, commanded by Chabran, took the route of the Little St. Bernard. Buonaparte himself, on the 15th, at the head of the main body of his army, consisting of thirty thousand men and upwards marched from Lausanne to the little village called St. Pierre, at which point there ended every thing resembling a practicable road. An immense, and apparently inaccessible mountain, reared its head among general desolation and eternal frost; while precipices, glaciers, ravines, and a boundless extent of faithless snows, which the slightest concussion of the air converts into avalanches capable of burying armies in their descent, appeared to forbid access to all living things but the chamois, and his scarce less wild pursuer. Yet foot by foot, and man by man, did the French soldiers proceed to ascend this formidable barrier, which nature had erected in vain to limit human ambition. The view of the valley, emphatically called "of desolation," where nothing is to be seen but snow and sky, had no terrors for the first consul and his army. They advanced up paths hitherto only practised by hunters, or here and there a hardy pedestrian, the infantry loaded with their arms, and in full military equipment, the cavalry leading their horses. The musical bands played from time to time at the head of the regiments, and, in places of unusual difficulty, the drums beat a charge, as if to encourage the soldiers to encounter the opposition of nature herself. The artillery, without which they could not have done service, were deposited in trunks of trees hollowed out for the purpose. Each was dragged by a hundred men, and the troops, making it a point of honour to bring forward their guns, accomplished this severe duty, not with cheerfulness only, but with enthusiasm. The carriages were taken to pieces, and harnessed on the backs of mules, or committed to the soldiers, who relieved each other in the task of bearing them with levers; and the ammunition was transported in the same manner. While one half of the soldiers was thus engaged, the others were obliged to carry the muskets, cartridge-boxes, knapsacks, and provisions of their comrades, as well as their own. Each man, so loaded, was calculated to carry from sixty to seventy pounds weight, up icy precipices, where a man totally without encumbrance could ascend but slowly. Probably no troops save the French could have endured the fatigue of such a march; and no other general than Buonaparte would have ventured to require it at their hand.

He set out a considerable time after the march had begun, alone, excepting his guide. He is described by the Swiss peasant who attended him in that capacity, as wearing his usual simple dress, a grey surtout, and three-cornered hat. He travelled in silence, save a few short and hasty questions about the country, addressed to his guide from time to time. When these were answered, he relapsed into silence. There was a gloom on his brow, corresponding with the weather, which was wet and dismal. His countenance had acquired, during his eastern campaigns, a swart complexion, which added to his natural severe gravity; and the Swiss peasant who guided him felt fear as he looked on him. Occasionally his route was stopt by some temporary obstacle occasioned by a halt in the artillery or baggage; his commands on such occasions were peremptorily given, and instantly obeyed, his very look seeming enough to silence all objection, and remove every difficulty.

The army now arrived at that singular convent, where, with courage equal to their own, but flowing from a much higher source, the monks of St. Bernard have fixed their dwellings among the everlasting snows, that they may afford succour and hospitality to the forlorn travellers in those dreadful wastes. Hitherto the soldiers had no refreshment, save when they dipt a morsel of biscuit amongst the snows. The good fathers of the convent

who possess considerable magazines of provisions, distributed bread and cheese, and a cup of wine to each soldier as he passed, which was more acceptable in their situation, than, according to one who shared their fatigues, would have been the gold of Mexico.

The descent on the other side of Mont St. Bernard was as difficult to the infantry as the ascent had been, and still more so to the cavalry. It was, however, accomplished without any material loss, and the army took up their quarters for the night, after having marched fourteen French leagues. The next morning, 16th of May, the vanguard took possession of Aosta, a village of Piedmont, from which extends the valley of the same name, watered by the river Dorea, a country pleasant in itself, but rendered delightful by its contrast with the horrors which had been left behind. Thus was achieved the celebrated passage of Mont St. Bernard, on the particulars of which we have dwelt the more willingly, because, although a military operation of importance, they do not involve the unwearied details of human slaughter, to which our narrative must now return.

Where the opposition of nature to Napoleon's march appeared to cease, that of man commenced. A body of Austrians at Chatillon were overpowered and defeated by Lannes; but the strong fortress of Bard offered more serious opposition. This little citadel is situated upon an almost perpendicular rock, rising out of the river Dorea, at a place where the valley of Aosta is rendered so very narrow by the approach of two mountains to each other, that the fort and walled town of Bard entirely close up the entrance. This formidable obstacle threatened for the moment to shut up the French in a valley, where their means of subsistence must have been speedily exhausted. General Lannes made a desperate effort to carry the fort by assault; but the advanced guard of the attacking party were destroyed by stones, musketry, and hand grenades, and the attempt was relinquished.

Buonaparte in person went now to reconnoitre, and for that purpose ascended a huge rock called Albaredo, being a precipice on the side of one of the mountains which form the pass, from the summit of which he could look down into the town, and into the fortress. He detected a possibility of taking the town by storm, though he judged the fort was too strong to be obtained by a coup-de-main. The town was accordingly carried by escalade; but the French who obtained possession of it had little cover from the artillery of the fort, which fired furiously on the houses where they endeavoured to shelter themselves, and which the Austrians might have entirely demolished but for respect to the inhabitants. Meanwhile, Buonaparte availed himself of the diversion to convey a great part of his army in single files, horse as well as foot, by a precarious path formed by the pioneers over the tremendous Albaredo, and so down on the other side, in this manner avoiding the cannon of Fort Bard. Still a most important difficulty remained. It was impossible, at least without great loss of time, to carry the French artillery over the Albaredo, while, without artillery, it was impossible to move against the Austrians, and every hope of the campaign must be given up. In the mean time, the astonished commandant of the fort, to whom the apparition of this large army was like enchantment, dispatched messenger after messenger to warn Melas, then opposed to Suchet, that a French army of thirty thousand men and upwards, descending from the Alps by ways hitherto deemed impracticable for military movements, had occupied the valley of Aosta, and were endeavouring to debouch by a path of steps cut in the Albaredo. But he pledged himself to his commander-in-chief, that not a single gun or ammunition-waggon should pass through the town; and as it was impossible to drag these along the Albaredo, he concluded, that, being without his artillery, Buonaparte would not venture to descend into the plain.

But while the commandant of Bard thus argued, he was mistaken in his premises, though right in his inference. The artillery of the French army had already passed through the town of Bard, and under the guns of the citadel, without being discovered to have done so. This important manœuvre was accomplished by previously laying the street with

dung and earth, over which the pieces of cannon, concealed under straw and branches of trees, were dragged by men in profound silence. The garrison, though they did not suspect what was going on, fired nevertheless occasionally upon some vague suspicion, and killed and wounded artillerymen in sufficient number to show it would have been impossible to pass under a severe and sustained discharge from the ramparts. It seems singular that the commandant had kept up no intelligence with the town. Any signal previously agreed upon—a light shown in a window, for example—would have detected such a stratagem.

A division of conscripts, under general Chabran, was left to reduce Fort Bard, which continued to hold out, until, at the expense of great labour, batteries were established on the top of Albaredo, by which it was commanded, and a heavy gun placed on the steeple of the church, when it was compelled to surrender. It is not fruitless to observe, that the resistance of this small place, which had been overlooked or undervalued in the plan of the campaign, was very nearly rendering the march over Mont St. Bernard worse than useless, and might have occasioned the destruction of all the chief consul's army. So little are even the most distinguished generals able to calculate with certainty upon all the chances of war.

From this dangerous pass, the vanguard of Buonaparte now advanced down the valley to Ivrea, where Lannea carried the town by storm, and a second time combated and defeated the Austrian division which had defended it, when re-inforced and situated on a strong position at Romano. The roads to Turin and Milan were now alike open to Buonaparte—he had only to decide which he chose to take. Meanwhile he made a halt of four days at Ivrea, to refresh his troops after their fatigues, and to prepare them for future enterprises. During this space, the other columns of his army were advancing to form a junction with that of the main body, according to the plan of the campaign. Tureau, who had passed the Alps by the route of Mount Cenis, had taken the forts of Susa and La Brunette. On the other hand, the large corps detached by Carnot from Moreau's army, were advancing by Mount St. Gothard and the Simplon, to support the operations of the first consul, of whose army they were to form the left wing. But ere we prosecute the account of Buonaparte's movements during this momentous campaign, it is necessary to trace the previous operations of Melas, and the situation in which that Austrian general now found himself.

It has been already stated, that, at the commencement of this campaign of 1800, the Austrians entertained the highest hopes that their Italian army, having taken Genoa and Nice, might penetrate into Provence by crossing the frontier at the Var, and perhaps make themselves masters of Toulon and Marseilles. To realize these hopes, Melas, having left in Piedmont a sufficient force, as he deemed it, to guard the passes of the Alps, had advanced towards Genoa, which Massena prepared to cover and defend. A number of severe and desperate actions took place between these generals; but being a war of posts, and fought in a very mountainous and difficult country, it was impossible by any skill or combination to insure on any occasion more than partial success, since co-operation of movements upon a great and extensive scale was prohibited by the character of the ground. There was much hard fighting, however, in which, though more of the Austrians were slain, yet the loss was most severely felt by the French, whose numbers were inferior.

In the month of March, the English fleet, under lord Keith, appeared, as we have already hinted, before Genoa, and commenced a blockade, which strictly prevented access to the port to all vessels loaded with provisions, or other necessaries, for the besieged city. On the 6th of April, Melas, by a grand movement, took Vado, and intersected the French line. Suchet, who commanded Massena's left wing, was cut off from that general, and thrown back on France. Marches, manœuvres, and bloody combats followed each other in close detail; but the French, though obtaining advantages in several of the actions, could never succeed in restoring the communication between Suchet and Massena. Finally, while the former retreated towards France, and took up a line on Borghetta, the latter was compelled to con-

vert his army into a garrison, and to shut himself up in Genoa, or at least encamp in a position close under its ramparts. Melas, in the mean time, approached the city more closely, when Massena, in a desperate sally, drove the Austrians from their advanced posts, forced them to retreat, made prisoners twelve hundred men, and carried off some warlike trophies. But the French were exhausted by their very success, and obliged to remain within, or under the walls of the city, where the approach of famine began to be felt. Men were already compelled to have recourse to the flesh of horses, dogs, and other unclean animals, and it was seen that the place must soon be necessarily obliged to surrender. Satisfied with the approaching fall of Genoa, Melas, in the beginning of May, left the prosecution of the blockade to general Ott, and moved himself against Suchet, whom he drove before him in disorder, and who, overborne by numbers, retreated towards the French frontier. On the 11th of May, Melas entered Nice, and thus commenced the purposed invasion of the French frontier. On the 14th, the Austrians again attacked Suchet, who now had concentrated his forces upon the Var, in hopes to protect the French territory. Finding this a more difficult task than he expected, Melas next prepared to pass the Var higher up, and thus to turn the position occupied by Suchet. But on the 21st, the Austrian veteran received intelligence which put a stop to all his operations against Suchet, and recalled him to Italy to face a much more formidable antagonist. Tidings arrived that the first consul of France had crossed St. Bernard, had extricated himself from the Valley of Aosta, and was threatening to over-run Piedmont and the Milanese territory. These tidings were as unexpected as embarrassing. The artillery, the equipage, the provisions of Melas, together with his communications with Italy, were all at the mercy of this unexpected invader, who, though his force was not accurately known, must have brought with him an army more than adequate to destroy the troops left to guard the frontier; who, besides, were necessarily divided, and exposed to be beaten in detail. Yet, if Melas marched back into Piedmont against Buonaparte, he must abandon the attack on Suchet, and raise the blockade of Genoa, when that important city was just on the eve of surrender.

Persevering in the belief that the French army of reserve could not exceed twenty thousand men, or thereabouts, in number, and supposing that the principal, if not the sole object of the first consul's daring irruption, was to raise the siege of Genoa, and disconcert the invasion of Provence, Melas, resolved on marching himself against Buonaparte with such forces, as, united with those he had left in Italy, might be of power to face the French army, according to his computation of its probable strength. At the same time, he determined to leave before Genoa an army sufficient to insure its fall, and a corps of observation in front of Suchet, by means of which he might easily resume his plans against that general, so soon as the chief consul should be defeated or driven back. The corps of observation already mentioned was under the command of general Ellsnitz, strongly posted upon the Roje, and secured by entrenchments. It served at once to watch Suchet, and to cover the siege of Genoa from any attempts to relieve the city, which might be made in the direction of France. Massena, in the mean time, no sooner perceived the besieging army weakened by the departure of Melas, than he conceived the daring plan of a general attack on the forces of Ott, who was left to carry on the siege. The attempt was unfortunate. The French were defeated, and Soult, who had joined Massena, was wounded, and made a prisoner. Yet Genoa still held out. An officer had found his way into the place, brought intelligence of Buonaparte's descent upon Piedmont, and inspired all with a new spirit of resistance. Still, however, extreme want prevailed in the city, and the hope of deliverance seemed distant. The soldiers received little food, the inhabitants less, the Austrian prisoners, of whom they had about eight thousand in Genoa almost none. At length the situation of things seemed desperate. The numerous population of Genoa rose in the extremity of their despair, and called for a surrender. Buonaparte, they said, was not wont to march so slowly; he would have been before the walls sooner, if he was to appear at all; he must have been defeated or driven back by the su-

terior force of Melas. They demanded the surrender of the place, therefore, which Massena no longer found himself in a condition to oppose. Yet could that brave general have suspended this measure a few hours longer, he would have been spared the necessity of making it at all. General Ott had just received commands from Melas to raise the blockade with all dispatch, and to fall back upon the Po, in order to withstand Buonaparte, who, in unexpected strength, was marching upon Milan. The Austrian staff-officer, who brought the order, had just received his audience of General Ott, when general Andrieux, presenting himself on the part of Massena, announced the French general's desire to surrender the place, if his troops were permitted to march out with their arms. There was no time to debate upon terms; and those granted to Massena by Melas were so unusually favourable, that perhaps they should have made him aware of the precarious state of the besieging army. He was permitted to evacuate Genoa without laying down his arms, and the convention was signed the 5th of June 1800. Meantime at this agitating and interesting period, events of still greater importance than those which concerned the fate of the once princely Genoa, were taking place with frightful rapidity.

Melas, with about one half of his army, had retired from his operations in the Genoese territory, and retreated on Turin by the way of Coni, where he fixed his head quarters, expecting that Buonaparte would either advance to possess himself of the capital of Piedmont, or that he would make an effort to relieve Genoa. In the first instance, Melas deemed himself strong enough to receive the first consul; in the second, to pursue him; and in either, to assemble such numerous forces as might harass and embarrass either his advance or his retreat. But Buonaparte's plan of the campaign was different from what Melas had anticipated. He had formed the resolution to pass the rivers Sesia and Tesino, and thus leaving Turin and Melas behind him, to push straight for Milan, and form a junction with the division of about twenty thousand men, detached from the right wing of Moreau's army, which, commanded by Moncey, were on their road to join him, having crossed the mountains by the route of St. Gothard. It was necessary, however, to disguise his purpose from the sagacious veteran. With this view, ere Buonaparte broke up from Ivrea, Launes, who had commanded his vanguard with so much gallantry, victorious at Romano, seemed about to improve his advantage. He had marched on Chiavaso, and seizing on a number of boats and small vessels, appeared desirous to construct a bridge over the Po at that place. This attracted the attention of Melas. It might be equally a preliminary to an attack on Turin, or a movement towards Genoa. But as the Austrian general was at the same time alarmed by the descent of general Turreau's division from Mount Cenis, and their capture of Susa and La Brunnetta, Turin seemed *ascertained* to be the object of the French; and Melas acted on this idea. He sent a strong force to oppose the establishment of the bridge, and while his attention was thus occupied, Buonaparte was left to take the road to Milan unmolested. Vercelli was occupied by the cavalry under Murat, and the Sesia was crossed without obstacle. The Tesino, a broad and rapid river, offered more serious opposition; but the French found four or five small boats, in which they pushed across an advanced party under general Gerard. The Austrians, who opposed the passage, were in a great measure cavalry, who could not act on account of the woody and impracticable character of the bank of the river. The passage was accomplished; and, upon the 2nd of June, Buonaparte entered Milan, where he was received with acclamations by a numerous class of citizens, who looked for the re-establishment of the Cisalpine republic. The Austrians were totally unprepared for this movement. Pavia fell into the hands of the French; Lodi and Cremona were occupied, and Pizzighitone was invested. Meantime, Buonaparte, fixing his residence in the ducal palace of Milan, employed himself in receiving the deputations of various public bodies, and in reorganizing the Cisalpine government, while he waited impatiently to be joined by Moncey and his division, from Mount St. Gothard. They arrived at length, but marching more slowly than accorded with the fiery promptitude of the

first consul, who was impatient to relieve the blockade of Genoa, which place he concluded still held out. He now issued a proclamation to his troops, in which he described, as the result of the efforts he expected from them, "Cloudless glory and solid peace." On the 9th of June his armies were again in motion.

Melas, an excellent officer, had at the same time some of the slowness imputed to his countrymen, or of the irresolution incident to the advanced age of eighty years,—for so old was the opponent of Buonaparte, then in the very prime of human life,—or, as others suspect, it may have been orders from Vienna which detained the Austrian general so long at Turin, where he lay in a great measure inactive. It is true, that on receiving notice of Buonaparte's march on Milan, he instantly dispatched orders to general Ott, as we have already stated, to raise the siege of Genoa, and join him with all possible speed; but it seemed, that, in the mean time, he might have disquieted Buonaparte's lines of communication, by acting upon the river Dorea, attacking Ivrea, in which the French had left much baggage and artillery, and relieving the fort of Bard. Accordingly he made an attempt of this kind, by detaching six thousand men to Chiavaso, who were successful in delivering some Austrian prisoners at that place; but Ivrea proved strong enough to resist them, and the French retaining possession of that place, the Austrians could not occupy the valley of the Dorea, or relieve the besieged fortress of Bard. The situation of Melas now became critical. His communications with the left, or north bank of the Po, were entirely cut off, and by a line stretching from fort Bard to Placentia, the French occupied the best and fairest share of the north of Italy, while he found himself confined to Piedmont. The Austrian army, besides, was divided into two parts,—one under Ott, which was still near Genoa, that had so lately surrendered to them, one with Melas himself, which was at Turin. Neither were agreeably situated. That of Genoa was observed on its right by Suchet, whose army, re-inforced with the garrison which, retaining their arms, evacuated that city under Massena, might soon be expected to renew the offensive. There was, therefore, the greatest risk, that Buonaparte, pushing a strong force across the Po, might attack and destroy either the division of Ott, or that of Melas himself, before they were able to form a junction. To prevent such a catastrophe, Ott received orders to march forward on the Tesino, while Melas, moving towards Alexandria, prepared to resume his communications with his lieutenant general. Buonaparte, on his part, was anxious to relieve Genoa; news of the fall of which had not reached him. With this view he resolved to force his passage over the Po, and move against the Austrians, who were found to occupy in strength the villages of Casteggio and Montebello. These troops proved to be the greater part of the very army which he expected to find before Genoa, and which was commanded by Ott, but which had moved westward, in conformity to the orders of Melas.

General Lannes, who led the vanguard of the French, as usual, was attacked early in the morning by a superior force, which he had much difficulty in resisting. The nature of the ground gave advantage to the Austrian cavalry, and the French were barely able to support their charges. At length the division of Victor came up to support Lannes, and the victory became no longer doubtful, though the Austrians fought most obstinately. The fields being covered with tall crops of grain, and especially of rye, the different bodies were frequently hid until they found themselves at the bayonet's point, without having had any previous opportunity to estimate each other's force; a circumstance which led to much close fighting, and necessarily to much slaughter. At length the Austrians retreated, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and above five thousand prisoners in the hands of their enemies.

General Ott rallied the remains of his army under the walls of Tortona. From the prisoners taken at the battle of Montebello, as this action was called, Buonaparte learned, for the first time, the surrender of Genoa, which apprized him that he was too late for the enterprise which he had meditated. He therefore halted his army for three days in the position of Stradella,

unwilling to advance into the open plain of Marengo, and trusting that Melas would find himself compelled to give him battle in the position which he had chosen, as most unfavourable for the Austrian cavalry. He dispatched messengers to Suchet, commanding him to cross the mountains by the Col de Cadibona, and march on the river Scrivia, which would place him in the rear of the Austrians. Even during the very battle of Montebello, the chief consul was joined by Dessaix, who had just arrived from Egypt. Landed at Frejus, after a hundred interruptions, that seemed as if intended to withhold him from the fate he was about to meet, he had received letters from Buonaparte, inviting him to come to him without delay. The tone of the letters expressed discontent and embarrassment. "He has gained all," said Dessaix, who was much attached to Buonaparte, "and yet he is not 'happy.'" Immediately afterwards, on reading the account of his march over St. Bernard, he added, "He will leave us nothing to do." He immediately set out post to place himself under the command of his ancient general, and, as it eventually proved, to encounter an early death. They had an interesting conversation on the subject of Egypt, to which Buonaparte continued to cling, as to a matter in which his own fame was intimately and inseparably concerned. Dessaix immediately received the command of the division hitherto under that of Boudet. In the mean while, the headquarters of Melas had been removed from Turin, and fixed at Alexandria for the space of two days; yet he did not, as Buonaparte had expected, attempt to move forward on the French position at Stradella, in order to force his way to Mantua; so that the first consul was obliged to advance towards Alexandria, apprehensive lest the Austrians should escape from him, and either, by a march to the left flank, move for the Tesino, cross that river, and, by seizing Milan, open a communication with Austria in that direction; or, by marching to the right, and falling back on Genoa, overwhelm Suchet, and take a position, the right of which might be covered by that city, while the sea was open for supplies and provisions, and their flank protected by the British squadron. Either of these movements might have been attended with alarming consequences; and Napoleon, impatient lest his enemy should give him the slip, advanced his headquarters on the 12th to Voghera, and on the 13th to St. Julian, in the midst of the great plain of Marengo. As he still saw nothing of the enemy, the chief consul concluded that Melas had actually retreated from Alexandria, having, notwithstanding the temptation afforded by the level ground around him, preferred withdrawing, most probably to Genoa, to the hazard of a battle. He was still more confirmed in this belief, when, pushing forward as far as the village of Marengo, he found it only occupied by an Austrian rear-guard, which offered no persevering defence against the French, but retreated from the village without much opposition. The chief consul could no longer doubt that Melas had eluded him, by marching off by one of his flanks, and probably by his right. He gave orders to Dessaix, whom he had intrusted with the command of the reserve, to march towards Rivolta, with a view to observe the communications with Genoa; and in this manner the reserve was removed half a day's march from the rest of the army, which had like to produce most sinister effects upon the event of the great battle that followed.

Contrary to what Buonaparte had anticipated, the Austrian general, finding the first consul in his front, and knowing that Suchet was in his rear, had adopted, with the consent of a council of war, the resolution of trying the fate of arms in a general battle. It was a bold, but not a rash resolution. The Austrians were more numerous than the French in infantry and artillery; much superior in cavalry, both in point of numbers and of discipline; and it has been already said, that the extensive plain of Marengo was favourable for the use of that description of force. Melas, therefore, on the evening of the 13th, concentrated his forces in front of Alexandria, divided by the river Bormida from the purposed field of fight; and Napoleon, undeceived concerning the intentions of his enemy, made with all haste the necessary preparations to receive battle, and failed not to send orders to Dessaix to return as speedily as possible and join the army. That general was

so far advanced on his way towards Rivolta before these counter-orders reached him, that his utmost haste only brought him back after the battle had lasted several hours. Buonaparte's disposition was as follows:—The village of Marengo was occupied by the divisions of Gardanne and Chambarthac. Victor, with two other divisions, and commanding the whole, was prepared to support them. He extended his left as far as Castel Ceriolo, a small village which lies almost parallel with Marengo. Behind this first line was placed a brigade of cavalry, under Kellermann, ready to protect the flanks of the line, or to debouche through the intervals, if opportunity served, and attack the enemy. About a thousand yards in the rear of the first line was stationed the second, under Lannes, supported by Champeaux's brigade of cavalry. At the same distance, in the rear of Lannes, was placed a strong reserve, or third line, consisting of the division of Carra St. Cyr, and the consular-guard, at the head of whom was Buonaparte himself. Thus the French were drawn up on this memorable day, in three distinct divisions, each composed of a *corps d'armée*, distant about three-quarters of a mile in the rear of each other.

The force which the French had in the field in the commencement of the day, was above twenty thousand men; the reserve, under Dessaix, upon its arrival, might make the whole amount to thirty thousand. The Austrians attacked with nearly forty thousand troops. Both armies were in high spirits, determined to fight, and each confident in their general—the Austrians in the bravery and experience of Melas, the French in the genius and talents of Buonaparte. The immediate stake was the possession of Italy; but it was impossible to guess, how many yet more important consequences the event of the day might involve. Thus much seemed certain, that the battle must be decisive, and that defeat must prove destruction to the party who should sustain it. Buonaparte, if routed, could hardly have accomplished his retreat upon Milan; and Melas, if defeated, had Suchet in his rear. The fine plain on which the French were drawn up, seemed lists formed by nature for such an encounter, when the fate of kingdoms was at issue.

Early in the morning, the Austrians crossed the Bormida, in three columns, by three military bridges, and advanced in the same order. The right and the centre columns, consisting of infantry, were commanded by generals Haddick and Kaine; the left, composed entirely of light troops and cavalry, made a detour round Castel Ceriolo, the village mentioned as forming the extreme right of the French position. About seven in the morning, Haddick attacked Marengo with fury, and Gardanne's division, after fighting bravely, proved inadequate to its defence. Victor supported Gardanne, and endeavoured to cover the village by an oblique movement. Melas, who commanded in person the central column of the Austrians, moved to support Haddick; and by their united efforts, the village of Marengo, after having been once or twice lost and won, was finally carried. The broken divisions of Victor and Gardanne, driven out of Marengo, endeavoured to rally on the second line, commanded by Lannes. This was about nine o'clock. While one Austrian column manœuvred to turn Lannes' flank, in which they could not succeed; another, with better fortune, broke through the centre of Victor's division, in a considerable degree disordered them, and thus uncovering Lannes' left wing, compelled him to retreat. He was able to do so in tolerably good order; but not so the broken troops of Victor on the left, who fled to the rear in great confusion. The column of Austrian cavalry who had come round Castel Ceriolo, now appeared on the field, and threatened the right of Lannes, which alone remained standing firm. Napoleon detached two battalions of the consular-guard from the third line, or reserve, which, forming squares behind the right wing of Lannes, supported its resistance, and withdrew from it in part, the attention of the enemy's cavalry. The chief consul himself, whose post was distinguished by the furred caps of a guard of two hundred grenadiers, brought up Mounier's division, which had but now entered the field at the moment of extreme need, being the advance of Dessaix's reserve, returned from their half day's march towards Rivolta. These were, with the guards, directed to support Lannes' right wing; and a brigade de-

tached from them, was thrown into Castel Ceriolo, which now became the point of support on Buonaparte's extreme right, and which the Austrians, somewhat unaccountably, had omitted to occupy in force when their left column passed it in the beginning of the engagement. Buonaparte, meantime, by several desperate charges of cavalry, endeavoured in vain to arrest the progress of the enemy. His left wing was put completely to flight; his centre was in great disorder; and it was only his right wing, which, by strong support, had been enabled to stand their ground. In these circumstances the day seemed so entirely against him, that, to prevent his right wing from being overwhelmed, he was compelled to retreat in the face of an enemy superior in numbers, and particularly in cavalry and artillery. It was, however, rather a change of position, than an absolute retreat to the rear. The French right still resting on Castel Ceriolo, which formed the pivot of the manœuvre, had orders to retreat very slowly, the centre faster, the left at ordinary quick time. In this manner the whole line of battle was changed, and instead of extending diagonally across the plain, as when the fight began, the French now occupied an oblong position, the left being withdrawn as far back as St. Julian, where it was protected by the advance of Dessaix's troops. This division, being the sole remaining reserve, had now at length arrived on the field, and, by Buonaparte's directions, had taken a strong position, in front of St. Julian, on which the French were obliged to retreat; great part of the left wing in the disorder of utter flight, the right wing steadily, and by intervals fronting the enemy, and sustaining with firmness the attacks made upon them.

At this time, and when victory seemed within his grasp, the strength of general Melas, eighty years old, and who had been many hours on horseback, failed entirely; and he was obliged to leave the field, and retire to Alexandria, committing to general Zach the charge of completing a victory which appeared to be already gained. But the position of Dessaix, at St. Julian, afforded the first consul a rallying point which he now greatly needed. His army of reserve lay formed in two lines in front of the village, their flanks sustained by battalions *en potence*, formed into close columns of infantry; on the left was a train of artillery; on the right, Kellermann, with a large body of French cavalry, which, routed in the beginning of the day, had rallied in this place. The ground that Dessaix occupied was where the high road forms a sort of defile, having on the one hand a wood, on the other a thick plantation of vines. The French soldier understands better perhaps than any other in the world the art of rallying, after having been dispersed. The fugitives of Victor's division, though in extreme disorder, threw themselves into the rear of Dessaix's position, and, covered by his troops, renewed their ranks and their courage. Yet, when Dessaix saw the plain filled with flying soldiers, and beheld Buonaparte himself in full retreat, he thought all must be lost. They met in the midst of the greatest apparent confusion, and Dessaix thus addressed Napoleon: "The battle is lost!—I suppose I "can do no more for you than secure your retreat?"—"By no means," answered the first consul, "the battle is, I trust, gained—the disordered "troops whom you see are my centre and left, whom I will rally in your "rear—push forward your column." Dessaix, at the head of the ninth light brigade, instantly rushed forward, and charged the Austrians, wearied with fighting the whole day, and disordered by their hasty pursuit. The moment at which he advanced, so critically favourable for Buonaparte, was fatal to himself. He fell, shot through the head; but his soldiers continued to attack with fury, and Kellermann, at the same time charging the Austrian column, penetrated its ranks, and separated from the rest six battalions, which, surprised and panic-struck, threw down their arms; Zach, who, in the absence of Melas, commanded in chief, being at their head, was taken with them. The Austrians were now driven back in their turn. Buonaparte galloped along the French line, calling on the soldiers to advance, "You know," said he, "it is always my practice to sleep on the field of battle." The Austrians had pursued their success with incautious hurry, and without attending to the due support which one corps ought, in all circumstances, to be pre-

pared to afford to another. Their left flank was also exposed, by their hasty advance, to Buonaparte's right, which had never lost order. They were, therefore, totally unprepared to resist this general, furious and unexpected attack. They were forced back at all points, and pursued along the plain, suffering immense loss; nor were they again able to make a stand, until driven back over the Bormida. Their fine cavalry, instead of being drawn up in squadrons to cover their retreat, fled in disorder, and at full gallop, riding down all that was in their way. The confusion at passing the river was inextricable—large bodies of men were abandoned on the left side, and surrendered to the French in the course of the night, or next morning. It is evident in perusing the accounts of this battle, that the victory was wrested out of the hands of the Austrians, after they had become, by the fatigues of the day, too weary to hold it. Had they sustained their advance by reserves, their disaster would not have taken place. It seems also certain, that the fate of Buonaparte was determined by the arrival of Dessaix at the moment he did, and that in spite of the skilful disposition by which the chief consul was enabled to support the attack so long, he must have been utterly defeated had Dessaix put less dispatch in his counter-march. Military men have been farther of opinion, that Melas was guilty of a great error, in not occupying Castel Ceriolo on the advance; and that the appearances of early victory led the Austrians to be by far too unguarded in their advance on St. Julian.

In consequence of a loss which seemed in the circumstances altogether irreparable, Melas resolved to save the remains of his army, by entering, upon the 15th of June 1800, into a convention, or rather capitulation, by which he agreed, on receiving permission to retire behind Mantua, to yield up Genoa, and all the fortified places which the Austrians possessed in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations. Buonaparte the more readily granted these terms, that an English army was in the act of arriving on the coast. His wisdom taught him not to drive a powerful enemy to despair, and to be satisfied with the glory of having regained, in the affairs of Montebello and of Marengo, almost all the loss sustained by the French in the disastrous campaign of 1799. Enough had been done to show, that, as the fortunes of France appeared to wane and dwindle after Buonaparte's departure, so they revived with even more than their original brilliancy, as soon as this child of destiny had returned to preside over them. An armistice was also agreed upon, which it was supposed might afford time for the conclusion of a victorious peace with Austria; and Buonaparte extended this truce to the armies on the Rhine, as well as those in Italy.

Two days having been spent in the arrangements which the convention with Melas rendered necessary, Buonaparte, on the 17th of June, returned to Milan, where he again renewed the republican constitution, which had been his original gift to the Cisalpine state. He executed several other acts of authority. Though displeased with Massena for the surrender of Genoa, he did not the less constitute him commander-in-chief in Italy; and though doubtful of Jourdan's attachment, who, on the 18th of Brumaire, seemed ready to espouse the republican interest, he did not on that account hesitate to name him, minister of the French republic in Piedmont, which was equivalent to giving him the administration of that province. The conciliatory steps had the effect of making men of the most opposite parties see their own interest in supporting the government of the first consul.

The presence of Napoleon was now eagerly desired at Paris. He set out from Milan on the 24th of June, and in his passage through Lyons, paused to lay the foundation-stone for the rebuilding the place Bellecour; a splendid square, which had been destroyed by the frantic vengeance of the Jacobins when Lyons was re-taken by them from the insurgent party of Girondists and Royalists. Finally, the chief consul returned to Paris upon the 2nd of July. He had left it on the 6th of May; yet in the space of not quite two months, how many hopes had he realized! All that the most sanguine partisans had ventured to anticipate of his success had been exceeded. It seemed that his mere presence in Italy was of itself sufficient at once to

obliterate the misfortunes of a disastrous campaign, and restore the fruits of his own brilliant victories, which had been lost during his absence. It appeared as if he was the sun of France—when he was hid from her, all was gloom—when he appeared, light and serenity was restored. All the inhabitants, leaving their occupations, thronged to the Tuileries to obtain a glimpse of the wonderful man, who appeared with the laurel of victory in one hand, and the olive of peace in the other. Shouts of welcome and congratulation resounded from the gardens, the courts, and the quays, by which the palace is surrounded; high and low illuminated their houses; and there were few Frenchmen, perhaps, that were not for the moment partakers of the general joy.

The Austrians, vanquished at Marengo, and then defeated in Germany by Moreau, determined to sue for peace. On the 8th of January 1801, the French republic, the cabinet of Vienna, and the empire, concluded the treaty of Luneville. Austria ratified all the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and ceded, in addition, Tuscany to the young duke of Parma. The empire recognized the independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics. The pacification now became general by the treaty of Florence, with the king of Naples, on the 18th of February, who ceded the isle of Elba, and the principality of Piombino—with Portugal, by the treaty of Madrid, on the 29th of September, 1801—with the emperor of Russia, by the treaty of Paris, signed on the 8th of October—and finally with the Ottoman Porte, by the preliminaries signed with that power on the following day. The continent laying down arms drove England into a momentary peace; but the circumstances which led to and which accompanied this momentary truce, I have already detailed to you in my former letter, and therefore need not here repeat them.(1)

(1) *Histoire de Revolution Française, 1789—1814*, par A. F. Mignet.—*Memoirs for a History of France under Napoleon*, written at St. Helena, tom. i.—*Marengo, ou la Campagne d'Italie*, par Joseph Petit.—*Voyage en Suisse et en Italie, fait avec l'armée de Reserve*.—*Annual Registers, 1800—1802*.

END OF PART III.

THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART IV.

FROM THE TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802, TO THE DEATH OF
ALEXANDER, THE RUSSIAN EMPEROR, IN 1825.

LETTER I.

Sketch of the Politics of Europe, from the general pacification in 1802, to the renewal of hostilities between England and France, in June 1803.—Napoleon created consul for ten years—afterwards for life.—Expedition to St. Domingo—Its total failure.—Reflections on this event.—Renewal of war.

THE war which had now so long raged between France and the nations of Europe, had unfortunately terminated in an enormous aggrandizement of the former, sufficient to render her an object of alarm and dread to her neighbours; nevertheless, the continental states, harassed and impoverished by a long and disastrous contest, eagerly grasped at the blessings of peace. The measures of the first consul, however, were not much calculated to authorize a hope of its long continuance. For, scarcely had the preliminaries been signed, when he procured the office of president of the Italian republic to be vested in his own hands, and a new constitution was formed, which conferred upon him the whole executive and nearly the whole legislative authority, though the independence of that republic was one of the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville. He had subverted the independence of Switzerland, and annexed the Pays de Vaud to the dominions of France; and early in February, 1802, he sent general Thureau into the adjacent state of the Valais, who suppressed all the constituted authorities, and possessed himself of the public treasury and the archives of government. A communication of the most menacing nature was at the same time sent from the first consul to the canton of Berne, and all Switzerland began to apprehend either her speedy reduction by force of arms, or the imposition of a constitution which would eventually degrade her into a province of France.

During the interval from the battle of Marengo to the general pacification. Buonaparte was principally occupied in settling the people, in diminishing the number of the discontented, and in restoring to the state the displaced factions. He was very complaisant to the parties who renounced their systems, and very prodigal of his favours to the leaders who renounced their parties. Numbers of the proscribed were recalled, and the war of La Vendée

was finally terminated. Some of the Chouans, however, who had taken refuge in England, and who despaired of ever being able to resume their station and property, while he, in whom was obviously concentrated the powers of the revolution, survived, projected his assassination. A party of these wretched beings having landed on the coast of France, made their way privately to Paris; but finding it impossible to obtain access to the first consul, they devised a scheme which was truly horrible! The original design of the conspirators, seems to have been to poniard him when he visited the opera; but this being discovered by one of the number, a new project of greater ingenuity and deeper contrivance was formed. This was the construction of what has been denominated the *infernal machine*, consisting of a barrel filled with gunpowder, into which was inserted a match, so as to cause an explosion at the appointed moment. This machine was placed in a cart, and drawn into the street called the Rue Nicaise. On the evening of the 24th of December, a celebrated piece was to be performed at the opera, at which it was expected that Napoleon would be present. You shall have the account of this singular affair in his own words, as furnished by Mr. Barry O'Meara, in his "Voice from St. Helena."

"It was about Christmas time, and great festivities were going on. I had been greatly occupied with business all the day, and in the evening found myself sleepy and tired. Josephine came down some time after, and insisted that I should go to the theatre. I got up much against my inclination, and went in my carriage accompanied by Lannes and Bessières. I was so drowsy that I fell asleep in the coach. I was asleep when the explosion took place, and I recollect, when I awoke, experiencing a sensation as if the vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body of water. The contriver of this plot was a man of the name of St. Regent Imolan, a religious man, who has since gone to America and turned priest, and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel, resembling those with which water is supplied through the streets of Paris, with this exception, that the barrel was placed crossways. This was filled with gunpowder, and placed nearly in the turning of the street through which I was to pass. That which saved me was, my wife's carriage being the same in appearance as my own, and there being a guard of fifteen men to each. Imolan did not know which of the carriages I was in, nor was he certain that I should be in either of them. In order to ascertain this he stepped forward to look into the carriage, and assure himself of my presence. One of my guards, a great tall strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a man stopping up the way and staring into the carriage, rode up and gave him a kick with his great boot, which knocked him down. Before he could get up, the carriage had passed a little on. Imolan, probably thrown into confusion by his fall and by his intentions, not perceiving that the carriage had passed, ran to the cart, and exploded his machine between the two carriages. It killed the horse of one of my guards, and wounded the rider, knocked down several houses, and killed and wounded about forty or fifty gaping people (*badauds*) who were gazing to see me pass. The police collected together all the fragments of the cart and the machine, and invited all the workmen in Paris to come and look at them. The pieces were recognized by several: one said, I made this, another that, and all agreed that they had sold them to two men who were *les Brétous*, but nothing more could be ascertained. Shortly after, the hackney coachmen and others of that description, gave a great dinner in the Champs Elysées to Cæsar, my coachman, thinking that he had saved my life by his skill and activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, for he was drunk at the time; it was the guardsman who saved it by knocking the fellow down. At this dinner they all took their bottle freely and drank to Cæsar's health. One of them, when he was drunk said, 'Cæsar, I know the man who attempted to blow the first consul up the other day. In such a street, in such a house, (naming them) I saw on that day a cart, like a water cart, coming out of a passage, which attracted my attention, as I had never seen one there before. I observed the man and the horse.

“and should know them again.” The minister of the police was accordingly sent for; the man was interrogated, and brought them to the house which he had mentioned, where they found the measure with which the conspirators had put the powder into the barrel, with some of the powder still adhering to it. The master of the house, on being questioned, said, that there had been people there for some time, whom he took to be smugglers; that on the day in question they had gone out with the cart, which he supposed to contain a loading of smuggled goods. He added that they were *Bas Brétans*, and that one of them had the appearance of being master over the other two. Having now obtained a description of their persons, every search was made for them, and St. Regent and Carbon were taken, tried, and executed.”

It was more especially after the peace of Amiens that Buonaparte laid the foundation of his future power. In the memoirs published under his own name, he tells us that “the ideas of Napoleon were fixed, but to realize them he required the assistance of time, and of events. The organization of the consulate was perfectly consistent with these; it produced unity, and this was a first step. This step gained, Napoleon was entirely indifferent to the forms and denominations of the different constituted bodies. He was a stranger to the revolution—his wisdom was to march on his way, without deviating from a fixed point, the polar star by which Napoleon was taking his direction, in order to conduct the revolution to the harbour where he wished it to repose.”(1) At the commencement of 1802 he was advancing simultaneously three grand projects, all of which tended to the same object. The first of these was the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France. The national convention, which had abolished public worship, had subsequently restored it; but France still remained in a state of schism from the communion of the Romish church. The first consul, seeing the necessity of a national religion, now wished to constitute the clergy, which had as yet only a religious existence; he therefore applied himself to the reformation and re-establishment of the church, and a plan for that purpose was concerted with the pope. On the 6th of April 1802, Buonaparte, no longer dreading opposition, submitted the concordat for the acceptance of the assemblies, which he had thus prepared for obedience, and it was adopted by a very great majority. The observance of the sabbath and of the four grand festivals was restored, and from this moment the government ceased to follow the decenary system. This was the first abandonment of the republican calendar. The object of the first consul in this was to attach to himself the clergy of France, the office most disposed for passive obedience, and thus to balance the clergy against the royalist opposition, and the pope against the interests of the coalition. The principal articles of the concordat were the re-establishment of the free exercise of the Roman-catholic religion in France—a new division of the dioceses by the pope, in concert with the French government—the first consul to nominate the archbishopsricks, and bishopricks of the new division; and the prelates, previous to an entrance on their functions, to take an oath of fidelity to the French republic—the bishops to appoint the curés, subject, however, to the confirmation of the government—the pope in no manner to disturb the possessors of alienated ecclesiastical effects—catholics permitted to make endowments of churches. Articles were at the same time drawn up for the regulation of the Protestant worship in France. Such is an outline of this curious document, the concordat, which was inaugurated with great pomp, in the church of Notre-Dame. The senate, the legislative body, the tribune, the principal functionaries, assisted at this new ceremony. Napoleon proceeded there in the carriages of the ancient court, with all the circumstances of etiquette pertaining to the ancient monarchy; discharges of artillery announced this return of privilege and this essay of royalty. A pontifical mass was celebrated by the cardinal legate, Caprara, who, in a complimentary address to the first consul, was pleased to say that

(1) Memoirs for a History of France, under Napoleon, written at St. Helena, tom. i. p. 248.

“the same hand which gained battles, and which signed peace with all nations, restores splendour to the temples of the true God, re-edifies his altars, and re-establishes his worship.” A proclamation was addressed to the people couched in language to which they had lately been strangers. “It was to the sovereign pontiff, they were now told, “that reason, and the example of ages, taught them to recur, for the purpose of reconciling their animosities, and producing union in their sentiments. The head of the church had weighed, in his wisdom, and in the interests of the church, the propositions which the interest of the state had dictated !” In the evening there was an illumination and concert in the garden of the Tuileries. The military presented themselves very reluctantly at the ceremony of the inauguration, and somewhat haughtily manifested their disapprobation. On the return to the palace, Napoleon enquired of general Delmas, how he liked the ceremony? “It was a beautiful piece of devotion,” replied Delmas: “there was nothing missing but the million of men who have lost their lives in order to destroy that which you are restoring.” Thus, to the civil and military honours of the fortunate adventurer, was now added that of being a champion of the Christian church.

The concordat being signed and ratified, it was next presented to the legislative assembly, and Portalis, who acted as minister for ecclesiastical affairs, delivered a speech adapted to the occasion. In this politico-religious harangue, he took an extensive review of the state of the republic in reference to religion for some time prior to the new establishment. He insisted on the necessity of morals to the welfare of a nation, and thence deduced the propriety of national instruction. He demonstrated, that it was the interest of the government to protect religious institutions, arguing that he conceived an establishment to be the best means of preventing superstition and fanaticism, and absolutely necessary to the civilisation of the human race. He shewed that the Christian religion had produced a most salutary effect on the manners of Europe; and that if the mariner's compass had laid open the world, Christianity had civilized it. In regard to the re-establishment of the Catholic worship in preference to any other, he contended that it was more prudent to establish a religion which was sanctioned by time and the respect of the people, than to adopt any other or to invent a new system. When the concordat was ratified by the legislature and formally promulgated, it was received with universal acclamation. The churches were crowded and the restoration of the ceremonies seemed to proclaim the re-establishment of the principles of religion. But the shock which the hierarchy had received, was productive of effects that were not easily removed. The rulers of France had assumed the power of modifying the state of religious worship at their pleasure. They had formerly declared it to be an imposition on popular credulity, and they now ordered it to be re-established. The obvious conclusion was, that they regarded it merely in the light of an engine of state policy; and that the people were authorized to form their own estimate of its importance. Such a politico-religious drama, so long carried on, had an evident tendency to render infidelity prevalent in France.

On the 15th of May, 1802, a month after the ratification of the concordat, Buonaparte caused to be presented a law relative to the creation of a legion of honour; a permanent military order in the army. This legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts of dignitaries for life, arranged hierarchically, having a centre, an organization, and revenues. The first consul was the chief of the legion: each cohort was composed of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. Thus he sought to establish a new aristocracy; and for that purpose he addressed himself to the dissentiment of inequality, which had been but imperfectly extinguished. In discussing this project of law in the council of state, he fearlessly made known his aristocratical intentions. Berlier, a councillor of state, having expressed his disapprobation of an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, said that “distinctions were the baubles of monarchy.” “I defy you,” rejoined Napoleon, “to shew me a republic, ancient or modern, in which there were no distinctions. You spoke of baubles. Well! it is by baubles that we

"delude mankind. I should not say this to a tribune; but in a council of ages and statesmen we ought to say every thing. I do not believe that the French people love liberty and equality. The French are not changed by ten years of revolution—they have only one sentiment, namely, *honour*. We must therefore nourish this sentiment; we must create distinctions. Do you see how the people prostrate themselves before the ribbons and stars of foreigners? They have been surprised by these baubles—nor do they fail to wear them. We have destroyed every thing; we must now rebuild. We have a government—nor are we destitute of authorities; but the rest of the nation—what is it? Grains of sand. We have in the midst of us ancient privileges, organized from principles and interests. I can enumerate our enemies; but, for ourselves, we are scattered without system, without union, without contact. So long as I live, I can answer for the welfare of the republic; but we must provide for the future. Do you think that the republic is finally settled? If so, you will find yourselves greatly mistaken. We can do it; but we must throw upon the soil of France some masses of granite." In these declarations Napoleon announced a new system of government, very opposite to that which the leaders in the revolution had proposed to establish, and which the new state of society demanded.

The French government was now making rapid advances towards a confirmed despotism in the person of the first consul. Buonaparte had commenced a career of greatness, which, to one of his ambitious mind, would not admit of a pause. He now wished to consolidate his power by the establishment of privilege, and to strengthen privilege by the permanency of his power. On the proposition of Chabot, the tribunate declared its wish "that there should be conferred on general Buonaparte a *brilliant pledge* of the national gratitude;" and on the 6th of May, an organic *senatus-consultum* nominated Buonaparte, consul for ten years! But this extension of the consulate was not enough for Napoleon; and two months afterwards, on the 2nd of August, 1802, the senate, on the decision of the tribunate and the legislative body, sanctioned indeed by the assent of the people which was ascertained by the public registers, decreed—first, that the French people nominate, and the senate proclaim Napoleon first consul for life—secondly, that a statue of peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation—and thirdly, that the senate shall convey to the first consul, the expression of the confidence, the affection, and the admiration of the French people. Thus before the close of the year 1802, every thing was in the hands of the consul for life, with the privilege of appointing a successor—he had a class devoted to him in the clergy—a military order in the legion of honour—a body of administrators in the council of state—a machine for decrees in the legislative assembly—and a manufactory of constitutions in the senate.

During the maritime war with England, the navy of France was almost entirely ruined. Three hundred and forty vessels had been taken or destroyed, and almost all her colonies had fallen into the hands of the English. That of St. Domingo, the most important of them all, having shaken off the yoke of their white masters, had continued the American revolution, which commencing with the colonies of England, was to terminate by those of Spain, and render the new world independent of the old. At this epoch, the blacks of St. Domingo wished to maintain, with respect to the mother-country, their freedom, which they had conquered from the colonists, and had defended against the English. They had at their head the famous Toussaint L'Ouverture. This man was born in slavery, near Cape François; but exhibiting early indications of a strong and comprehensive mind, and always conducting himself with propriety, he was not treated with the rigour to which slaves are usually subjected, and he was even highly favoured by his master. When, at the breaking out of the French revolution, the national assembly decreed in 1789, that "all men are born and continue free and equal as to their rights," these rash politicians little dreamed that they were promulgating a principle which was destined, not only to convulse Eu-

rope, but to subvert all the prejudices that Europeans entertained concerning the Africans, whom they hitherto regarded as a race linking man with the brute creation:—they little thought that the barbarous excesses, the unrestrained ferocity of the most civilized of nations, were to become directly instrumental, in raising the most lowly savages upon the face of the globe, to the dignity of social beings; and that the same principles which led to the execution of a Christian king upon an ignominious scaffold, were actually preparing to invest a negro with a sceptre, in one of the fairest islands of the western world;—a negro, be it remembered, who, with his tribe, had often been whipped to the course of daily labour, and condemned to crawl like a reptile upon the earth! yet such was literally the fact. The circumstances connected with the history of St. Domingo, from the period of its first revolt in 1791 down to the present period, are pregnant with lessons of the soundest philosophy—and they are all of them so interesting and instructive, that you cannot but be gratified by a sketch of them in this place; but to take up the subject in order, we must go back a little.

While the most violent measures were adopted in France to overthrow the established order of things, the planters of St. Domingo did not look on in silence; and the national assembly, in requiring a more equal representation of the people, tacitly acknowledged that the colonists ought to have a voice in the legislature, before the observance of its decrees could be enforced. The colonists themselves perceiving this, determined to seize the advantages which it offered. They elected deputies, formed their colonial assemblies, and proceeded to establish a new constitution for the internal government of the island. This constitution, when published, sufficiently shewed that nothing short of their independence of the mother-country was the object at which they aimed; and the declaration of the rights of man, they interpreted as tacitly recommending the emancipation of the slaves. It is needless to detail the commotions which now commenced in the island—the opposition of the royalists and revolutionists to each others plans,—the violent measures pursued by each party,—and the disgraceful transactions which followed. It may suffice to observe, that they created the greatest ferment throughout the colony, in which all classes, the slaves not excepted, largely partook.

A society had been formed in France, almost from the commencement of the revolution, under the title of *amis des noirs* (the negroes' friend) composed chiefly of those who afterwards took a leading part in the French revolution, among the members of which were general La Fayette, the able Gregoire, &c. &c. and the people of colour who were at that time resident at Paris. Their professed object was to effect the emancipation of the slaves, avowing that these unfortunate beings possessed a right to liberty as indisputable as their own: but whatever was their real design the measures they had recourse unto for its accomplishment were, in many instances, both injudicious and violent. They contended for *immediate* emancipation, forgetting in the heat of their zeal, the unfit state of the negroes at this period to value and improve the advantages of freedom. They were equally rash in the manner in which they caused their designs in favour of the slaves to be communicated to them. Inflammatory addresses respecting their rights were dispersed among them; and various other means were adopted in order to stimulate them to rise in their own defence. One of the first steps of this society was to recommend a mulatto of St. Domingo, whose name was Ogée, at that time residing at Paris, to return to the island, with the view of making preparations for carrying their purpose into effect. The mulattoes now began to urge their claims, and demanded an equal participation of the benefits and privileges of their white brethren. But the planters and the colonial assembly, fearing it would be dangerous, in the present state of their own affairs, to accede to this demand, endeavoured to evade it by promises of future benefits and privileges. Such was the state of things with regard to the planters, and the coloured population, when Ogée arrived at St. Domingo. On learning from him that steps were taking to effect their speedy emancipation, the negroes were very naturally induced to exert themselves

in their own behalf, to escape from the yoke under which they groaned, and to assert their right to liberty and independence.

Perceiving, however, that notwithstanding the decrees of the national assembly, and the promises of the colonists, their privileges were still withheld, the mulattoes determined at length to secure them by force of arms; the negroes also, having formed their plans, lost no time in commencing operations; and both parties united in attacking their common oppressors, and in asserting and maintaining their common rights. Accommodation soon became impossible. The French would offer no terms, nor comply with the most just demands. The negroes had risen, bent on obtaining their freedom, and the mulattoes on securing their privileges; these were crimes, in the estimation of the colonists, never to be forgiven. Slavery or destruction was the demand of the planters; liberty or death the determination of the insurgents. The disregard of the former to all their claims; the repeated refusal to grant them redress; with the violence of the measures pursued in order to subdue them, served only to render them more formidable and desperate. Animated by their numbers, and growing increasingly fierce by their ravages, the flame presently broke forth in all its fury. Then it was that St. Domingo became the scene of the most dreadful ravages, and of massacres as horrible as the world ever witnessed.

While these commotions were at their height, the English then at war with France, invaded St. Domingo. The French had now two enemies to oppose—the regular and well-disciplined troops of the British navy, and the revolted negroes. After several ineffectual attempts to withstand the former, the French commissioners, to whom the government of the island had been entrusted, issued a proclamation of freedom, with a view to secure the assistance of all the population against the British. The experiment succeeded; the negroes instantly joined the French forces, and united with them in endeavouring to expel what they considered to be a common enemy. The struggle was long and doubtful; it gave a fair opportunity to the negroes of ascertaining their strength, and called into exercise the distinguished talents of Toussaint L'Ouverture, of Christophe, and others whose skill and bravery were abundantly evinced, and contributed essentially to preserve that valuable colony from passing into the hands of the English. From the first arrival of the latter, to the time of their quitting the island, the relative state of the colony, with regard to both the French and the negroes, had undergone an important change. It remained in possession of France; but the manner in which it was to be governed, existing circumstances rendered totally different from any thing hitherto pursued. The civil and military chief was no longer chosen from among the natives of Europe, but selected from among the negroes; and Toussaint L'Ouverture, on account of his distinguished talents and integrity, was raised to the most important and dignified station in the colony. Slavery being abolished, the blacks were placed on an equality with the whites; many of the plantations remained in the hands of the original proprietors, and were to be cultivated in future, by the labours, not of slaves, but of free men. In this state matters remained from the year 1791 to the end of the century.

During the short interval of peace between England and France in 1802, an expedition was fitted out by the government of the latter country and sent to St. Domingo, for the avowed purpose of bringing the island once more under the dominion of the mother-country, and of again reducing the negroes to slavery; an absurd and iniquitous measure which the rulers of France lived to lament. France ought to have consented to the revolution which had taken place in St. Domingo, and which had already cost humanity enough. Napoleon, while a prisoner at St. Helena, frankly acknowledged his error, he might have said his crime, in sending out an expedition. He admitted that he ought to have guaranteed the new order of things which had taken place in the colony, and by drawing closer the commercial ties between it and the mother-country, he might have availed himself of all the advantages which Europe can draw from America. Instead of this prudent line of policy, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the merchants of France

and all those who were interested in the re-establishment of slavery, to try an expedition having for its ultimate object to reduce the island to submission. Forty thousand men were embarked for this disastrous enterprise, and transported across the Atlantic, under the command of general Le Clerc, brother-in-law of the first consul. Nothing could be more glaringly unjust than this attempt: for, independent of the natural right of the negroes to liberty, their freedom had been declared by the French commissioners and recognized and confirmed by the French government—yet that government now attempted to enslave them once more. But the negroes had now tasted the sweets of liberty, and it was not to be expected that they should allow themselves to be deprived of it without making an effort in its defence. Happily for the cause of liberty, before the French could make the necessary arrangements, the negro leaders, who from the first suspected their designs, discovered the real object of the expedition. Enraged at the injustice of those in whose honour they had placed the utmost confidence, they instantly flew to arms; and the negro soldiers with the planters, were once more compelled to unite in defending their rights, against the designs of men who had acknowledged their freedom and solemnly sworn to be its guardians. Finding that nothing could be effected by stratagem, and that the plans on which they had confidently relied for success were defeated, the French now determined to subdue and enslave the objects of their oppression by force of arms; assuring themselves confidently that the negroes, though superior to them in numerical force, could not long withstand the skill and bravery of their own troops.

Disappointed in this expectation also, and regarding the blacks as a species of brutes, they had immediate recourse to such methods of cruelty and death as would be selected only for the purpose of exterminating a dangerous and destructive race of animals;—to barbarities worse than ever before stained the annals of any people pretending to the character of civilisation. All the male negroes and mulattoes, upon whom they could lay their hands, were murdered in the most shocking manner. Five hundred of these unfortunate beings were shot at one time near Cape François; and an equal number were, on another occasion, coolly massacred in view of the negro army. Thousands were carried on board the vessels in the harbour, and either suffocated in the holds, or thrown overboard in chains and drowned. Even these methods failed to accomplish the horrid purposes of these blood-thirsty tyrants, and they had recourse ultimately to the dreadful expedient of hunting and destroying the unhappy victims of their rage by means of blood-hounds. These animals, pursuing the negroes to the parts of the mountains inaccessible to their no less sanguinary employers, easily gained their retreats, and devoured all who were so unfortunate as to be discovered. Such of the black prisoners as had evinced the greatest zeal and activity in the cause of liberty, were selected from the rest, and, on Sundays, dragged to a spot chosen for the purpose, and in sight of thousands of spectators, were thrown to these terrible animals and torn to pieces.

After a doubtful and desperate struggle, however, success crowned the exertions of the black population. They expelled their foes, secured their rights, and regained possession of the island which their toils and sufferings had purchased. Scarcity of provisions, incessant and laborious duty, continual exposure to nightly dews, with other concurring causes,—all co-operating with the baneful effects of a tropical climate, produced a contagious fever which swept off thousands of the army, as with the besom of destruction. In the course of the conflict, Le Clerc fell a victim to the disease, and his troops were at a loss for a successor. In the mean time, the negroes descending by night from the mountains, continually harrassed the troops and frequently drove them from their post. Emboldened by these successes, as well as by the losses which the French sustained in consequence of the disease which raged among their troops, they resolved upon commencing an attack, in which they were successful, and became ultimately masters of the field. In this manner, the expedition, on which so much confidence had been placed, terminated, as it deserved, in defeat and disgrace.

While this sanguinary contest was in progress, Toulessaint, in an evil hour, suffered himself to be decoyed by the specious professions of general Le Clerc, and incautiously threw himself into his power on receiving a promise of pardon. This promise was scandalously violated under the pretext that he had been detected in a conspiracy, and he was sent to France, where he was committed to prison, and being never more heard of, an opinion generally prevailed that he was privately put to death by order of the first consul. It is but justice, however, to the memory of the latter to add, that when this report was mentioned to him at St. Helena, he indignantly rejected it, declaring that it did not deserve an answer. "What possible interest could I have," said he, "in putting a negro to death, after he arrived in France? Had he died in St. Domingo, then indeed something might have been suspected; but after he had arrived safely in France, what object could have been in 'view?' It is not indeed necessary to press home this atrocious charge on Buonaparte; for leaving the circumstance of his death out of the question, there remains enough in the general complexion of the expedition to fix the attention and manifest the justice of providence in inflicting upon the French ruler a punishment, in many points resembling that to which by his orders the amiable, the enlightened, and the unfortunate Touissaint L'Ouverture was condemned. The sable chieftain, after being deprived of his authority, was removed in a ship of war from his native island to France; where he was confined in the damp and gloomy dungeons of Besançon, separated from the wife and the children whom he loved with the truest and tenderest feelings; and there he expired wasted away by the miseries to which he was subjected. Could Napoleon have foreseen, upon Touissaint's death, that he himself was destined to be transported as a prisoner from the shores of France to a remote island, torn from the consort and the child of his affections, whom he was never more to see, and to languish in a prison which was a palace compared to the dungeons of Besançon, how he would have turned pale at his own despotism, and shrunk from the sword of justice, then suspended by a hair over his devoted head! We shudder at the recital of the atrocities committed by the French armies in St. Domingo; but here again we trace the hand of a superior being, tracking the steps of these monsters of cruelty. Most of them, with the general at their head, were carried off on the very stage of their inhuman deeds, by a contagious disease, and the expedition terminated in the disgrace of France and the triumph of the oppressed Haytians. But we must not indulge in reflections on so fruitful a theme; and therefore let us resume the thread of history. During the summer of the year 1802, and throughout the greater part of the following year, "peace sat like down upon the thistle's top." The rulers of France and England scowled at each other's conduct, and assumed a menacing aspect, which at length broke out into open hostilities. It will be proper, therefore, in this place, to develop the causes which produced a renewal of the war, and to relate the negotiations which for many months were employed to prevent it.

The universal joy which the return of peace had diffused over Europe, seemed to be a favourable omen of its permanency. The cessation of carnage and rapine, and the restoration of tranquillity, after fifteen years of such violent agitations, induced multitudes to imagine that the golden age was about to revisit the earth, and that the period was arrived when men should beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; when the rulers of the nations, laying aside their mad schemes of ambition and conquest, should sedulously cultivate the arts of peace. But the presage was fallacious, and the expectation illusory. The measures of the French government but too plainly indicated that the golden age of Saturn was not yet to return, and that no new race of men, of more limited ambition, or of more pacific inclinations, had succeeded the first revolutionists. From the moment of the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the politics of the cabinet of St. Cloud appeared suspicious. The restrictions imposed on British commerce, the encroachments of France on the continent, and, in short, the whole conduct of the first consul, plainly shewed that peace could not be of long continuance.

These hostile intimations, which could not well be mistaken, impressed upon Great Britain the necessity of looking well to her own safety. The British government had been sincerely desirous of terminating the war, and strenuous in its efforts to restore to the country the blessings of peace. In strict conformity to the treaty of Amjens, the British conquests had been restored, with the single exception of Malta. But during the short interval of peace, circumstances had arisen which had not only retarded the restoration of that island to the knights of St. John, but had deeply impressed on the mind of the British cabinet the propriety of retaining possession of it, as a measure of security to her Indian dominions, unless some previous explanations and agreements took place.

The emperor of Russia had declined his guarantee, except on the condition that the Maltese langue, or influence which the people of Malta were to have in the government, should be abolished. The court of Berlin appeared quite indifferent about the matter. The Spanish priories, apparently through French influence, were abolished, in contravention to that treaty; and the Portuguese government had issued a declaration of its intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese priory, unless that of the Spanish priories should be restored. These circumstances, in which Great Britain had no part, and which had not been under her control, had rendered the restoration of Malta, according to the spirit and meaning of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, impracticable. The greater part of the funds assigned for the support of the order, and indispensably necessary for its independence and the defence of the island, had been sequestered since the conclusion of the treaty, and in direct repugnance to its letter and spirit. Two of the principal powers who had been invited to guarantee the arrangement, had refused their concurrence, except on condition that the stipulations which had been deemed so material to the Maltese, should be entirely cancelled. In these circumstances, the restoration of Malta to the knights, or to any other power not capable of defending the island, was considered by the British government as in effect to throw it into the hands of the chief consul of France, who might seize upon it at his pleasure.

There were also various other concurring causes, which could not fail to operate in the way of exciting suspicions that the French government had not laid aside its designs on Egypt. The mission of general Sebastiani into that country, although it was said to be wholly of a commercial nature, tended to confirm that opinion. The delay of the English in evacuating Alexandria, though owing to accidental causes, gave great umbrage to the French government; but this ground of complaint was speedily removed. In these circumstances it was deemed expedient, that, to prevent the French from executing any designs which they might have formed against Egypt, Great Britain should retain possession of Malta, until it should be effectually guaranteed to the order, and placed in a state of independence.

Such was the state of matters in reference to Malta, when Napoleon began to insist peremptorily on the immediate evacuation of that island by the British troops. The demand was ushered in by a long series of complaints, against the permission granted to the French princes, and other emigrants, to reside in England. Another ground of complaint was the scurrilous language which several of the English newspapers, and more particularly some French newspapers published in London, had used respecting the first consul and government of France. These complaints were accompanied by a request, or rather a demand, that the French princes, the *ci-devant* bishops, and other emigrants of note, whose political principles must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French government, should be obliged to quit the British dominions, and that a stop should be put to the calumnies daily issuing from the English press, but especially to those contained in the French publications printed in London.

To these complaints, and demands, the British government answered in a calm and dignified manner,—That, in regard to the expulsion of the French princes, the bishops and others, his majesty could not commit so flagrant a breach of hospitality, as to banish from his dominions persons who were not

convicted of any misconduct ; that in regard to the ci-devant bishops of Arras, St. Pol, and others involved in the charges preferred against them by M. Otto, if the facts alleged against them could be substantiated—if it could be proved that they had distributed papers on the coast of France with the view of disturbing the government of that country, his majesty should think himself justified in compelling them to leave his dominions ; but that some proof of the fact must be adduced, and that this proof must not be solely that of their having published a justification of their own conduct, in refusing to conform to the new order of things as it respected the church establishment, a proceeding in which they were justifiable on every principle of toleration and equity ; but it must be shewn, that they had availed themselves of their residence in England to excite the people of France against the authority of that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

To the complaints of the first consul against the scurrilities contained in the newspapers, lord Hawkesbury replied,—That it was impossible to read the number of Peltier's *Ambigu*, to which M. Otto had alluded, without feeling indignant, and anxiously wishing that the offender should be made amenable to the tribunal of justice ; and that he had thought it his duty to refer the matter in question to his majesty's attorney-general. It was acknowledged that very improper paragraphs had appeared in some of the English newspapers against the government of France ; and that publications of a still more improper and indecent nature had made their appearance in England, with the names of foreigners affixed to them. Under these circumstances, the French government would have been warranted in expecting every redress which the laws of this country could afford ; but as, instead of seeking it in the ordinary course, they had thought fit to resort to recrimination, or, at least, to authorize it in others, they could have no right to complain, if their subsequent appeal to his majesty had failed to produce the effect that would otherwise have attended it.

Before we proceed with the narrative, it may be proper to explain, that the recrimination alluded to, in the former paragraph, relates to certain paragraphs in the *Moniteur*, a paper avowedly official, of which the British government had greater right to complain, than that of France could have of such as were inserted in the unauthorized English newspapers, and other publications to which M. Otto's note had a reference. But the British government considered it beneath its dignity to make any formal complaint on such a subject. The final answer to the complaints of the first consul against the English publications was, that his majesty would never, in consequence of any representation or menace from a foreign power, make any concession, which could in the smallest degree, be dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country.

At the same time that this spirited reply was made to Napoleon's demand for restricting the liberty of the press in England, lord Hawkesbury intimated, that although the British constitution admits of no previous restraints on publications of any description, yet there are courts of judicature that may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and magistracy of the country, but also of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments is placed. His lordship added, that the British government neither has, nor wants any other protection, than that which the laws of the country afford ; and that, although it is ready to give to every foreign government all the protection against offences of this nature which the laws and constitution will admit, it never can consent to new-model the laws, or to change the constitution, to gratify the wishes of any foreign power. The British secretary of state then proceeded to remind the first consul, that if the French government were dissatisfied with the laws of England on the subject of libels, or if they entertained an opinion that the administration of justice in the English courts was too tardy and lenient, they had in their own power the means of redress, by punishing the vendors and distributors of such publications within their own territories, and by that means prevent their circulation ; or, if they pleased, they might exercise the right which they possessed, of prohibiting the importation

of any foreign newspapers, or periodical publications, into the dominions of the republic. His majesty would not complain of such a measure, as it was not his intention to interfere in the manner in which France should be governed; but he also expected, that the French government would not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions was to be conducted, or to call for a change in the laws with which his people were perfectly satisfied.

With respect to the distinction which M. Otto had drawn between the publications of British subjects and those of foreigners, and the power which his majesty was supposed to have, by virtue of the alien act, of sending the latter out of his dominions, it was remarked, that this act was intended for the preservation of the internal peace and security of the kingdom; and that its application to the case of those individuals of whom the French government complained was unnecessary, as they were, equally with the British subjects in similar cases, amenable to the law of the land, at the instance and on the complaint of foreign governments.

This firm but moderate answer to the complaints of the French government against the English press, was far from being satisfactory to the first consul; and though the discussions which subsequently arose related for the most part to points of a very different nature, this was never wholly forgotten. Lord Hawkesbury's communication to Mr. Merry, relative to the line of conduct which his majesty was determined to pursue, was dated the 29th of August 1802; but the same complaints were renewed by M. Talleyrand towards the end of January, the following year, in a conversation with lord Whitworth, who had been appointed ambassador from the British court to Paris.

Two months afterwards general Andreossi, in the name of the first consul, addressed a letter to lord Hawkesbury, in which a proposition was submitted to the British government, that whatever of this kind should be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France, should be in like manner permitted or prevented in France with regard to England. This proposal, with the former complaints, are sufficient proof of the extreme anxiety of Napoleon on the subject in question. They might have been resolved into his want of acquaintance with the laws and constitution of England, which admit of no restraints on the liberty of the press, were it not that those had been already fully explained to him; and lord Whitworth had assured M. Talleyrand, that until the first consul could so far command his feelings as to be as indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, as the British government was to that which daily appeared in the French papers, this state of irritation of which he complained was irremediable. But the anxiety of Napoleon in regard to these matters, may be accounted for from the circumstances of his situation. His authority was recent, and it was natural for him to suppose that his standing was precarious. It cannot, therefore, excite our surprise, that he should have been extremely jealous of whatever seemed calculated to disturb his government or diminish his influence.

Unable, however, to prevail on the British government to violate the laws of hospitality, or to shackle the British press, the first consul now turned the train of the negotiation principally on the subject of Malta. On the 17th of February 1803, he sent a message to lord Whitworth, intimating that he wished to converse with him. At the hour appointed, his lordship waited upon him at the Tuileries, and was received by the first consul in his cabinet, who told him that he found it necessary to make known his sentiments in the most clear and authentic manner, and that he conceived this might be done more effectually by himself than through any other medium.

In a speech, which was continued through a period of two hours, the first consul began with enumerating the various causes of complaint which he professed to have against England. In the foremost rank he placed the non-*evacuation* of Alexandria and Malta, declaring that he had rather see the English in possession of one of the suburbs of Paris than of Malta. He next adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English prints; but more particularly in the French papers published in London. He complained

of the encouragement given in England to Frenchmen who were inimical to his person and government, and avowed that his irritation against this country daily increased.

Adverting in the next place to Egypt, he said, that whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might be considered as an aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or latter, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte. Professing his desire to remain at peace, he said that he had nothing to gain by a war with England. An invasion of the country was the only means of offence that he had, and in the event of war he was determined to attempt it, by putting himself at the head of the expedition; but that it could not be supposed, after having gained the height on which he stood, that he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous undertaking, unless driven to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He was candid enough to acknowledge, that the chances were a hundred to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, should war be the result of the pending discussions; and that such was the disposition of the French troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise.

The first consul then expatiated on the natural force of the two countries. He observed, that France with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, and England with a fleet which made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think that he should be able to equal in less than ten years, might, by a proper understanding, govern the world, but that by their quarrels they might overturn it. He added, that, to preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints must, if not totally suppressed, be at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection given to his most inveterate enemies must be withdrawn.

In conclusion, he took a review of the situation of the different European states, with a view of showing that there was no power with which England could coalesce in a war against France. He said, that his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, had prevented him from chastising the Algerines; but he hoped that England, France, and Russia, would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and oblige them to live by cultivating their lands rather than by plunder.

Such are the leading topics touched upon in this memorable philippic. The drift and design of the first consul were obviously to impress upon the British minister the fact, that on Malta the question of peace or war must depend; and at the same time to apprise him of the means which France possessed of annoying Great Britain. As the first consul talked almost incessantly during this long interview, lord Whitworth had few opportunities of reply; but his answers were appropriate to the different points of discussion. At parting, the chief consul rose from his chair, saying that he should give orders to general Andreossi, his ambassador at the court of Great Britain, to enter on a discussion of the business with his majesty's ministers. He then discoursed for a few minutes, on different subjects, and retired in apparent good humour.

Soon after this interview, the preparations in the ports of France and Holland, which, although avowedly intended for colonial service, might, in the event of a rupture, be turned against the British dominions, induced his Britannic majesty, on the 8th of March, to send a message to both houses of parliament, signifying the expediency of adopting additional measures of precaution for the security of the kingdom; which was also notified to the British ambassador at Paris. His majesty, however, expressed his desire for the preservation of peace. M. Talleyrand, when informed of these particulars, assured lord Whitworth that the British government had no reason to be alarmed; that the disposition of the first consul was pacific; that he had no thoughts of attacking his majesty's dominions, but that he should always

consider the refusal to evacuate Malta as the commencement of hostilities ; and that as England had hitherto hesitated on the subject, he was justified in adopting such measures as might eventually be necessary.

In the evening of the same day, the minister brought a note from the first consul, containing a declaration that the armament at IJelvoetsluys was destined for the colonies, remarking at the same time that it was on the point of sailing ; but that in consequence of his Britannic majesty's message, its putting to sea was about to be countermanded. This note also signified, that if the French government did not receive a satisfactory explanation respecting the armaments in England, and if they actually took place, the first consul would march twenty thousand men into Holland, and order encampments to be formed on the frontier of Hanover, in the vicinity of Calais, and on different points of the coast ; that he should keep up a French army in Switzerland, send a fresh force into Italy, and place the army of France on the war establishment—a step so important, it was added, that it could not fail to agitate all Europe. The prediction was afterwards too fatally verified.

The storm which had been for some months gathering, now thickened apace. Only two days after the above notification had been delivered, lord Whitworth had that memorable interview with the first consul of France, March 13th, which has been the topic of general conversation in every political circle since, and which will continue to interest and amuse for ages to come. It shall therefore be given in his lordship's own words, in his letter to lord Hawkesbury.

“ The messenger, Mason, went on Saturday with my dispatches of that date, and until yesterday, Sunday, I found no one likely to give me any further information such as I could depend on, as to the effect which his majesty's message had produced on the first consul. At the court which was held at the Tuileries on that day, he accosted me, evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England ? I told him that I had letters from your lordship two days ago. He immediately said, ‘ And so you are determined to go to war ? ’ ‘ No, I replied, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace. ‘ We have,’ said he, ‘ already waged war these fifteen years.’ As he seemed to wait for an answer, I only observed—‘ That is already too long. ‘ But,’ said he, ‘ you wish to carry it on for fifteen years more ; and you force me to it.’ ‘ I told him that it was very far from his majesty's intention. He then proceeded to count Markoff and the chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, ‘ The English wish for war ; but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheathe it. They have no regard for treaties : we must henceforth cover them with shame.’ He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again : ‘ For what reason are these armaments ? against whom are these measures of precaution ? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France. But if you will arm, I will arm likewise : if you will go to war, I shall go to war also. ‘ You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but never to intimidate her.’ ‘ We do not desire, said I, to do either one or the other. We wish to live in good understanding with her. ‘ It is requisite then to pay regard to treaties,’ he replied.—‘ Woe to those who pay no regard to treaties ; they will be responsible for it to all Europe.’ He was too much agitated to make it advisable for me to prolong the conversation : I therefore made no answer ; and he returned to his apartment repeating the last phrase.

“ It is to be remarked, that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people that were present ; and I am persuaded that there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on the occasion.”

It was now supposed that the negotiations would terminate in the renewal of war ; but they were protracted until the month of May. Various arrangements were proposed by the British government for settling the grand point of dispute concerning Malta ; but they were successively met by objections

which gave rise to fresh discussions. At length, when lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, his departure was delayed at the particular instance of the first consul, who announced that he had a communication to make of the highest importance. He professed his readiness to agree that Malta should be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who had guaranteed its independence, Austria, Russia, or Prussia, provided that some minor arrangements respecting its guaranty were established. In the dispatch which contained a reply to this proposition, lord Whitworth was informed, that if his majesty could be disposed to waive his demand for a temporary occupation of the island, the emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign to whom, in the present state of Europe, he could consent that it should be assigned; and that his majesty had certain and authentic information, that the emperor of Russia would, on no account, consent to garrison Malta.

In these circumstances, his majesty adhered to the project already delivered as his ultimatum, stipulating for the occupation of Malta during a term of ten years, provided that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to cede the island of Lampedosa for a valuable consideration. At the end of that period, Malta was to be surrendered to the inhabitants, and declared an independent state; and an arrangement was to be made in the interim for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe. To obviate, however, an objection on the part of France, it was now proposed, that the definite term of years might be inserted in a secret article, and the temporary occupation would thus be made to depend on the actual state of Lampedosa. This overture was met by the offer of a counter-project, which lord Whitworth, who was instructed to avoid every thing that would protract the negotiation, did not feel authorized to receive. Having obtained his passports, he quitted Paris, and arrived in London on the 19th of May. His majesty's declaration of war had been issued on the preceding day.(1)

LETTER II.

History of Europe, from the re-commencement of hostilities.—Change of the English ministry and Mr. Pitt's return to power.—Insurrection in Ireland.—Affairs of France.—Conspiracy to assassinate the first consul.—Arrest of the duke d'Enghien.—Napoleon assumes the imperial dignity, and is crowned by the pope.—War between Great Britain and Spain, A. D. 1803—1804.

A RENEWAL of hostilities being now determined on, the British parliament took into consideration the measures necessary for the defence of the country, and for prosecuting the war to a successful issue. On the 8th of December 1802, the secretary at war had submitted his estimates of the force which would be required for a *peace establishment* for the service of the year, namely, an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, exclusive of fifty thousand already voted for the naval service. The proposition was supported by Mr. Canning and lord Temple, and by Mr. Sheridan also, who, in a speech delivered with great animation, and which was received with considerable applause from the whole house, took occasion to offer his opinion of the conduct and proceedings of the ruler of France. "I find," said this brilliant orator, "a disposition in some gentlemen to rebuke any man who shall freely declare his opinion respecting the first consul of France. He has discovered that we all belong 'to the western family;' (alluding to an expres-

(1) *Histoire de la Revolution Française* par A. F. Mignet, chapter xv.—*History of the island of St. Domingo*; Edinb. 1818.—*Captain Ramsford's account of the Black Empire of Hayti*.—*Sketches of Hayti*, from the expulsion of the French to the death of Christophe, by W. W. Harvey, of Queen's College, Cambridge, London 1827.—*Annual Register*, 1803, and *London Gazette*.

sion which Napoleon was said to have made use of in a conversation with Mr. Fox, who had visited Paris during the peace, and dined with the first consul)—“I confess,” said Mr. Sheridan, “I feel a sentiment of deep indignation, when I hear that this scrap of nonsense was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race. But to this family party I do not wish to belong. He may toss a sceptre to the king of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; but my humble apprehension is, that though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about cashiering the king of Etruria, yet the whole text is occupied about the destruction of this country. This is the first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night to whatever deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter or Mahomet, to the goddess of battles or the goddess of reason. Look at the map of Europe, from which France was said to be expunged, and now you see nothing but France. If the ambition of Buonaparte be immeasurable, there are abundant reasons why it should be progressive.”

It was however soon found that the force which was adequate to a peace establishment was a matter of inferior consideration in the existing posture of affairs; for every day brought with it some additional indication of renewed hostilities. On the 22nd of February 1803, the annual *exposé*, or state of the French republic, was presented to the legislative body. In this declaration, it was said, “The government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent; and it is permitted to entertain a *hope* of the continuance of maritime peace. For its preservation the government will do every thing compatible with national honour, connected with the strict execution of treaties. Five hundred thousand men will be ready to undertake the defence of France, and avenge its injuries. The government says, with conscious pride, that *England, single-handed, cannot maintain a conflict against France*. But we have better hopes. France and England, rendering their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the gratitude of the whole world.” By such gasconade as this, it was intended to practise upon the fears of the English government; and, to redeem their characters from the reproach of pusillanimity, the king’s ministers were in danger of resorting to measures of rashness. In this temper of mind, the menaces thus thrown out could not fail to operate as fresh incentives to hostility; in addition to which, the national pride was piqued by the vain-glorious boast that England single-handed could not cope with France. Yet the first consul, in his recent conversation with lord Whitworth, had acknowledged that an invasion of the country was the only means of annoyance which he had, and that the chances were a hundred to one against his success. But England had her conscious pride as well as France; and the tide of popularity throughout the kingdom, from this moment, set in with irresistible force in favour of war. Accordingly, in a dispatch, dated the 28th of February, lord Hawkesbury plainly declared “that, sufficient as the considerations relative to the increased dominion, power, and influence of France might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct which his Britannic majesty had determined to adopt, they had received additional force from the views recently manifested by the French government; and that Malta will not be evacuated until substantial security has been provided for those objects, which might be endangered by the removal of the troops.” Conformable to this resolution, sir Alexander Ball, then governor of the island, early in the month of March, refused to surrender it to the formal requisition of M. Thomas, the new grand-master.

To enter into a minute detail of the various bickerings and mutual complaints which now ensued between the two governments, would be insufferably tedious, and communicate but little either for instruction or pleasure. On the 8th of March, a message from the king was brought down to parliament, informing them, that considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of Holland and France, and that therefore it would be expedient to have recourse to additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. It was indeed admitted that these preparations were

avowedly directed to colonial service; nevertheless, as discussions of great importance were then pending between his majesty and the French government, the result of which was as yet uncertain, his majesty was induced to make the communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion that he should be enabled to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people. This message was received in both houses, as well as by the country at large, not merely with approbation, but almost with acclamation. In the house of commons it was pronounced to be a war, not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England. In the upper house, the earl of Moira, in concert with lords Grenville and Spencer, supported the address, the former of them styling Napoleon "the new Hannibal, who had on the altar of his inordinate ambition sworn in—"extinguishable enmity to this country." Two days afterwards a second message from the king, announced his intention of embodying the militia of the three kingdoms.

In this state matters proceeded until the 23rd of May, when an address was moved by lord Hawkesbury in the house of commons, the object of which was to vote an approval of the conduct of ministers; on this a debate ensued which occupied the house for two days. It was wound up by a speech from Mr. Fox, which took him three hours in the delivery; and it was one of those extraordinary effusions of political wisdom which have immortalized the memory of that illustrious statesman. He took a review of the actual state of affairs between France and England, examined the numerous and diversified grounds of complaint which Great Britain made against the conduct of the first consul—the annexation of Piedmont to France—his conduct towards Switzerland—the occupation of Holland by French troops—he adverted to the language used in the French *exposé*, that England alone could not contend with France, which he pronounced a folly highly to be condemned;—such odious comparisons, he said, were calculated to inflame and exasperate, though it would be wiser to treat them with contempt—the language of the first consul, in addressing lord Whitworth at the Tuileries, he pronounced indecorous and intemperate, but words are fleeting, liable to misconception and misrepresentation, and of little or no value unaccompanied by acts—to Egypt, Mr. Fox thought a degree of consequence had been attached which it did not in reality possess—it was the theatre on which British valour had most conspicuously signalized itself, and the recollection of our exploits in that country had impressed the public mind with ideas of romance—he deemed it to be the key of our possessions in India; but he asked whether France had not as much right to complain of our aggrandizement in India, since the treaty of Amiens, as we of hers in Europe?—he requested that the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, namely, that which related to Malta, might be read, which was done, and he then proceeded to a critical examination of the mutual pleas respecting its surrender, concluding with a declaration that in refusing to carry that part of the treaty into effect, British faith was violated,—he adverted to the negotiation which had recently been carrying on between the English ambassador at Paris and the French minister, which he said was in a manner utterly incomprehensible to him, and gave a ludicrous exposition of it certainly—from this he proceeded to an examination of the arrogant and menacing language of the first consul in his conversation with lord Whitworth, on which so much stress had been laid, though in his opinion little meriting serious notice;—what, he asked, was the import of these expressions? Buonaparte tells us that he shall attempt to invade us; but he also says, that he knows the chances are an hundred to one against him, that he and the greatest part of his expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. Was this a proof of arrogance and presumption? In the anticipation of war, he states his intention, but it is hopeless of success; and ministers think no punishment too great for his harbouring such a thought!—In fine, the war on which the country was now entering was for Malta, and for Malta alone, and this he could think neither wise nor just. "Laying aside all considerations of danger," said Mr. Fox,

“ had we already forgotten the grievous and intolerable weight under which we had suffered during the late war? We are now told that exertions will be necessary beyond any thing we have yet known—we are told [by Mr. Pitt] that we have a contest to sustain which will call for sacrifices new and extraordinary, such as had never before been heard of in this country. Is Malta worth such a contest?” Mr. Fox concluded by giving notice that he should move an address to the king, at no distant period, advising our acceptance of the mediation of Russia. His strong sense of duty, and deep anxiety of mind, had impelled him to deliver his sentiments so much at length; and he exhorted the house to pause, and to satisfy themselves, as well as their constituents, and all Europe, that this tremendous conflict could not be avoided. This speech was listened to with profound attention and unavailing admiration; for when the sense of the house of commons was taken on the question, there appeared three hundred and ninety-eight voices for the war against sixty-seven dissentients!

On the 27th of May, Mr. Fox moved an address to the king, beseeching him, “ that he would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition expressed by the emperor of Russia, to interpose his good offices” between the two contending powers; and Mr. Pitt, strongly enforced the propriety of the measure, and also of cultivating by every possible means the friendship of Russia. He said that he himself had acted on the principle recommended by the honourable mover, and he was happy to find himself supported so far by his authority, and greater authority they could not have. He thought, however, the address now proposed was unnecessary, being convinced that ministers would lose no favourable opportunity of giving them effect. As the house in general seemed to concur in the principle, though not in the mode, Mr. Fox consented to withdraw his motion, and the mediation of Russia, thus left to the discretion of ministers, vanished into air.

A few days after his majesty’s message had been delivered to parliament, admiral Linois was dispatched from the port of Brest for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, having on board six thousand troops, destined to strengthen the French colonies in the east, and also to re-inforce the Dutch garrison at the Cape of Good Hope. Orders were issued by the French government to increase the armies of the republic to four hundred and eighty thousand men. The army of Italy was greatly augmented; large detachments were forwarded towards Tarentum, and all the strong ports in the kingdom of Naples which lay on the Adriatic. Reinforcements had also been ordered into Holland, and a powerful army was collected on the frontiers of Hanover. On the 25th of May, the French general Mortier, from his head-quarters at Coevordan, summoned the electorate to surrender, it being the determination of the first consul to occupy that country as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, conformably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens. The Hanoverian army made dispositions for a brave resistance, though it proved ineffectual against so overwhelming a force, and the French troops took possession of the whole of the Hanoverian dominions, together with all the artillery, baggage, and ammunition. By this manœuvre they were enabled to control the navigation of the Elbe and Weser, and to levy considerable contributions, under the shape of loans, on the rich Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen.

As war was now no longer problematical between the two countries, the first step of hostility on the part of France was, to arrest as prisoners of war, all the English between the ages of eighteen and sixty, who were resident in France at that moment, detaining them as hostages for those French citizens who might have been made prisoners by British ships before the declaration of war was issued. They had previously received an assurance that they should enjoy the protection of the French government, and were letely after as before the departure of the British ambassador, and were relying implicitly on the credit of those assurances, when they found themselves doomed to an indefinite captivity, because the British government refused to include them in any exchanges that were made between the two countries of prisoners of war.

During the summer of the year 1803, an insurrection broke out in Ireland; which, from its presumed connection with the projects of the enemy, excited considerable alarm. Its instigators were a band of political enthusiasts, the director and principal mover of which was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of promising talents and fine imagination. They had formed the design of establishing an independent Irish republic, and hoped to accomplish it by striking a decisive blow at the capital, possessing themselves of the seat of government, and proclaiming the new constitution which they had prepared. On the 23d of July an armed mob collected for this purpose, which marched through the principal streets of the city of Dublin, unresisted on their way to the castle. They, however, soon lost all sense of subordination to their leaders, and meeting a carriage in which were lord Kilwarden, and his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, they dragged them from it and butchered them on the spot. The daughter of the venerable and ill-fated nobleman was likewise in the carriage, and to his earnest appeal to their humanity, they replied that they would sacrifice him and his male companion, but they would spare the lady. The insurgents were dispersed by a few soldiers, and the whole insurrection was speedily extinguished. On the communication of this event to parliament, a bill was passed for trying the rebels by martial law, and another for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act in Ireland. Several of the leaders of the insurrection, among whom was Emmett, were apprehended, tried for high treason by a special commission, and underwent the sentence of the law.

In consequence of the seizure of Hanover by the French armies and the interruption of the British commerce on the Elbe and Weser, a squadron of British ships was appointed to blockade the mouths of those rivers. This spirited measure, which was in some degree a retaliation on Germany for permitting the violation of its territory, occasioned such distress to the Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, that they appealed to the king of Prussia, as protector of the neutrality of the northern part of the empire; he, however, declined to interfere, and the French were thus left to pursue their exactions with impunity. These exactions were not restricted to the minor states of the north of Germany; for, the French government having compelled the Batavian and Italian republics to become parties in the war, imposed on them the full share of its burdens. They also drew pecuniary assistance from Spain and Portugal in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with England whether they should not be considered as involved in acts of direct hostility. The supplies of the French treasury were also augmented by the sale of Louisiana to the United States for three millions of dollars. Thus a territory obtained from Spain in exchange for the possessions of its neighbours, was transferred for a valuable consideration to a power from which it would have been unable to withhold it.

During the session of parliament in 1804, Mr. Pitt again resumed the reins of government. Mr. Addington, though receiving the general support of Mr. Fox and his friends was found inadequate to the arduous situation which he held, and not finding that he possessed the confidence of the house of commons, he determined on retiring from administration. On the 7th of May, Mr. Pitt was invited to an interview with the king, when he was requested to form an administration, and fill up the vacant offices; the only stipulations on the part of the monarch being, the non-revival of the Catholic question, and that Mr. Fox should not be introduced into the cabinet. The first condition was readily assented to; but with respect to the second, it was the wish of Mr. Pitt, under existing circumstances, to form a comprehensive administration, including the most distinguished persons of all parties; and the crisis was peculiarly favourable for that union of principle and talent, which in the zenith of his father's fame, had in a manner annihilated all party spirit. The monarch, however, remained inflexible, and Mr. Pitt at length undertook with some reluctance to form an administration, including neither Mr. Fox nor any of his friends. An unforeseen obstacle, however, occurred. Lord Grenville and his political associates, though no positive promise or engagement had taken place to that effect, refused, from

a high sense of honour, to form a part of the new arrangement: and a letter addressed by that nobleman to Mr. Pitt, which was universally circulated, placed his lordship's character in a very advantageous point of view. "An opportunity now offers," said the noble writer, towards the close of this celebrated letter "such as this country has seldom seen, for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the services of all those who by the public voice and sentiment are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public on this subject are completely in unison with its interests; and the advantages which, not this country alone, but all Europe, and the whole civilized world might derive from the establishment of such an administration, at such a crisis, would probably have exceeded the most sanguine expectations. But when, in the very first instance, all trial of it is precluded, and when this denial is made the condition of all subsequent arrangements, we cannot but feel that there are no motives, of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinion." On the 12th of May it was announced that Mr. Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Pitt was nominated his successor. It was natural that the nation should conceive great hopes from the transfer of the helm of government into the hands of so able and experienced a statesman, at a crisis when the contest with France was likely to become more arduous in consequence of the change which was taking place in that country. These expectations, however, were not realized. Mr. Pitt undertook the arduous task under very gloomy auspices, and with the certain prospect of encountering an opposition equally powerful and popular, but composed in great part of the most zealous of his former friends and adherents. The partial changes which took place in the several offices of government, wholly disappointed the expectations of the public. Lord Hawkesbury was removed from the foreign to the home department, and the seals thus vacated were consigned to lord Harrowby. In the admiralty, the earl of St. Vincent was superseded by lord Melville. Lord Eldon remained in possession of the great seal; the earl of Westmorland of the privy seal; the duke of Portland continued president of the council; lord Castlereagh of the India board; Mr. Canning treasurer of the Navy, and the earl of Hardwicke lord lieutenant of Ireland. I must now direct your attention for a moment to the internal affairs of France.

In the month of February, 1804, a plot was detected at Paris, the object of which was the subversion of the consular government. The principal persons accused were general Pichegru, Georges, a Chouan leader, and Lajolais his confidant. Moreau was so far implicated in the conspiracy as to have had some secret interviews with Pichegru since his return to Paris. On the testimony of an agent of the parties, who had been apprehended near Calais, Moreau and Lajolais were arrested. Pichegru and Georges for a while eluded the vigilance of the police, but were afterwards discovered and committed to prison. The plot was attributed to the machinations of the English government, or rather of the Bourbons resident in England. The city of Paris was declared to be in a state of siege, and no person was allowed to quit it, unless by day, and through certain barriers, where persons were stationed to whom the conspirators were well known. According to Napoleon's own account of this matter, which there seems no good reason for discrediting, Pichegru did not deny having been employed by the Bourbons, and finding his case desperate he strangled himself in prison. The rest of the conspirators were publicly tried in the month of May, before the tribunal of the department of the Seine, and in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors then at Paris. Georges, Polignac, Rivière, Coster, and sixteen or seventeen others, were found guilty of having conspired against the life of the chief magistrate of the French nation, and condemned to death. About ten of them were executed. Rivière was pardoned at the suit of Murat: Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment, which was afterwards commuted into banishment to the United States.

In the course of this examination it was elicited, by the confession of some of the conspirators, that the duke D'Enghein eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, was an accomplice in this atrocious plot, and that he was only waiting on the frontiers of France to receive the news of the assassination of the first consul, in order to enter France as the king's lieutenant. Orders were accordingly issued to have him seized, which was done by a party of the French cavalry, on the 15th of March, who had passed the Rhine on the preceding night, and carried him off from the castle of Ettenheim, in the grand duchy of Baden, within a short distance of the Rhine. He was first conveyed to the castle of Strasburg, and, on the 17th, sent forward to Paris, in consequence of orders received by telegraph, and after an uninterrupted journey of four hundred miles, was securely lodged of the prison of the Temple. He was afterwards removed to the castle in Vincennes, and tried by a military commission formed of all the colonels of the regiments then in garrison at Paris. He was accused of bearing arms against the republic, which he did not deny. His behaviour before the tribunal was bold and undaunted. After a trial of two hours the court pronounced him guilty and passed on him the sentence of death, and he was shot in the moat of the castle. While in the prison of Strasburg, the duke wrote a letter to the first consul, in which he offered to disclose every thing he knew, provided a pardon was granted him. The letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it from the first consul till after the execution, otherwise it is not improbable that it would have operated in his favour. According to Napoleon's own confession, "he was the best of the family: he behaved with great bravery and much dignity before the court martial, and denied nothing. But it seemed necessary to make an example of one of the family, and it was most convenient to make the duke D'Enghein its victim."

The war with great Britain, and the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, served as a ladder for Napoleon to mount from the consulate to the Imperial dignity. On the 27th of March, 1804, the senate, on receiving a communication of the conspiracy, sent a deputation to the first consul. The president, François de Neufchâteau, expressed himself as follows: "Citizen first consul; you are founding a new era, but you ought to make it eternal: splendour which does not endure is but a shadow. We cannot doubt that this grand idea has occupied your mind, for your creating genius embraces every thing and forgets nothing. Do not delay; you are urged by the time, by events, by conspirators, by the ambitious; you are urged on, in another point of view, by the restlessness which agitates Frenchmen. You may bind down time, command events, disarm ambition, tranquillize France, by giving it institutions which will cement your edifice, and which may prolong for the children that which you have done for their fathers. Citizen first consul, be well assured, the senate speaks here in the name of all the citizens."

On the 25th of April, Napoleon returned the following answer to the address of the senate: "Your address has not ceased to be present to my thoughts; it has been the object of my constant meditations. You have judged the hereditary descent of the supreme magistracy necessary to protect the people from the conspiracies of our enemies, and the agitations which spring from ambitious rivalries. Many of our institutions have appeared to you to want improvement, in order to assign, without the possibility of vicissitude, the triumph of equality and public liberty, and offer to the nation and the government the double guarantee which they require. In proportion as I have concentrated my attention on these great objects, I have felt more and more that, in a case as novel as it is important, the counsels of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix all my ideas. I invite you, therefore, to make known to me all your thoughts." The senate replied on the 3d of May—"The senate thinks that it is of the last importance to the French people to confide the government of the republic to NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, hereditary EMPEROR." Such was the *denouement* of this farcical transaction between the first consul and his obsequious senate! But waving reflections let us proceed.

The tribune Curée opened the discussion in the tribunate by a motion of order—and his motion was received with eagerness. Carnot alone had the courage to resist the proposition for converting the republic into an empire. "I am far," said he, "from wishing to lessen the praises due to the first consul; but whatever services a citizen may have rendered to his country, there are limits which honour as well as reason impose on the national gratitude. If this citizen has restored the public liberty, if he has accomplished the deliverance of his country, will it be a recompence to offer him only the sacrifice of this same liberty, and will it not be to annihilate his own work to offer him his country as his private patrimony? From the moment that it was proposed to the French people to vote upon the question of the consulate for life, any one might readily perceive that there existed an ulterior design. We saw in succession a multitude of institutions evidently monarchical. This day we see the termination of all these preliminary measures. We are summoned to pronounce upon the formal proposition of re-establishing the monarchical system, and of conferring upon the first consul the imperial dignity and its inheritance! Was liberty shown to man only that he might never enjoy it? No, I cannot consent to regard as a delusion this good, so universally preferred to all others, and without which all others are nothing. My heart tells me that liberty is attainable, and that a free government is easy and more stable than an arbitrary government. I voted against the consulate for life: I now vote against the re-establishment of monarchy, because I think that my office of tribune compels me so to do."

This was noble in Carnot, but he stood alone in his sentiments: his colleagues rose up with envy and amazement against the opinion of this one man who had escaped the contagion of slavery. One is forcibly struck in the harangues of this period of time, with the prodigious change which had taken place in the sentiments and language of these men since the death of Mirabeau. The revolution had now retrograded to the verge of the ancient régime. There was the same extravagance of flattery and the same fanaticism of slavery. The French threw themselves into the imperial government just as they precipitated themselves into the revolution. They had referred every thing to the deliverance of the people in "the age of reason;" they now spoke only of the greatness of one man, and of the age of Buonaparte—they now fought for the establishment of kings as they had recently done for the creation of republics.

The tribunate, the legislative body, and the senate were equally eager to vote the empire, which was proclaimed at St. Cloud on the 18th of May, 1804. On the same day a *senatus-consultum* modified the constitution, adapting it to the new order of things. The pomp of attendance was still wanting to the imperial government—they therefore bestowed upon it French princes, grand dignitaries, marshals, chamberlains, and pages. All publicity was destroyed; the liberty of the press had been already subjected to a censorship; there remained only one tribune open to spectators, and this was now abolished. The sittings of the tribunate were partial and secret, as were those also of the council of state, and from this date for a period of ten years, France was governed with closed doors. Joseph and Louis Buonaparte were recognized French princes. Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Briune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Des-sières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, Serrurier, were nominated marshals of the empire. Addresses poured in from the departments in abundance, and the clergy compared Napoleon to a second Moses, a new Matthias, a modern Cyrus &c. They saw in his elevation "the finger of God," and they said, "that submission was due to him as governor over all: to his ministers as sent by him; because such was the order of providence."

That nothing might be wanting to finish off this piece of pageantry and render it as solemn and imposing as possible, application was made to his holiness, pope Pius VII. the sovereign pontiff, to take a journey to Paris, for the purpose of placing the crown upon the head of Napoleon. The coronation took place on Sunday, December 2nd, in the church of Notre Dame. Previous

to his leaving Rome on this extraordinary occasion, his holiness made an address to the consistory, in which he told them, "Our dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, emperor of the French, who has so well deserved of the Catholic religion for what he has done, has signified to us his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the imperial crown from us, to the end that the solemn rights, which are to place him in the highest rank, shall be strongly impressed with the character of religion, and call down more effectually the benediction of heaven.—We have also formed great hopes, that, having undertaken it by his invitation, when we shall speak with him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the Catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our holy religion."

This solemnity was in preparation long before-hand, and the whole ceremonial was regulated according to ancient usage. The emperor went to the metropolitan church, escorted by his guard. Marshal Kellermann carried the crown, the marshal Perignon the sceptre of Charlemagne. The empress Josephine, in a carriage surmounted by a crown, and drawn by eight white horses, formed part of the procession. The pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and all the high officers of the state, awaited him in the cathedral, which had been magnificently ornamented for this extraordinary occasion. He was hurangued at the gate; and then, clothed in the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he ascended the throne, which was raised at the bottom of the church. The grand almoner, a cardinal, and a bishop came to conduct him to the foot of the altar, to be there consecrated. The pope, having anointed him with a triple unction upon the head and hands, then pronounced the following prayer:—
 "Almighty God, who didst establish Hazael for the government of Syria, and Jehu, king of Israel, in manifesting to them thy will by means of the prophet Elijah; thou who didst also spread the holy unction of kings upon the heads of Saul and David by the ministry of the prophet Samuel, spread also by my hands the treasures of thy grace and benediction upon thy servant Napoleon, whom, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness, we this day consecrate emperor in thy name."

The pope led him back with great solemnity to the throne, and after he had taken the oath prescribed by the new constitution, the principal herald at arms cried with a loud voice, "The most glorious and most august emperor of the French is crowned and enthroned! Long live the emperor!" The church now rang with the same cry; there was a discharge of artillery, and the pope chanted *Te Deum*. For many days the festivals were multiplied; but these forced festivals, these festivals of absolute power, breathed little of the vivid, frank, popular, unanimous joy of the first federation of the 14th of July: and however the nation might be pressed down, it did not welcome the advent of despotism, as it welcomed that of liberty!

After the arrest and execution of the duke d'Enghein, the emperor of Russia caused a strong remonstrance to be presented to the French government, and called on the princes of the German empire to demand satisfaction for that flagrant violation of its neutrality. The French government replied by remarking that the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, who were most concerned in the fate of Germany, had understood that the French government were authorized in arresting, at two leagues from the frontier, French rebels, who by their conduct had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations. The first consul of France had no account to render to the emperor of Russia, on a point which in no respects concerned his interests; and he was asked, what need there could be of empty pretences, if the intentions of his imperial majesty were to form a new coalition? He accused Russia of protecting French emigrants who were forming plots against him; and in avowing his repugnance to a war with that power, declared that he should prefer it to a state of things derogatory to the station which France held in Europe. A recriminative correspondence ensued on various points of dispute, until at length the Russian chargé d'affaires at the court of France demanded his passports.

The appeal of the emperor of Russia to the diet of Ratisbon, failed to rouse the spirit of the Germanic body. The king of Prussia, whose influence in the north of the empire was paramount, evinced no disposition to resist the aggressions of Buonaparte, and his minister in conjunction with that of Baden, merely expressed a hope that the first consul would, of himself, give such a full and satisfactory explanation respecting the seizure of the duke d'Enghein as might entirely correspond with the views of the emperor of Russia. The great majority of the other states, fearful of the renewal of a contest in which they might risk more than they could hope to gain, maintained an inflexible silence. The king of Great Britain reminded the diet that a still greater violation of the treaty of Luneville, and of the independence of Germany, had been committed by France in her unjustifiable seizure of the electorate of Hanover. The king of Sweden, as duke of Pomerania, expressed in still stronger terms his abhorrence of the conduct of France, which he considered as doubly injurious to himself, in his quality of a member of the Germanic body, and in his sovereign capacity of guarantee for the treaty of Westphalia.

These spirited remonstrances, from sovereigns who might safely defy the resentment of France, could scarcely expect to be imitated by princes whose territories lay at her mercy. Accordingly, the few who declared themselves on this occasion, adopted the cautious policy of Brandenburg and Baden. But though the influence of France seemed to be thus paramount in Germany, it was not so absolute as to leave her at full liberty to direct her whole force against England. In protesting against the outrage committed against the law of nations, the emperor of Russia had pressed for the execution of a treaty, of which the objects were, a guarantee of the independence of Naples, and an indemnity to the king of Sardinia; and these demands provoked the first consul to remove into Italy some of the battalions destined for the invasion of England. Austria, in the mean while, had been employed in repairing the losses which her armies had sustained in the late war, and in placing her military establishments on the best possible footing. She had been involved in a dispute with the elector of Bavaria, who, either stimulated by France, or calculating on her support, had oppressed the equestrian order in his newly acquired territories of Franconia. On the appeal of that body, the emperor sent a dignified and energetic remonstrance to the court of Munich, and at the same time assured the complainants of his support. This mark of decision served to convince the government of France, that there was a line beyond which their aggression must not pass, so long as they deemed it expedient to remain at peace with Austria. France therefore expressed her displeasure at the conduct of the elector of Bavaria, and thus the affair terminated.

While the current of events in one part of the continent took a direction favourable to England, a change was operating in another quarter, which threatened to involve her in extended hostilities. Since the renewal of war, Spain had maintained an ostensible neutrality, while she continued to serve as the secret ally and vassal of France. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded in 1796, she had covenanted to furnish a stated contingent of naval and military force, for the prosecution of any war in which France might think proper to engage, specifically renouncing her right to enquire into the nature, origin, or justice of the war. For prudential reasons, and from motives of forbearance, Great Britain confined at this conduct, and abstained from exercising the right which she possessed of compelling Spain to renounce this treaty. It does not appear that any express demand of assistance had been made by France previous to July 1803; and on the first notification of the war, the British minister at Madrid, was led to believe that his Catholic majesty did not think himself necessarily bound by the mere fact of a war between England and France, to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty of Ildefonso. In the month of October following, a convention was signed, by which Spain agreed to pay to France a certain sum monthly, in lieu of naval and military succours, but of the amount of that sum no official information was given.

The British ambassador made known to the Spanish government, that a subsidy amounting to the sum which they were supposed to pay to France, far exceeded the bounds of forbearance, and could only be connived at by England as a temporary expedient. He was afterwards instructed to protest against the convention itself as a violation of neutrality, and a justifiable cause of war; and further to declare, that if persevered in, it would be considered in that light; that the entrance of any French troops into Spain must be refused; that any naval preparations would be regarded as a just cause of jealousy, and any attempts to give naval assistance to France would be an immediate cause of war: that the Spanish ports must remain open to British commerce; and that British ships must have equal treatment with those of France. Mr. Frere was further instructed by his government, that if any French troops entered Spain, or should he receive authentic information of any naval armaments preparing for the assistance of France, he was instantly to quit Madrid, and give immediate notice to the British naval commanders, that they might proceed to hostilities without the delay that would be occasioned by a reference to the British government at home.

In the month of July the Spanish government gave assurances of faithful and settled neutrality, and disavowed any orders to arm in their ports; but in the month following it was ascertained by the British admiral commanding the squadron off Ferrol, that re-inforcements of soldiers and sailors had arrived through Spain for the French fleets at that port and Toulon. On receiving this intelligence, Mr. Frere presented two notes to the Spanish minister, remonstrating on this procedure, but no answer was returned to either of them. Towards the end of September it was discovered, that very considerable armaments were preparing in the principal ports of Spain; that three first-rate ships of the line had received orders to sail from Cadiz; and that instructions had been issued to arm the packets as in time of war.

To the inquiries and representations grounded on this intelligence, no satisfactory explanations were given, and strong measures of precaution were consequently adopted. In particular, the British admiral off Ferrol was instructed to prevent any ships of war from quitting that port, or any additional ships of war from entering it. Orders were at the same time issued to all the British admirals and commanders to exercise a scrupulous indulgence and forbearance towards the Spaniards, and to avoid, by every means consistent with the attainment of their object, any act of violence or hostility. Official notice was given to the court of Madrid of these precautions, with an assurance that England still felt an earnest desire to maintain a good understanding with Spain; but that this could only be on the condition that she abstained from all hostile preparations, and that she made a full and explicit disclosure of the nature and extent of her engagements with France, which had hitherto been so frequently and so fruitlessly demanded.

These remonstrances, however, failed in rousing the court of Madrid from the abject state of vassalage to which that power had been reduced by an imbecile and corrupt administration, and the British government issued orders for the detention of such Spanish ships of war homeward bound as contained bullion or treasure. Pursuant to these orders, captain Graham Moore was detached from the channel fleet to cruise off Cadiz, with the *Indefatigable* and three other frigates. On the 5th of October he fell in with four large Spanish frigates steering for that port. At his approach they formed the line of battle a-head, and held on their course without regarding his summons to shorten sail, which he gave on placing each of his ships along side of theirs. Captain Moore then fired a shot across the fore-poop of the second of the Spanish ships, which bore a rear-admiral's flag, and this had the desired effect of bringing them to parley. He then sent an officer to inform the admiral that his orders were to detain the squadron, and that it was his earnest wish to execute those orders without bloodshed; but that the determination on the part of the Spaniards must be instantly made. An unsatisfactory answer having been returned, a close fight ensued, and in less than ten minutes the admiral's second astern, the *Las Mercedes*, blew up with a

tremendous explosion. The remaining three frigates struck in succession after a considerable loss in killed and wounded.

A truly affecting incident attended the loss of the *Mercedes*. A gentleman of rank, who was returning to Spain in that ship with his whole family, which consisted of his lady, four daughters, and five sons, had passed with one of the latter on board another frigate before the action commenced, and they had there the horror of witnessing the dreadful catastrophe which in an instant severed them from their dearest relatives, and deprived them of a fortune which had been saved during five and twenty years of foreign service! Captain Moore, on their passage to England, did all in his power to mitigate the anguish of the surviving father and son, and their strong claims on the humanity of the British government were not disregarded. The cargoes of the captured ships were of immense value, consisting of gold and silver bullion and rich merchandize; but Mr. Pitt, and his associates in the ministry were severely censured for not having preceded this terrible blow by a declaration of war, and also for not sending such a superior force as would have precluded all hope of successful resistance.

It is remarkable that this event did not occasion any interruption of the pending negotiations at Madrid. On the 26th of October, the British minister presented to that of Spain, a note, in which three points were insisted on as preliminary to the settlement of other matters then under discussion. He demanded that the orders given at Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena should be countermanded, as well for the equipment of ships of war in those ports as for their removal from one port to the other; that the armament should be discontinued, and the establishment of ships of war replaced on its former footing when hostilities commenced between England and France; and lastly, that a full disclosure should be made of the existing engagements, and future intentions of Spain with respect to France. From this time till the 2nd of November, the discussions continued with little variation in their tenor—of urgent demand of satisfaction on one side, and of evasive replies on the other. On the 14th of December, however, the British chargé d'affaires, quitted Madrid, his Catholic majesty having declared war against England two days before. During the whole negotiation no mention whatever had been made of the captured treasure-ships, and the rupture ultimately took place on grounds distinct from and totally unconnected with that measure. It was a necessary consequence of the arbitrary conduct of France, in compelling Spain to violate conditions on which, according to distinct and repeated notices from England, the continuance of peace depended.

France had now at her disposal the fleets of her tributary ally, and was thus enabled to cope, on less unequal terms than formerly, with the navy of Great Britain. In the interim she had neglected no means of improving and augmenting her own marine. By a convention, concluded on the 20th of October, she obtained from the Ligurian republic, in exchange for some commercial advantages of a very equivocal nature, the services of six thousand men during the war, and the use of their harbours, arsenals and dock-yards. Thus the port of Genoa was virtually ceded to her, under an engagement that the Ligurian republic should, at its own expense, enlarge the basin for the reception of ten sail of the line, which were to be immediately constructed.

The rising hostility of Russia and Sweden at this moment, increased the jealousy of the French government against the influence of England on the continent; and under the pretext of frustrating a conspiracy, another insult was committed on the rights of neutral states. On the 25th of October, 1804, sir George Rumbold, the British chargé d'affaires in the circle of Lower Saxony, was seized at his country house near Hamburg, by a party of French troops who had crossed the Elbe for that purpose. He was conveyed to Paris, imprisoned in the Temple, and released only on signing a parole not to return to Hamburg, or reside within a certain distance of the French territories. On the subject of this outrage, an application was made, by the British minister for foreign affairs, to the cabinet of Berlin; but a remonstrance from his Prussian majesty had already been made with success for the

liberation of the envoy. After in vain applying for the restitution of his papers, he was conveyed to Cherbourg, and sent by a flag of truce on board the *Niobe* frigate, which conveyed him to Portsmouth.

The threat of invasion was kept up against England during the whole of the year 1804, and to counteract it, several operations were at different times undertaken against the enemy's armaments on the coasts of France and Holland, but they were seldom crowned with success. On the 16th of May, an attempt was made by the gallant sir Sidney Smith, in the *Antelope* frigate, with some sloops of war, to prevent the junction of the flotilla which lay in the harbour of Flushing from joining that of Ostend. The failure of success was attributed to the want of gun-boats. Fifty-nine sail of the Flushing division reached their destination in safety; and the English force, after the ebbing of the tide, were obliged to haul off into deep water, with the loss of about fifty men killed and wounded. In August an attack was made by captain Owen on the flotilla anchored in the road of Boulogne, but with little success; and those of captain Oliver, made about the same period at Havre, failed of their object, and produced no other result than some damage occasioned by the explosion of shells in the town. In the beginning of October, so great a proportion of the enemy's flotilla had collected at Boulogne, that the alarm of invasion became universal throughout England; and ministers were induced to sanction a project, which had been submitted to them, for destroying the whole armament by means of copper vessels of an oblong form filled with combustibles, and so constructed as to explode by clock-work in a given time. These vessels which obtained the name of *Catamarans*, were to be towed and fastened under the bottoms of the enemy's gun-boats by a man in a small raft, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly elude detection in a dark night. Fire-ships of various constructions were also to co-operate in the attack. The experiment was to be made under the direction of lord Keith, who was to cover the smaller force with his powerful squadron; and the appearance of a hundred and fifty sail of the enemy's flotilla, in the outer road of Boulogne, presented a favourable opportunity for executing an enterprise respecting which the public curiosity had been strongly excited.

On the 2nd of October, lord Keith anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the harbour, and the requisite preparations were made for commencing the attack at night. So strongly were the English ministers interested in its success, that Mr. Pitt and several other members of the cabinet were induced to witness the scene from Walmer castle. At a quarter past nine, the first detachment of the fire-ships was launched under a heavy fire from the advanced force, which was answered by a tremendous one from the hostile batteries. The vessels of the flotilla opened a passage for them as they approached, and so completely avoided them that they passed into the rear of the line without doing any damage. At half past ten the first explosion ship blew up, producing an immense column of fire, but no mischief either to the ships or the batteries. A second, and a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better; and at length when twelve had been exploded, the engagement ceased about four in the morning, and the English smaller vessels drew off without the loss of a man. No perceptible destruction had been effected except of two brigs and some small craft which seemed to be missing in the morning. Thus terminated to the confusion of the projectors, and the disappointment of the public, an expedition prepared at a greater expense than the merits of the plan, on mature examination, might have warranted.

LETTER III.

Continuation of the History of Europe, from the commencement of the war with Spain to the battle of Trafalgar, 1805.—Liberal supplies granted to Mr. Pitt.—Impeachment of Lord Melville.—Change of the continental republics into kingdoms.—Napoleon made King of Italy.—Third coalition formed against France.—Battle of Austerlitz, and capture of Vienna.—Peace of Presburg—Naval victory of Trafalgar.—Death of Lord Nelson; and honours paid to his memory.—Death and character of Mr. Pitt.

THE commencement of the year 1805 was distinguished by an overture for peace, comprised in a letter from the newly appointed emperor of France, dated January 2nd, to his majesty George III. Some little elation of mind arising from his recent exaltation was obvious in his present, as it had also been in his former epistle, which announced his advancement to the consular dignity; it, nevertheless, contained sentiments of which the greatest monarch could have no reason to be ashamed. "My first wish," said he, "is for PEACE. I consider it as no disgrace to make the first advance; and certainly there never was a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of reason and humanity. The world is large enough for our two nations to live in it; and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have fulfilled a sacred duty in making this overture, and trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it." The reply of the English government, dated on the 14th of January, was decorous in its language, but wholly evasive; and not the slightest wish was expressed for further explanation. After acknowledging the receipt of Napoleon's letter, and professing an ardent desire for peace, the answer concluded with coldly declaring that "his majesty feels it impossible for him to reply more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the powers on the continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations, and particularly the emperor of Russia."

Mr. Pitt, who was now re-instated in office, began to exert himself, by all possible means, to strengthen his administration, which he was in some measure enabled to effect by means of a reconciliation with the minister whom he had so lately supplanted. On the 12th of January, Mr. Addington was created viscount Sidmouth, and appointed president of the council, on the resignation of the duke of Portland; lord Mulgrave was made foreign secretary; and Mr. Vansittart, with other friends of lord Sidmouth were sworn of the privy council. When the subject of the war with Spain came under parliamentary investigation, the attack on the Spanish frigates was severely censured by several speakers, and by none more pointedly than by lord Grenville, who reprobated the proceeding as at once barbarous and unjust. "The laws of civilized war," said his lordship, "allow no such act of violence as that which has been committed in assaulting the Spanish ships on the high seas. It has been assimilated to an embargo; but was there no difference between delaying merchant vessels, which might be delivered back, and destroying ships navigating the ocean in supposed security? Who can restore the innocent blood that has been spilt? No capture of treasure could wash away the stain thus brought upon our arms."

The supplies for the year amounted to about four and forty millions, of which sum twenty millions were raised by a loan. A considerable addition was made to the war taxes, and the property tax was raised to six and a quarter per cent. The new taxes imposed in perpetuity were estimated at one million six hundred thousand pounds; and the minister, while in the act of thus

heavily adding to the weight of the public burdens, concluded an eloquent speech by congratulating the house on the increasing prosperity of the country!

At this time proceedings were instituted against a member of the administration, which for a considerable time strongly engaged the public attention. In the month of April 1805, a charge was exhibited against lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty, founded on the tenth report of the commissioners of naval enquiry. It was brought before the house of commons by Mr. Whitbread, who, after referring to the act passed in 1785, for regulating the department of the treasurer of the navy, of which lord Melville, then occupying that post, was himself the supporter, and which act advanced the salary of the place from two thousand to four thousand pounds per annum, in lieu of all emoluments which might have previously been derived from the public money in the treasurer's hands, stated three heads of charge bearing upon him. These were—his applying the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department; his conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, Mr. Trotter, for whose conduct he was responsible; and his having been a participator in that peculation. He concluded a speech, in which the particular circumstances of the case were laid open, by moving a series of resolutions founded thereupon. Mr. Pitt, after observing that there was nothing in the report of the commissioners which implied that any mischief had arisen to the public from the circumstances complained of, objected to the method of proceeding now proposed, and thought the best course that could be pursued would be, to refer the report to a select committee. He therefore moved an amendment to that purpose, which he afterwards changed, on the suggestion of Mr. Fox, for a motion for the previous question. The debate was now continued, and on a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Whitbread's motion two hundred and sixteen, against it two hundred and sixteen, when the speaker gave his casting vote in its favour. Mr. Whitbread then moved an address to the king, requesting him to remove lord Melville for ever from his presence and councils; but, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, he agreed to postpone the motion to a future day. When that day arrived, the house was informed that lord Melville had resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty, and also that Mr. Trotter had been dismissed from that of paymaster to the navy. It being suggested by some member of the house, that there was at least a possibility of lord Melville's return to office, Mr. Pitt said he had no hesitation in declaring that all idea of his lordship's resumption of office at a future period was completely annihilated. It was afterwards announced, that lord Melville's name had been erased from the list of the privy council.

When various proceedings had taken place, his lordship requested permission to be heard at the bar of the house of commons, respecting the matter contained in the report of the commissioners, which was granted him. On this occasion he acknowledged having appropriated the public money entrusted to him to other public purposes, but solemnly denied having derived any benefit therefrom, or that he had participated in the profits made by Mr. Trotter. He nevertheless confessed that he had applied the sum of ten thousand pounds, in a way which he could not reveal, consistently with private honour and public duty. When his lordship had withdrawn, Mr. Whitbread moved for his impeachment which was negatived by a majority of two hundred and seventy-two to one hundred and ninety-five; and an amendment moved by Mr. Bond, for a criminal prosecution passed by the small majority of two hundred and thirty-eight to two hundred and twenty-nine. His lordship's friends, however, soon after finding reason to prefer an impeachment, a motion for that purpose was made by Mr. Leicester and carried without a division. Mr. Whitbread, accordingly, accompanied by a great number of members of the lower house, on the 26th of June, impeached lord Melville at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of the commons of Great Britain. A bill of a very problematical nature subsequently passed, to indemnify Alexander Trotter and all others called upon to give evidence on the trial of lord Melville, from civil actions. The trial

itself, on account of the lateness of the session, was postponed to the following year. It then commenced in Westminster-hall, on the 29th of April, before the lords, the members of the house of commons being present in a committee of the whole house. The trial was conducted with unusual dispatch for a proceeding of that nature; the evidence and arguments on both sides being closed on the 17th of May, and sentence pronounced on the 12th of June. The result was, that, by a majority, his lordship was pronounced not guilty. His lordship was succeeded in the admiralty by sir Charles Middleton, on whom was conferred the title of lord Barham. But the loss of so able a colleague as lord Melville, from a cause so unexpected, occasioned deep and lasting chagrin to Mr. Pitt, upon whom almost the whole weight of business now devolved; and his health, previously infirm, from this time suffered a manifest depression.

The public events of the year 1805, both political and military, place it among the most interesting in the history of the war; let me direct your attention, my son, for a moment, to the affairs of the continent.

The French directory, during the term of its continuance, had moulded all the surrounding states into republics: Napoleon now wished to constitute them on the model of the empire—they were to be raised to the dignity of kingdoms, and he began with that of Italy. An order in council of the Cisalpine republic decided that hereditary monarchy should be re-established in favour of Napoleon Buonaparte. Its vice-president, M. Melzy, accordingly proceeded to Paris to make known to the emperor this decision. On the 17th of March, 1805, he was received at the Tuileries in solemn audience. Napoleon was upon his throne, surrounded by his court and all the brilliancy of sovereign power, of which he was passionately fond. M. Melzy offered him the crown, in the name of his fellow citizens. "Sire," said he to him in conclusion, "deign to realize the wishes of the assembly over which I have the honour to preside. Interpreter of the sentiments which animate all Italian hearts, it brings to you their most sincere homage. It will gladly inform them that, in accepting their prayer, you have redoubled the force of the bonds which attach you to the preservation, the defence, the prosperity of the Italian nation. Yes, Sire, you willed that the Italian republic should exist, and it has existed. Will that the Italian monarchy should be happy, and it will be so."

In the month of May, the emperor left his own capital to take possession of this realm, and on the 26th he received the iron crown of the Lombards. He nominated prince Eugene de Beauharnois, his adopted son, viceroy of Italy. From thence he proceeded to Genoa, which also abandoned itself to his sovereignty. On the 4th of June, its territory was re-united to the empire, and formed the three departments of Genoa, of Montenotte, and of the Apennines. The small republic of Lucca was also comprised in this monarchic revolution. Upon the demand of its chief magistrate, it was bestowed as an appendage on the prince and princess of Piombino, one of the sisters of Napoleon. He himself, after his royal progress re-passed the Alps, and returned to the capital of his empire, from whence he shortly after set out for the camp of Boulogne, where he was preparing a maritime expedition against England. This project of invasion, which the directory had entertained after the peace of Campo Formio, and the first consul after the peace of Luneville, had been resumed with much zeal since the re-commencement of hostilities between the two countries. At the opening of the year 1805, a flotilla of two thousand small vessels, manned by sixteen thousand sailors, capable of carrying an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men, nine thousand horse, and a numerous artillery, was assembled in the ports of Boulogne, Etaples, Vimereux, Ambleteuse, and Calais. The emperor was accelerating by his presence the completion of this maritime expedition, which was placed under the commands of some of the ablest generals in the French service. Squadrons of French ships, which had hitherto been cautiously kept in port, were now hazarded out to sea, in order to divide the British naval force; while greater enterprises were projected by the junction of the Spanish and French fleets. On the other hand, nothing was wanting on this

side the channel to provide adequate means of resistance. The southern coast of England was fortified on the most exposed parts by a range of Martello towers, and every effort was made for increasing the forces by sea and land.

At this portentous moment, when the vulture was ready to pounce upon his prey, Napoleon was roused from his reverie by learning that all the forces of the Austrian monarchy were in motion. Ninety thousand men under the command of the archduke Ferdinand and general Mack, had passed the Inn, invaded Munich, and expelled the elector of Bavaria, the ally of France: thirty thousand under the archduke John, had occupied the Tyrol; and the archduke Charles with a hundred thousand men had advanced upon the Adige. A treaty had also been signed on the 11th of April, between Russia and England in which the parties reciprocally bound themselves to use their utmost exertions for forming a general league of the states of Europe, for the purpose of putting a stop to the encroachments of the French government, and securing the independence of the different states. Two Russian armies were also now preparing to join the Austrians, the consequence of the third coalition which England had organized. In fact, the establishment of the kingdom of Italy; the re-union of Genoa and Piedmont to France; the open influence which the emperor Napoleon exercised over Holland and Switzerland, had once more roused the energies of all Europe, which now dreaded the ambition of Buonaparte, as it had in former times been terrified by the principles of the revolution.

Napoleon now found other matters to engage his attention and employ his troops than the invasion of England; and, therefore, instantly quitting Boulogne he returned to Paris, presented himself to the senate on the 23rd of September, obtained a levy of eighty thousand men, and on the following day set out to commence the campaign. He passed the Rhine on the 1st of October, and entered Bavaria on the 6th with an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men. On joining the army, he addressed them in a proclamation drawn up in his usual vaunting style, in which he told them:—"You are but the vanguard of the great nation; if it be necessary, it will in a moment rise at my voice, to dissolve this new league which British gold and hatred hath woven." Unfortunately these were not vain words.

The French army marched in six divisions under the command of marshals Bernadotte, Marmont, Davoust, Soult, Ney, and Lannes. The Bavarians having formed a junction with two of these divisions at Wurtzburg, they advanced towards the Danube on the north, while the other divisions were proceeding in different directions, the main object being to cut off the communication between the Austrian army under general Mack, consisting of eighty or ninety thousand men, which had advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest, and the territories of Austria. By a series of bold manœuvres, and successful actions, this was so completely effected by the middle of October, that Mack was entirely surrounded in Ulm with thirty thousand men, who remained to him after the loss of several detached portions of his army, and the retreat of a part to Bohemia under the archduke Ferdinand. Preparations were instantly made for storming Ulm; but a summons being sent to Mack to capitulate, he thought it most advisable to comply with it. On the 20th of October, the whole of the Austrian troops in that city laid down their arms before the emperor of France, surrendering themselves prisoners of war, with all their artillery, magazines, &c. Thus was nearly annihilated the force with which the Austrians commenced the campaign, about sixty thousand of them having been taken prisoners, with comparatively a small loss on the part of the French.

Vienna was now the object in the view of Napoleon, and he pursued it with unabated ardour. Proceeding to Munich, he advanced at the head of the main body of his army, having before him a corps of Austrians which had been re-inforced by the first column of the Russians. The French crossed the Inn in the face of these allies, who, not being strong enough to resist them, retreated step by step on the road to Vienna. In the first week of November, Napoleon had his head-quarters at Linz, where he received pro-

posals from the allies for an armistice, to which he replied by stating such conditions as a conqueror only could dictate; and in the mean time he continued his operations. The alarm at Vienna was now extreme. The emperor Francis retired with all his court to Brunn in Moravia, while the greater part of the nobility sought an asylum in Hungary. The inhabitants in general patiently awaited the conqueror, and only appointed a guard to aid the police in keeping the city tranquil. On the 11th the main body of the French army arrived and took up their quarters in the suburbs. They entered Vienna on the 13th, the advanced guard passing through by the bridge over the Danube without halting. On the 15th, Napoleon joined the army which was advancing into Moravia to meet the Russians.

While these events were passing in Germany, active operations were pursued in Italy, where Massena was opposed to the archduke Charles. The archduke John occupied the passes of the Tyrol, in order to keep up a communication between the forces in Germany and those in the Venetian territory. On the 18th of October, the French forced the passage of the Adige, and took a position near Caldero, where the archduke Charles was strongly posted. Massena having thus received intelligence of the surrender of Mack, and the advance of Napoleon, made a general attack on the archduke's lines, which, after a severe conflict, he entirely broke inflicting great loss. After this disaster, the archduke began his retreat, pursued by the French, who on the 3rd of December obtained possession of Vicenza. Both armies passed the Brenta, and the Tagliamento; and the Austrians continued their retrograde motion, perpetually harassed by the pursuers, till they reached Laybach in Carniola. Massena then halted to ascertain what was passing in the Tyrol, where the archduke John was closely pressed by different French divisions, until at length Ney having forced his way to Inspruck, and pushed his head-quarters to Bolzano, the archduke, finding himself unable to defend the Tyrol, formed a junction with his brother at Laybach. They then hastened their march towards Vienna, while the French, who had reduced the Tyrol, proceeded to join the main army, Massena holding the archduke's in check.

The main body of the allies now consisted of about fifty thousand Russians with the emperor Alexander at their head, and twenty-five thousand Austrians, chiefly of new levies. The French when joined by the divisions of Bernadotte and Davoust, amounted to between seventy and eighty thousand men, in the highest state of discipline, and full of confidence from past successes. On the 2nd of December, the anniversary of the coronation, the two armies engaged on the plain of Austerlitz, on the direct road from Vienna to Olmutz. This memorable battle, distinguished by the name of the place where it was fought, was further signalized by the presence of the three emperors—Russia, France, and Austria. Napoleon was his own general-in-chief: the Russians were commanded by general Kutusoff; and the Austrians by prince John of Lichtenstein. The battle commenced at sun-rise; then these enormous masses were put in motion; and it continued till evening, full of variety and sanguinary in the extreme. The Russian infantry were unable to withstand the impetuosity of the French troops and the manoeuvres of their general. The left wing of the allies was broken, and the imperial Russian guard endeavoured to re-establish the communication, but was entirely crushed. The centre experienced the same fate; and the contest terminated with the retreat of the allies in good order, but with the loss of many prisoners and the greatest part of their artillery and baggage. On the following day the French advanced; and an armistice proposed by the emperor Francis took place on the 4th. By its terms the French army was to remain in possession of all its conquests till the conclusion of a definitive peace, or till the rupture of the negotiations for it; in the latter case, hostilities were not to recommence till fourteen days after notice formally given. It was further stipulated that the Russian army should evacuate Moravia and Bohemia within fifteen days, and Hungary within a month, and to retire by prescribed routes; moreover, that there should be no extraordinary levy of troops in the Austrian dominions during this period. To these humili-

liating terms, the emperor of Russia refused to become a party, and he commenced a retreat in his own manner on the 6th of December. On the day after the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon issued a proclamation on the field of battle, in which he congratulated his army in the following terms. "Soldiers! "Your conduct is most satisfactory; you have covered your eagles with immortal glory. An army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, has been in less than four hours cut to pieces or dispersed, they who have escaped your swords have perished in the lakes. Forty stand of colours; the standards of the imperial Russian guard; a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon; twenty generals; and more than thirty thousand prisoners are the result of this for ever glorious day. Their infantry, so vaunted and so superior in numbers, has been unable to resist your onset; and henceforth you have no rivals to dread. Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been vanquished and dispersed."

The peace of Presburg followed the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz; it was signed on the 26th of December. The house of Austria, which had lost its foreign possessions, Belgium and the Milanese, was now further curtailed of some of its German territories. It ceded the provinces of Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy; the district of Tyrol, the town of Augsburg, the principality of Eichstadt, a part of the territory of Passau, and all its possessions in Swabia, Brigau, and Ortenau, to the electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which were transformed into kingdoms. The grand duchy of Baden was also enriched by its spoils. The treaty of Presburg completed the humiliation of Austria—an abasement begun by the treaty of Campo-Formio, and continued by that of Luneville. The emperor, on his return to Paris, crowned with glory, became the object of such universal admiration, that he was himself stunned by the general enthusiasm and intoxicated by his fortunes. He was now Napoleon "THE GREAT," and the senate decreed him a triumphal monument.

Elated, as he well might be, by his success upon the continent, we cannot wonder that Napoleon should determine to realize his haughty menace, that the ocean should no longer belong to England; but, happy for mankind, he was not so great a favourite with Neptune as he was with Mars, the truth of which will presently appear. Early in year 1805, a squadron of six sail of the line and two frigates, which had been blockaded for more than two years in Rochefort, had found means to elude the British force stationed off that port, and put to sea. Soon after the sailing of that squadron, an armament of far greater magnitude sailed from the harbour of Toulon. This fleet, commanded by admiral Villeneuve, consisted of eleven sail of the line, and a number of frigates and corvettes, on board of which about ten thousand land forces were embarked. On the 15th of March they quitted the harbour, without being perceived by lord Nelson's squadron, who, preferring active warfare to a rigorous blockade, was then cruising at some distance, in the hope of inviting the enemy to an open engagement. After touching at Carthagena, where there were six Spanish ships of the line, but not in a state of readiness for sea, the French admiral proceeded to Cadiz. That port was blockaded by sir John Orde, with a British squadron of only five sail of the line, which being too weak to prevent the junction of the enemy, the Toulon fleet was re-inforced by that of the Spanish admiral Gravina on the 9th of April, consisting of six ships of the line and a number of frigates. The combined fleets immediately stood out to sea, and before night a strong easterly wind carried them out of sight of Cadiz.

Lord Nelson, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, was no sooner informed of the French fleet having sailed, than he commenced his memorable pursuit. From the re-commencement of the war, the ruler of France had been supposed to have his eye steadily fixed on the conquest of Egypt, and that country was supposed to be the destination of the Toulon armament. Under this impression the British admiral directed his course towards the coast of Egypt. Having touched at Sicily and Malta, he arrived at the mouth of the Nile, the celebrated scene of his former glory. Here he was surprised at

not being able to obtain any intelligence of the enemy's fleet. As his mind was still impressed with the idea of its being on the way towards Egypt, he formed the design of intercepting it in some part of the Mediterranean. In this view he retraced his course toward Sicily, and continued cruising off that island, in the most anxious expectation, till the middle of April, when, to his great mortification and astonishment, he found that he had been totally deceived in his conjectures. The British admiral now became satisfied that the enemy had proceeded for the West Indies, and therefore resolved to direct his pursuit towards that quarter.

Leaving the Sicilian seas, and having passed the Straits of Gibraltar, he repaired to the Bay of Lagos. Here he received certain information of the course which the enemy had taken. His doubts were now removed, and his hopes re-animated. Inspired with fresh ardour, he weighed from the Bay of Lagos with ten ships of the line and three frigates, and steered with a crowded sail for Barbadoes.* In his passage he spoke two vessels bound for England, from which he learned that the combined fleets had, ten days before, passed Barbadoes; and on his arrival at that island, he received information that they were gone to attack Trinidad. On the following day his lordship sailed for that island, where he found himself once more disappointed. No probability of meeting with the object of his pursuit was now left, except in steering to the northward, and successively visiting all the islands.

The British admiral having adopted this measure, first proceeded to Grenada, where he received intelligence that the enemy had only the preceding morning left Martinique, and was steering a northerly course. After so long and so tedious a chase, to find himself within three days' sail of the hostile fleets, was a circumstance which flattered his views and inspired him with fresh hopes, being confident that, in the event of their making an attack on Antigua, or any other island, he could not fail of coming up with them, and frustrating their designs. But the French admiral, having received intelligence of the arrival of the British fleet in those seas, put into Martinique, and having watered his ships and refreshed his men, on the 7th of June he set sail, and bent his course towards Europe.

Lord Nelson, in the mean time, proceeded to Antigua, where, on his arrival, he found that the combined fleets had a few days before passed that island to the northward. Being now persuaded that they were on their return to Europe, he steered with a full press of sail in that direction, in the hope of overtaking them before they could reach any of their ports. But this expectation, like the rest, proved fallacious. His lordship, however, had too much experience of the uncertainty of naval operations, to calculate fully on the probability of coming up with the enemy. He no sooner found reason to suspect that the combined fleets had shaped their course back to Europe, than he instantly dispatched a fast-sailing vessel to communicate advice to government, in order that proper measures might be taken to intercept them on their return.

In consequence of this information the fleets were met with off Ferrol by sir Robert Calder, who was cruising for that purpose with fifteen sail of the line. The enemy's fleet consisted of not less than twenty sail of the line; but notwithstanding the superiority of their force, the British commander did not hesitate a moment in bringing them to action. On the 22nd of July the encounter took place, three days after lord Nelson had reached Gibraltar on his return from the West Indies. The unequal contest terminated with the capture of two Spanish ships of the line, the San Raphael and the Firma, the former of eighty-four, and the latter seventy-four guns. But the enemy being a great way to the windward, and the weather foggy and unfavourable, the admiral found it impossible to renew the action, without separating the fleet from the prizes and from his own crippled ships, as well as risking the masts and yards of several others, which were in so disabled a state as to be incapable of bearing such a press of sail as would have been required in chasing an enemy so far to the windward. Had these obstacles not intervened, the victory would doubtless have been more complete.

From the havock made on board the captured ships, the loss of the enemy appeared to have been considerable; that of the English was only eleven men killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. The admiral's dispatches held out some expectation of a second engagement, and a more decisive victory; but his hopes and those of the public were in this respect disappointed. On the fourth day after the action the enemy's fleet disappeared, and got into Vigo.

This result greatly disappointed the public mind, and the murmurs of disapprobation were so loud and general, that the British admiral returned to England and demanded a court-martial. The consequence of this investigation was, that he was reprimanded, not for having betrayed either fear or cowardice, but for an error in judgment, in not having made the most of the opportunity afforded him of destroying or capturing every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage. The hostile fleets having reached Ferrol in safety, and there augmented their force to twenty-seven sail of the line, next proceeded to Cadiz, and entered that port on the 27th of August, the small squadron under admiral Collingwood not offering any opposition, which indeed would have been equally rash and ineffectual against so overwhelming a force.

Lord Nelson, after his return from the West Indies, proceeded to London, where on his arrival he was received with those honours which he had so justly merited by his intrepid exertions. He now received an appointment to the command of a fleet of sufficient force to cope with the enemy, in any quarter of the world to which they might be destined. On the 11th of September he hoisted his flag on board the *Victory* at Portsmouth, and put to sea on the following day, without waiting for five ships of the line which were preparing to sail with him. Having taken command of the fleet under lord Collingwood on the coast of Spain, he resumed his former tactics, and instead of blockading the port of Cadiz, he stationed his main force near Cape St. Mary's, establishing a line of frigates to observe and communicate the movements of the enemy. In the middle of October, on being apprised that a re-inforcement of seven sail of the line would speedily join him from England, he detached admiral Louis with six ships of the line on a particular service; and this bold manœuvre was performed in so open a manner, that it had the desired effect of inducing the enemy to put to sea.

On the 19th of October admiral Villeneuve, with thirty-two sail of the line, seven frigates, and eight corvettes, got under weigh, and sailed with a light breeze to the westward. Intelligence of this movement was conveyed to lord Nelson by the frigates which were appointed to watch their motions. His lordship, concluding their destination to be for the Mediterranean, now bore away with a crowded sail for the entrance of the Straits, where, on his arrival, he was informed by captain Blackwood that the hostile fleet had not yet made its appearance. At length, however, the glorious but fatal day arrived, which was to complete the triumphs and close the career of the hero. On the morning of Monday, October 21st, about day-break, Cape Trafalgar bearing east by south, distant about seven leagues, wind nearly west, the combined fleets were discovered six or seven miles to the eastward.

Lord Nelson now beheld within his reach the enemy of whom he had so long been in search. The fleet under his command, which had now received the expected re-inforcement, consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, and bore up in two columns as they formed in the order of sailing, conformably to instructions issued by the admiral in prospect of an engagement. In these instructions he directed the captains to look to their particular line as their rallying point; but if the signals should not be clearly understood, no captain could do amiss in placing his ship alongside one of the enemy. The admiral himself, who headed the weather column, was to attack the hostile line near the centre, while lord Collingwood, who conducted the leeward column, was to break it, if possible, at a considerable distance from the extreme rear; and thus, it was hoped, the victory would be decided ere the van could be brought to succour the ships engaged. The last telegraphic

signal issued by this great commander, at the moment of going into action, was, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY."

Admiral Villeneuve supposed that the English fleet consisted of only twenty-one sail, and he originally intended to attack them with an equal number of vessels, while twelve of his select ships, acting as a body of reserve, were to bear down and double upon the British line after the action had commenced. On perceiving, however, the real force with which he had to contend, he arranged his ships in one line, forming a crescent convexing to leeward. The conflict began about noon, when admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, gallantly entered into action about the twelfth ship from the enemy's rear, leaving his van unoccupied. The succeeding ships broke through in all parts, astern of their leader, and engaged their antagonists at the muzzles of their guns.

Lord Nelson, on board the Victory, directed his attack on the enemy's line, between the tenth and eleventh ships in the van; but finding it so close that there was not room to pass, he ordered his ship to be run on board the Redoubtable, opposed to him; his second, the Temeraire, engaged the next ship in the enemy's line; and the others singled out their adversaries in succession, according to the order of battle. For the space of four hours the conflict was tremendous; particularly in that part of the line where the commander-in-chief had commenced the onset. The guns of his ship repeatedly set fire to the Redoubtable, and the British seamen were employed at intervals during the heat of the battle in throwing buckets of water on the spreading flames, which might otherwise have involved both ships in destruction.

Both the French and Spaniards fought with a degree of bravery and skill highly honourable to their officers and men; but the attack was irresistible. About three in the afternoon, the Spanish admiral, with ten sail of the line, joining the frigates to leeward, bore away for Cadiz. Ten minutes afterwards, five of the headmost ships of the enemy's van, under admiral Dumanoir, tacked, and stood to the windward of the British line; the sternmost was taken, but the others escaped. The heroic exertions of the British were rewarded by the capture of nineteen ships of the line, with the commander-in-chief, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals. The tempestuous weather which came on after the action, rendered it necessary to destroy most of these prizes, of which only four were carried into Gibraltar. The fugitive ships, under Dumanoir, were captured off Ferrol on the 4th of November, by a squadron under the command of sir Richard Strachan.

The loss of the British in the battle of Trafalgar was estimated at one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven men, killed and wounded; but great as the victory was, and in importance and brilliancy it yields to none in the annals of naval warfare, it was purchased at an immense expense to the country. About the middle of the action, as lord Nelson was walking the quarter-deck, attentive to its progress, and anxiously expecting its issue, he received a shot in the left breast from a musket ball, which wounded him mortally, and he instantly fell. He was immediately carried to the cockpit, where he lived about an hour, and employed the short space of time now allotted him in giving orders, receiving reports, and making inquiries concerning the state of the action. The closing scene of his glorious career was not unworthy of his former exploits. In the hour of death he displayed the same magnanimity that had marked his character and conduct through life. Conscious of his approaching dissolution, he sent for admiral Collingwood, the second in command, to whom he communicated the particulars of his situation, and then gave the necessary orders to the officers by whom he was surrounded.

On being told that the British flag was triumphant, and that fifteen sail of the line had struck, he appeared much consoled. A few moments before his death, he said to captain Hardy, "I could have wished to live to enjoy this day; but God's will be done." "My lord," replied the captain, "you die in the midst of triumph!" Nelson replied, "God be praised!" and almost instantly expired. Thus fell the hero of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and of

Trafalgar, after a victory which utterly blasted the hopes of Napoleon for the subjugation and ruin of England. His contemporaries mourn his loss; posterity will revere his talents and courage; the pages of history will record his fame and immortalize his name, while his example will long be held up to the imitation of future commanders. The mortal remains of the British admiral were conveyed to England, and interred with the highest public honours. Having left no son, the title of earl Nelson, with a permanent revenue annexed, was, by an act of national and enthusiastic gratitude, conferred upon his brother, a private clergyman, all parties on this occasion vying in their expressions of grief and admiration.

In consequence of the death of lord Nelson, admiral Collingwood succeeded to the command of the fleet, and completed the victory. In clearing the ships of prisoners, however, he found such a number of wounded, that, in order to alleviate as much as possible this scene of human misery, he transmitted to the marquis de Soluna, governor-general of Andalusia, a proposal, offering to commit the wounded to the care of their country; the officers to be liberated on their parole, and the privates on receipts being given that they should not serve by sea or land till regularly exchanged. This proposal was embraced with avidity, not only by the governor, but by the whole country, which resounded with expressions of applause and gratitude. The Spanish governor, in return for this trait of British generosity, delivered up the English who had been wrecked on board several of the ships, and made an offer of the hospitals to the wounded on board the fleet, pledging the honour of the Spanish nation for their good treatment.

On the news of this important victory, one general sentiment seemed to pervade the whole nation. The munificence of the country was lavished on the family; and his companions in arms, the partners of his dangers and his triumphs, shared also in the tokens of national gratitude. Admiral Collingwood was raised to the peerage with a pension of two thousand pounds per annum. The earl of Northesk was honoured with the order of the Bath, and a pension. A liberal subscription was set on foot for the relief of those who suffered in the cause of their country; and hundreds of thousands of pounds were readily and cheerfully raised for the relief of the officers, seamen, and marines, who were wounded, and the widows, orphans, and relatives of such as were killed in this memorable action.

Since the return of Mr. Pitt to office, scarcely any thing had occurred, the great victory of Trafalgar excepted, but disaster and disappointment. The total failure of the continental coalition greatly augmented the gloom and disquietude which had begun to prevail in England, in consequence of the alarming illness of Mr. Pitt. At the close of the former session of parliament, this distinguished statesman had been compelled, by the decline of a constitution originally delicate, to relinquish all active share in public business, and retire to Bath; from whence he returned in the commencement of the year, in a state of debility and exhaustion, no doubt augmented by anxiety and disappointment. It has been supposed, that the fatal intelligence of the battle of Austerlitz produced an agitation of spirits which powerfully increased his disorder; for on return to his villa at Putney, near London, he breathed his last on the 23d of January 1806, in the 47th year of his age, having directed the affairs of his country for a longer period than any other minister.

Under his auspices the maritime supremacy of England was confirmed by a series of most splendid victories; her colonial acquisitions were greatly extended; but her public burdens were also enormously augmented. He laboured successfully to preserve his country from the contagion of the revolutionary principles that desolated France; and exerted himself with equal zeal, but with less success, in resisting the military despotism by which that power threatened to subjugate the continent. As a financier, he displayed great ability in the accumulation of public resources; but it may be fairly questioned, whether he displayed equal political wisdom in the distribution of them. In forming continental alliances, he relied too implicitly on the influence of money for ensuring to Great Britain that ascendancy in foreign

courts, to which, by her generous aid, she was entitled. His character has been portrayed in very different colours, and exhibited in very different points of view, by those who condemn and those who approve the principles on which he acted.

Those who considered the revolutionary war as unnecessary, regarded him as one of the principal authors of the tremendous evils which that contest brought upon Europe. While others, reflecting on the extensive spread and dangerous tendency of the principles of the French revolution, and on the extreme hazard to which Great Britain was exposed, by standing an indifferent spectator till France had subdued the continent, and increased her marine in proportion to her military strength, regard him as the saviour of his country. Every impartial person, indeed, must confess, that Mr. Pitt stood in a situation wholly unprecedented, and difficult beyond example—a situation in which he could derive no information from the measures of preceding ministers, or the policy of former times. The grand question which presented itself to his consideration, was of a nature entirely new. History furnished no facts that could serve as a guide to his conduct: in an unexplored path he seems to have taken the surest direction. By the measures adopted, his country was saved; by pursuing a different course, the result might have been otherwise. The consequences of these measures are visible in all their extent: those arising from an opposite system of politics, however brilliant the colours in which imagination may paint them, are wholly theoretic, and not having been verified by experiment, they are merely speculative.

The unprejudiced historian will not deny to Mr. Pitt the praise of being a man of firm purpose, of honourable pride, and of disinterested principle. Ambition is universally allowed to have been a prominent trait in his character; but it was the ambition of a great mind. His political views were grand and extensive: but it must be confessed, that his most favourite plans proved unsuccessful; and his most promising scheme, the last continental coalition, contributed only to the gigantic power and prodigious aggrandizement of France. The failure, however, is not to be ascribed to the plan, but to the mistakes in the execution, which it was not in his power either to prevent or to rectify. Subsequent events have afforded proof, that he had made a just estimate of the effects which the union of all the powers of Europe, acting in perfect concert, might be able to produce. But he was not permitted to witness the justness of his calculations, and the fulfilment of his wishes.

Disinterestedness in regard to pecuniary matters, was one of his distinguishing characteristics. In this respect, to his memory might be justly applied the motto, "*non sibi sed patriæ viri.*" After an administration of two-and-twenty years he was so far from having enriched himself, that he left behind him very considerable debts, which he was unable to liquidate.—Whatever errors his opponents might discover, or fancy they discovered, in his political views, he was certainly a great man. On the public theatre of the world he long acted a very conspicuous part. As a statesman, his name will be celebrated in the annals of Europe, and his conduct will long be the theme of both censure and applause. As an orator, he stands almost unrivalled: he was the Tully of Britain, and the glory of her senate. His country showed its respect for his memory by taking on itself the payment of his debts: and an address to the king was presented by parliament, praying his majesty to direct that the remains of the minister should be interred at the public expense, and that a monument should be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

LETTER IV.

History of the affairs of Europe during the year 1806.—Consolidation of the power of Napoleon.—Administration of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville.—Progress of the war.—Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Expedition to South America.—Naples erected into a kingdom under Joseph Buonaparte.—Battle of Maida.—New constitution formed for Holland, and Louis Buonaparte created King.—Negotiations for peace.—Death and character of Mr. Fox.—Rupture between France and Prussia.—Battles of Saasfeld, Jena, and Auerstadt.—Capture of Berlin.—Conquest of Silesia.—Berlin decrees.—Renewal of war between Russia and France.—Battles of Pultusk and Eylau.—Capture of Dantzic, Friedland and Königsberg.—Peace of Tilsit.

THE events which had taken place on the continent of Europe, during the campaign of 1805, tended much to strengthen the system which Napoleon had recently adopted. The victory of Marengo and the peace of Luneville had given a sanction to the consular government: the victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg consecrated the empire—the last remains of the revolution were now abandoned. On the 1st of January, 1806, the republican calendar, after an existence of fourteen years, was definitively replaced by the common one. The Pantheon was restored to religion, and the tribunate even ceased to exist. But the efforts of Napoleon were primarily directed to extend his dominions over the continent of Europe. Ferdinand, the king of Naples, having in his late war violated the treaty of peace with France, his states were invaded, and on the 30th of March, Joseph Buonaparte was declared king of the Two Sicilies. Shortly after, on the 5th of June, Holland, or the United Provinces, was changed into a kingdom, and received for its monarch Louis Buonaparte, another brother of the emperor. There existed no longer any of the republics, created by the convention or the directory. Napoleon, who nominated the secondary kings, re-established the hierarchical military régime, adopting the exploded titles of the middle ages. He constituted Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Cadore, Belluno, &c. &c. duchies, or grand fiefs of the empire. Berthier was invested with the principality of Neufchâteau—Talleyrand with that of Benevento—the prince Borghese and his wife with that of Guastalla—Murat with the grand duchy of Clèves and Berg. Napoleon, who had not dared to destroy the Swiss republic, now declared himself its mediator; and he finished the organization of his military empire, by placing the Germanic body dependent on himself. On the 12th of July, 1806, fourteen princes on the south and west of Germany were united in the “confederation of the Rhine,” and Buonaparte was recognized as their protector. On the 1st of August, they notified to the diet of Ratisbon their separation from the Germanic body; the German empire itself ceased to exist, and Francis II. abdicating the title, now adopted that of “EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.”

Buonaparte had now grasped under his dominion all the western part of the continent of Europe. As emperor and king he was absolute master of France and Italy; and he controlled Spain by the subordination of its court; Naples and Holland by his two brothers; Switzerland by the act of mediation; and he disposed of the kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the confederation of the Rhine, against Austria and Prussia. He might, after the peace of Amiens, by maintaining a liberal conduct and paying a decent regard to the rights and liberties of mankind, have made himself the protector of France, and the moderator of Europe. But war was his element; he sought his glory in domination, and his enjoyment in conquest; and by this he condemned himself to a long struggle, which, ultimately, could only terminate in laying the whole continent prostrate at his feet, or ensuring his own ruin. This march of encroachment gave rise to a fourth coalition, the particulars of which now claim your attention.

While Austria and Russia were engaged in confronting the power of France, Prussia maintained a cautious neutrality. She was indeed upon the point of joining the confederates during the campaign of 1805, but the rapidity of the victories of Napoleon had prevented her from putting her designs into execution. Alarmed now by the increase of the French empire, and encouraged by the fine condition of her troops, Prussia joined in a league with Russia to expel the French from Germany. A violation of her territory by a march of the French armies through a part of it, without asking permission, had elicited some marks of resentment, which the English ministry endeavoured to kindle into a flame; but the capture of Mack's army caused the affront to be passed over in an accommodation. A scheme for the recovery of Hanover by Swedish troops in British pay, and commanded by their sovereign, in conjunction with English and Russian troops, was also frustrated by the fatal results of the battle of Austerlitz.

To pacify the king of Prussia, and if possible embroil him in a war with England, Napoleon, by his own confession, had promised to cede the electorate of Hanover to the former power, and thereby exclude Great Britain from the continent of Europe. He had indeed been promised a considerable subsidy from the latter court, but he was easily persuaded to agree to a secret treaty with France, by which, as an exchange for Hanover, he agreed to resign the duchy of Clèves and other territories, and to confirm such arrangements as might be stipulated in the ensuing treaty between France and Austria; and thus by his vacillating conduct, his Prussian majesty, who might have turned the scale against Napoleon, meanly consented to be subservient to his interests, and permitted him to reduce the head of the empire to a state of comparative weakness.

The archduke Charles, who during the negotiation for a definitive treaty, arrived from Italy with a considerable army; and Ferdinand, who had defeated the Bavarian general Wrede on the borders of Bohemia, would gladly have co-operated with Russia in a renewal of hostilities, if the emperor Francis had not persisted in his pacific determination; but this prince was inflexibly bent upon an accommodation. By the treaty which was concluded at Presburg, he was obliged to relinquish that valuable share of the territorial spoils of Venice which he had for some years enjoyed; he agreed to the arbitrary arrangements respecting the principalities of Lucca and Piombino; and acknowledged Napoleon, or his nominated successor, as king of Italy, with a proviso that this crown should be speedily and permanently separated from that of France. He also consented to the cession of the margraviate of Burgaw, the principality of Eichstadt, the country of Tyrol and other valuable districts, in favour of the elector, whom he considered as king, of Bavaria. To the elector of Wurtemberg, whose claims to the royal title he likewise admitted, he resigned a part of the Brisgaw, with other portions of territory; while the elector of Baden was gratified with the rest of the Brisgaw, the Ortenaw, and the city of Constance. The two kings were farther gratified with the permission of seizing, respectively, the city and dependencies of Augsburg, and the county of Borndorf; but in return for those various grants, the king of Bavaria was required to surrender Wurtzburg, as the basis of an electorate, to the archduke Ferdinand, who engaged to resign Saltzburg to his imperial majesty. The defalcations ordained by this treaty, must, to a prince like Francis II. who, though not enterprisingly ambitious, was nevertheless fond of extended dominion, have been excessively mortifying, even if no sense of humiliation and disgrace had attended the loss; and when he reflected on that indiscretion which had not only precipitated the war, but had misconducted it in its progress, with the loss or at least the diminution of that high fame which his troops had formerly enjoyed, his feelings must have been poignant in the extreme. He is said to have blamed himself severely for yielding to the impulse of Great Britain, and for admitting too readily the delusions of hope. We now turn to England.

The death of Mr. Pitt, which I have already mentioned to you, occasioned a total change in the ministry. Lord Eldon resigned the seals, and the honourable Thomas Erskine was appointed lord chancellor, and constituted a

peer of the realm by the title of lord Erakine. Lord Grenville whom the king had sent for, and empowered to form a new administration, including *Mr. Fox*, after his estrangement of twenty years from the royal councils, was appointed first lord of the treasury; and lord Henry Petty, since better known by the title of the marquis of Lansdown, chancellor of the exchequer—earl Fitzwilliam president of the council, and viscount Sidmouth lord privy-seal. Mr. Fox was made secretary of state for foreign affairs; lord Spencer home secretary, and Mr. Windham secretary at war; Mr. Grey first lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Sheridan treasurer of the navy: earl Moira master-general of the ordnance, and general Fitzpatrick secretary for the colonies. The duke of Bedford was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Elliott, his principal secretary. Lord Ellenborough was made lord chief justice of the court of king's bench, with a seat in the cabinet. Sir Arthur Pigot and sir Samuel Romilly were nominated attorney and solicitor generals.

The country had the misfortune to see the number of its enemies increase. The politics of Prussia, which had long been vacillating, now assumed an aspect decidedly hostile to Great Britain. On the 30th of January, 1806, his Prussian majesty issued a proclamation, in which he signified his intention of taking possession of Hanover, agreeable to a convention entered into with the emperor of France. This was followed by a second proclamation, dated the 28th of March, ordering the Prussian ports to be shut against the ships and commerce of Great Britain. In consequence of these hostile proceedings, Mr. Fox, on the 21st of April, brought down a message from his majesty, informing the house of commons that he had thought it proper to adopt measures of just retaliation, by issuing orders for the blockade of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, and for the capture of Prussian vessels, of which official notice was given to the ministers of neutral powers. After this declaration of hostilities, a great number of Prussian ships were brought into British ports; but, from the relative circumstances of England and Prussia, the former having no army on the continent, and the latter no ships of war on the seas, the war between the two powers could not be productive of any great or important events. It amounted to little more than a suspension of political and commercial intercourse, and circumstances rendered it of short duration. The British arms, indeed, at this time had little employment. The number of ships and vessels of war in commission was truly enormous—no less than seven hundred and twenty! of which one hundred and twenty-six were of the line; fourteen from fifty to forty-four guns; and one hundred and fifty-seven frigates; the rest were sloops, gun-brigs, &c. &c. But the marine of France was almost annihilated, and the shattered remains of their fleets were shut up in their harbours, not daring to venture beyond the protection of their batteries. The British navy was employed in blockading the hostile ports, and nothing of importance took place on the ocean.

The philanthropist, however, will always regard this season of inactivity as one of the most glorious periods in the annals of Great Britain. History will record an act of humanity and justice passed by her legislature, which redounds as much to the honour of the national character as her most brilliant victories. The traffic in human flesh, carried on with the coast of Africa, had long been regarded by the enlightened and humane as the opprobrium of Englishmen. Yet, infamous as the slave trade is, it had not, until towards the end of the last century, been considered with that attention which a practice so abhorrent to the benevolent principles of Christianity, and the refinement of modern manners, might have been expected to excite.

The names of illustrious writers in our own country, who had taken every opportunity to reprobate the traffic in man, are too many to enumerate. In France they had been seconded by Raynal and Necker, besides many others who stood in the first ranks of genius and talent; and in almost every other country of Europe, persons of distinguished abilities and philanthropy had pleaded the cause of the injured Africans. Yet no individual who stood high in rank and power had vigorously exerted his influence to wipe off this stain by extirpating an evil of so horrible a nature. It had accumulated by almost imperceptible degrees to a gigantic size, until it became interwoven

with the system of European commerce, sanctioned by prescription and public authority in all maritime nations, and rendered familiar to the minds of men by constant and general practice. The finest feelings of the human heart became blunted by a continual repetition of enormities—man was considered as the property of man—natural feeling was outraged, and the God of nature insulted. Europeans had imbibed the false philosophy, that a difference of complexion implied a disparity of intellect, and that the unfortunate negroes were destined by the great Creator for a state of perpetual slavery.

Mr. Granville Sharp was the first individual in England who stood forward as the avowed advocate of the Africans: and with him the first movements towards the abolition of the traffic in human flesh originated. His name deservedly stands recorded in history as the foundation-stone on which is erected this noble monument to the honour of liberty and humanity. From the year 1765 to 1772, he laboured by all possible means to enlighten the public mind on the subject, and draw the public attention to this horrible traffic. In process of time, other philanthropists, inspired with the same christian spirit, came forward to advocate the cause, and a small select society of private individuals was formed for the express purpose of overturning this monstrous colossus of evil, the African slave trade.

Mr. Clarkson, a gentleman of spirit and talents, undertook the tedious and irksome task of instituting inquiries, and collecting evidence on the subject, in consequence of whose investigations a scene of enormities was developed sufficient to make humanity shudder. The magnitude of the evil only required to be known to render it generally detested; and from this period the society found numerous coadjutors. Men in all ranks, and of all religious denominations united to attempt the removal of this national disgrace. Among these, the Quakers, both in England and America, who had uniformly expressed their disapprobation of slavery, distinguished themselves among the most strenuous advocates for its abolition; and a petition in favour of the oppressed Africans was presented from that benevolent body to the British parliament. The cause now began to become popular. Numerous pamphlets and tracts on the subject were published and generally circulated. Sermons were preached and published, petitions were presented to the legislature from the two universities, and from several of the most considerable towns and corporations of the kingdom; and the whole British nation at length came to interest itself in the affair. But the slave trade had been too long established, and too many individual interests were concentrated in it, to allow of its being put down without a struggle. It was regarded as the basis of colonial cultivation; the traffic was found to involve a great variety of interests, which consequently gave rise to numerous obstacles and strenuous opposition. Under these circumstances his majesty's ministers thought proper to institute, before a committee of the privy council, an inquiry into the facts and allegations contained in the representations of both parties. The first public notice that was taken of the subject was in the year 1788, when Mr. Wilberforce, who afterwards so greatly distinguished himself in the cause of benevolence, communicated to parliament his intention of bringing forward a measure respecting the slave trade; and from that period to the death of Mr. Pitt, the subject was never lost sight of, but from time to time brought forward in parliament, with different measures of success. It, however, gradually gained ground, and on the 20th of February 1805, the bill for the abolition was lost in the house of commons by a majority of only seven voices.

The attainment of this great object was reserved for Mr. Fox and his colleagues in office, supported by Mr. Wilberforce and others, with a steady adherence to principles which he had constantly avowed. Mr. Fox, on the 11th of June, 1806, had the honour to carry a resolution in the house of commons for the entire abolition of the slave trade. This motion, so interesting to the cause of humanity, was couched in the following terms: "That this house, conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practical expedition, take effect-

“ tual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such “ period, as may be deemed most desirable.” The bill met with only a feeble opposition. It was strenuously supported by Mr. Wilberforce and all the members of administration, and carried by a majority of one hundred and fifteen votes, against only fifteen dissenting voices. In the course of the debate the solicitor-general, sir Samuel Romilly, stated from the documents before the house, that, since the year 1796, that is, during the last ten years, upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand of the natives of Africa, torn from their country by Europeans, had either been sold into slavery, or had miserably perished in their passage to the West Indies. The crimes perpetrated in this traffic, had equalled, if they had not exceeded in horror and enormity, those of the French revolution, and had been constantly repeated during three centuries. An age that could tolerate such barbarities scarcely deserves to be called enlightened; accordingly the British ministry resolved to wipe off this stain from the national character, and their philanthropic determination will ever hold a place in the hearts and memory of all who revere the principles of justice, humanity and religion. The abolition of African slavery forms a glorious epoch in the reign of George III. and millions yet unborn will commemorate that happy period in which the rights of human nature were restored in spite of interest, prescription, and prejudice.

Of the foreign military and political events of the year 1806, those that relate to Naples occupy the first place. On the 9th of February, a French army under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by Massena and other generals, marched for Naples, and on the 15th entered the capital, the garrison in the city and the forts having previously capitulated. The king and queen had retired to Palermo in January, with a part of the Neapolitan army, accompanied also by several of the nobility. The heir apparent to the throne, who was duke of Calabria, remained in Naples until the approach of the French, when he retired with some troops to Calabria, where general Dumas, a French emigrant, was endeavouring to organize a *levy-en-masse*. General Regnier marched in pursuit of the fugitives, and after several skirmishes, in which the Neapolitans displayed very little martial spirit, the war in Calabria was brought to a close and the whole kingdom of Naples submitted to the French, except Gaeta and another fortress. Most of the principal families in the country, having lost all esteem for their legitimate sovereign, readily attached themselves to the French interest; so that Napoleon did not hesitate to issue a decree conferring the crown of Naples upon his brother Joseph, and his heirs-male, with the proviso, that the crowns of that country and of France should never be united in the same individual. Accordingly Joseph caused himself to be proclaimed king, on the 30th of March, and exacted an oath of fidelity from all the constituted authorities, the nobles testifying the greatest satisfaction at the change of dynasty. The queen of Naples, however, and the duke of Calabria, for the king himself was a mere cypher, resolved to make an attempt to recover the crown. They, accordingly, by means of their emissaries, excited an insurrection against the French in Abruzzo and Calabria, which, for a time, delivered these provinces from French influence. While these disturbances were still subsisting, sir Sydney Smith arrived at Palermo, about the middle of April, and took the command of the English squadron lying there, consisting of five sail of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels.

He began his operations by throwing succours into Gaeta, and afterwards taking possession of the isle of Capri; he then proceeded along the coast, exciting a general alarm, and keeping up a connection with the discontented Calabrians. At length, at the urgent solicitation of the court of Palermo, sir John Stewart, who commanded the British troops in Sicily, embarked a body of about five thousand men, with which, on the 1st of July, he effected a landing in the gulf of Euphemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. General Regnier, with his troops, being encamped at Maida, some miles distant, sir John Stewart determined upon attacking him before he could be joined by his expected re-inforcements, and accordingly, on the 4th of July he advanced to the place. The junction, however, had been made

the night before ; and the enemy, to the number of about seven thousand, descended from the heights, and marched into the plain to meet the assailants. After keeping up a fire for some time, both armies rushed on with the bayonet, when the superior firmness of the British soldiers speedily decided the contest. No sooner had the weapons crossed than the French gave way, and were pursued with terrible carnage. An attempt to retrieve the honour of the day proved ineffectual, and a complete victory remained to the British, whose loss was inconsiderable compared with that of their opponents. The immediate consequence of this brilliant action was a general insurrection of the Calabrian peasantry, and the expulsion of the French from the province.

But efforts of this kind, though highly honourable to the British arms, were totally inadequate to the effecting of any permanent change in the state of the Neapolitan kingdom ; and sir John Stewart, sensible that he could not long maintain his ground in Calabria, prepared for returning to Sicily. Having, by one of his officers, obtained possession of the strong fort of Scylla, opposite to Messina, he re-crossed the Straits, leaving the Calabrian insurgents to contend with an exasperated foe, who treated them as rebels, and every kind of cruelty was practised on both sides in a protracted and desultory warfare. The French, soon after the battle of Maida, reduced the fortress of Gaeta, which had long employed a considerable portion of their force ; and general Fox, who took the command of the British troops in Sicily, refusing to concur in the hopeless plans of the court of Palermo for recovering Naples, the new government in that kingdom remained undisturbed, except by some intestine disorders.

About this time an important acquisition was made by the British arms in a distant quarter of the globe. After reducing the cape of Good Hope, sir Home Popham and general Beresford, who had been sent out in the autumn of the year 1805, with a force of about five thousand men, judging it expedient to make an attack on some of the Spanish settlements in South America, embarked a part of the land forces ; and after a passage long and tedious beyond what they had expected, arrived, on the 6th of June, at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. In order to make himself acquainted with the navigation of the river, sir Home Popham proceeded in the *Narcissus* to reconnoitre, as far as circumstances would permit, the different situations on the bank, and to collect as much information as possible relative to the strength of the enemy. The progress of the ships up the river was greatly retarded by the shoals, the adverse winds and currents, the foggy weather and the inaccuracy of the charts. The laborious and unremitting exertions, however, of the officers and men enabled him to surmount these obstacles ; and the squadron, after having occupied nine days in proceeding about eighty miles, came to an anchor off the point of Quilmay, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres, which the British commanders resolved to attack in preference to Monte Video.

On the 25th of June, in the course of the afternoon and night, a landing was effected without opposition, though a body of the enemy consisting of about two thousand men, chiefly cavalry, with eight field pieces, were posted at the village of Redaction, on a height, about two miles distant from the place where the troops disembarked, and directly in their front. The whole intermediate space, as well as to the right and left, was an entire plain, impassable in winter, but represented by the guide as practicable at that time to the march of artillery. It was eleven o'clock next morning before the troops could march off their ground. The Spanish troops were drawn up along the brow of the hill, on which was situated the village of Redaction, covering their right flank. The nature of the ground was such, that the British forces were obliged to march directly to the enemy's front, and to form a line as equal as possible to theirs in length. In this order they advanced, with two six-pounders on each flank, and two howitzers in the centre of their first line. Having approached within range of the enemy's guns, a tongue of swampy ground crossing their front, obliged them to halt till their artillery took a circuitous route. But scarcely had they crossed the swamp,

when the Spaniards opened a fire from their field-pieces, which at first was well directed; but as the English advanced at a quick pace, in spite of the boggy ground, which obliged them to leave their artillery behind, they received but little injury. A part of the troops having gained the heights in a tolerably good line, the enemy retired from the brow of the hill. The British troops then gained that position, and commencing a fire of small arms, the Spaniards fled with precipitation, leaving behind them four field-pieces and a tumbrel. After a halt of two hours, the British advanced in the hope of preventing the destruction of the bridge over the river Chuelo, which lay between them and Buenos Ayres, from which it was distant about three miles. But on their approach it was found to be in flames, and they were unable to prevent its total destruction.

During the night the Spaniards were heard bringing down their artillery, and the British troops were in consequence withdrawn from the bank of the river, as their position seemed too much exposed to the enemy's fire, which had opened upon them from their guns and a considerable line of infantry. At day-break next morning captain Kennett was sent to reconnoitre both sides of the river, which was scarcely thirty yards wide, when he found that the English had little or nothing to protect them, whilst the Spanish troops were drawn up behind hedges and houses, and in the vessels on the opposite bank. Circumstances being such as to admit of no delay, general Beresford determined on forcing the pass, and for that purpose ordered down the field-pieces to the brink of the river. The enemy in the mean time opened an ill-directed fire of cannon and musketry, the former of which was soon silenced, though the latter was kept up more than half an hour, but so ill-directed that it did very little injury to the British troops, who by means of boats and rafts effected the passage of the river in the face of two thousand provincial troops that lined the opposite bank, and made but a feeble opposition. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the greatest part of the troops, with some of the guns, had crossed the river; and general Beresford having learned that most of the Spanish troops had abandoned the city, sent a summons to the governor, on the 28th of June, and the latter, without attempting further resistance, agreed to a capitulation, of which the principal articles were, security to their religious worship, to the persons of the inhabitants, and to all private property. The amount of the public treasure taken at Buenos Ayres amounted to one million two hundred and ninety-one thousand three hundred and twenty-three dollars; of which, one million eighty-six thousand two hundred and three dollars were embarked on board the *Narcissus*, and the remaining sum, viz. two hundred and five thousand one hundred and fifteen were left in the treasury. In the moment of elation, sir Home Popham transmitted a circular letter to the principal commercial towns of Great Britain, informing them "that a whole continent was laid open to the trade and commerce of this country." This ill-judged measure, which in fact was an unparalleled piece of presumption, gave rise to the most unbounded extravagance of speculation, and proved ruinous to many both merchants and manufacturers. For notwithstanding the conquest had been made with so small a force, it was wholly inadequate to retain it, and in a short time Buenos Ayres was recovered by the Spaniards, under the direction of colonel Linieres, a French officer in the South American service; and the English troops, with general Beresford their commander, were made prisoners of war. Sir Home Popham, however, continued to blockade the entrance of the river; and on the arrival of re-inforcements from the Cape of Good Hope, he made an unsuccessful attempt on Monte Video. Such was the posture of affairs on the La Plata at the close of the year.

Some naval operations took place in the course of this year, of sufficient moment to entitle them to a brief notice. In the month of February, a French squadron of five sail of the line was encountered on the coast of St. Domingo by admiral Duckworth, whose force was certainly superior. After a furious action, three of them struck their flag, the other two were driven on shore and burnt. In the East Indies, the French admiral Linois was captured by sir John Borslase Warren, on board the *Marengo* of eighty

guns, with the Belle Poule of forty guns, which vessels were on their return home to France enriched with various plunder. A large convoy from Rochefort was intercepted by sir Samuel Hood, and four out of five large frigates were captured with troops on board destined for the West Indies. A remarkably gallant exploit was also achieved by lord Cochrane, who commanded the Pallas, in cutting out three Spanish vessels under a heavy fire from the protecting batteries of Avillos.

The state of public affairs throughout the continent of Europe at this eventful crisis, was without a parallel in history. The subversion and creation of kingdoms were become simple operations, with which the world was beginning to become familiarized. The territory of the Batavian republic being full of French troops who garrisoned all the fortified towns, an edict from Paris was all that was necessary to create a king, and furnish him with a kingdom. On the 9th of June, 1806, this change in the constitution of Holland was notified to their high mightinesses, the States-general, by M. Verneul, who being just arrived from Paris, opened the special commission which he had received from prince Louis Buonaparte, as king of Holland. The communication was first made to the grand pensionary, and to the assembly and council of state. A constitution for the new monarchy was then immediately framed, of which the principal features were as follows: The executive power, with the nomination of all offices civil and military, was vested solely in the king; the legislative body to be composed of thirty-three members, delegated from the different provinces, and elected for five years; equal protection was granted to all denominations of religion: and by the authority of the king and the legislature, every thing necessary to ecclesiastical organization, and every kind of worship was to be determined. No sooner was this new order of things announced than the new king and queen of Holland, on the 24th of June, made their public entry into the Hague. Louis addressed the constituted authorities in an appropriate oration of considerable length, concluding it by repeating his reliance on the honour and virtue of his subjects, assuring them of his affection, professing his zeal for their prosperity, and reminding them that from their loyalty and unanimity alone he could expect the tranquillity, safety, and glory of the kingdom, and the happiness of his life!

Thus terminated the famous republic of the United Provinces, which had existed two hundred and twenty-seven years in that state. The Dutch of the 16th century hazarded their lives and fortunes to establish their independence and republican form of government: their descendants of the 19th resigned, without a struggle, those privileges for which their ancestors had fought during forty years, and for which so many of them had perished in long and sanguinary wars. But the martial spirit of the Dutch had been long extinguished; and the revolutionary principles introduced among them having facilitated the conquest of their country, and rendered it dependant on France, it was no longer possible to shake off the yoke. All resistance was now too late, and they found themselves under the necessity of resigning the form, as they had already resigned the substance, of their constitution.

Whilst these things were transacting, negotiations were going forward between the courts of France and England, which for some time afforded a prospect of the restoration of peace. They originated in a correspondence between Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand, the occasion of which had been the disclosure to the former of an infamous plot for the assassination of the emperor of France, by an emigrant who calculated on the concurrence of the British secretary in the design. Mr. Fox, however, with his characteristic generosity of spirit, thought himself obliged to give warning to M. Talleyrand. In reply to Mr. Fox's communication, an extract was given from a speech of the emperor to the legislative body, on the 2nd of March, in the following terms: "I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment; I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the treaty of Amiens." This intimation was clearly understood as intended for an opening to negotiation, and accordingly, after a short interval Mr. Fox returned an answer expressive of the cordial disposition of the

English government to treat on the general basis of a peace honourable to both countries, and their allies; adding, "that the existing ties between England and Russia were such, that England could not treat, much less conclude, but in concert with the emperor Alexander." M. Talleyrand replied "that the emperor Napoleon adopted the general principle laid down by Mr. Fox, but thought there was no necessity for the intervention of a foreign and distant power."

Among the Englishmen detained in France at the re-commencement of the war, happened to be the earl of Yarmouth, in whose ability and discretion, Mr. Fox could confide with entire satisfaction; and to this young nobleman were accordingly transmitted the requisite powers for treating with the French government. His lordship proceeded to Paris to open the negotiation; but he found the difficulty respecting Russia unhappily retarded his progress, though a point of form rather than substance; as the concert, whether acknowledged by France or not, between the courts of London and St. Petersburg was not the less real. The principal subjects of difference, exclusive of the claims of Russia, were Hanover and Sicily. No exchange or indemnity for the first could be hearkened to; and it was not until his dispatch of June the 13th, lord Yarmouth informed Mr. Fox of the declaration which M. Talleyrand had at length made, that "considering the extreme stress which England laid on this point, Hanover should make no difficulty." "Authorized by this concession," said lord Yarmouth, "I enquired whether the possession of Sicily would be demanded?" To this M. Talleyrand replied, "You have it; we do not ask it. Had we the possession, difficulties would be much augmented." The French minister also conceded, that a British minister, authorized by the emperor Alexander, should stipulate for both, adding, "the asperity which marked the commencement of the war is no more; and the wish of France is to live in harmony with so great a power as Britain."

So far every thing appeared auspicious for the cause of peace, but an unhappy reverse soon took place. For in a subsequent conversation, the French minister gave lord Yarmouth to understand that Napoleon had received dispatches from his brother, and the general officers under his orders, stating that Naples could not be held without Sicily, at the same time intimating the probability which they saw of gaining possession of that island. To this lord Yarmouth answered, that being required to stipulate for the restoration of Naples to the king of Sicily, as a necessary condition of peace, there could be no question of their separation. Talleyrand replied by repeatedly stating the absolute determination of his master, the emperor, not to give up Naples, Venice, Istria and Dalmatia, nor to alienate any part of his Italian states to form a provision for the king of Sardinia, though he frequently repeated, that Hanover should be restored, and that Malta and the Cape of Good Hope should be ceded to Great Britain, observing that the French government considered these cessions as objects sufficient to induce England to conclude a peace. In this posture of affairs, Mr. Fox, on the 26th of June, though at this time rapidly declining in health, addressed an excellent dispatch to lord Yarmouth, expressing his astonishment at the shuffling conduct of M. Talleyrand. The recognition of the French emperor, and the other new potentates of his creation he regarded as a full compensation for the restoration of Hanover. He transmitted to lord Yarmouth his full credentials for treating, on which the French minister had laid so much stress; but with instructions fairly to state to M. Talleyrand that he had no authority to make use of them until that minister returned to his former ground respecting Sicily. He remarked that if D'Oubril the Russian ambassador, had offered to treat separately, it was only in the way that lord Yarmouth himself treated, that is, in form, but substantially in concert. Naples and Istria, Mr. Fox admitted, were not to be conclusive against agreeing to provisional articles, subject to the approval of Russia, or, as he explained himself, "that those articles should not have effect till a peace should be concluded between France and Russia."

Lord Yarmouth, on the 1st of July, acknowledged his receipt of the full

powers with which he was now vested by the British government, and mentioned his reception of them to M. Talleyrand also, who merely said "that change of circumstances during a negotiation, were always valid reasons for a change of terms: that had any confidential overture been made three months ago, France would have been ready to settle the question of Naples in the manner most satisfactory to Great Britain, the same a month latter with regard to Holland." At the close of the conference, lord Yarmouth repeated "that it was impossible to proceed with the negotiation till every mode of seeking possession of Sicily was entirely relinquished." On subsequently demanding his passports, Talleyrand took the opportunity of offering the Hans Towns as an establishment for the king of Naples. But on the 5th of July, the day after the receipt of lord Yarmouth's letter, Mr. Fox peremptorily replied "that the abandonment of Sicily was a point which it was impossible for his majesty to concede. The demand of France was inconsistent with the whole principle on which the negotiation rests: and the proposal of M. Talleyrand is, of itself, quite inadmissible. To the original basis of the negotiation, therefore, lord Yarmouth was directed to advert; and if this was not accepted, to state in perfectly civil but decided terms, that he was not at liberty to treat on any other grounds, and therefore to request his passports." Lord Yarmouth having strictly complied with his instructions, M. Talleyrand now offered a further proposition from the emperor, tendering Dalmatia, Albania, and Ragusa, as an indemnity for Sicily. This he was assured would not be accepted; however, his lordship consented to wait the return of the messenger, the French minister adding, that if peace was concluded, Germany should remain in its present state. At this critical juncture, the indisposition of Mr. Fox had so alarmingly increased as to render him incapable of attending to business; and the succeeding dispatches, transmitted under the sanction of his name, were fairly acknowledged, at a subsequent period, not to have proceeded from his pen, which indeed was but too evident. The elaborate answer of July the 18th, to lord Yarmouth's last dispatch, most unhappily and unseasonably wavered upon the grand point of Sicily; and from this moment all was fluctuation and indecision. This departure from a point which Mr. Fox had uniformly insisted on, and respecting which he had declared it *impossible* for his Britannic majesty to concede, naturally induced the supposition that the English cabinet would adhere firmly to nothing; nor did the slightest probability exist that France would yield in exchange what would be likely to obtain "the full and free consent of the king of Sicily."

While lord Yarmouth, conformably to the instructions he had received, was continuing the conferences with M. Talleyrand, M. D'Oubril, the Russian plenipotentiary, concluded a separate treaty of peace with France, to the great mortification of lord Yarmouth, who had not patience to listen to D'Oubril's apology for his conduct, naturally concluding that France would now rise in her demands, and become less manageable in the pending negotiation. The emperor of Russia, however, prudently refused to ratify the treaty which his minister had so precipitately concluded, and thus matters were again placed on the same relative situation as before that event.

The English ministry now thought it advisable to send the earl of Lauderdale to Paris as joint negotiator with lord Yarmouth, who had given unexpected offence to the British government by producing his full powers, though that measure appeared indispensable if peace were really the object in view; and lord Yarmouth being soon after recalled, the negotiation rested wholly with the earl of Lauderdale on the part of England, and with general Clarke and M. Champagny on that of France. It would afford you little interest to go at large into the detail of the various discussions which now ensued, *projets* and *contre-projets* succeeded in abundance, and ended in lord Lauderdale demanding his passports to return to England—each government accusing the other of being the cause of the failure of the negotiations.

At this critical moment, on which peace or war seemed to be suspended, Mr. Fox, who had been for some months past labouring under a dropsical complaint, expired on the 13th of September, 1806, in the 59th year of his

age ; and thus in the midst of tumultuous wars and of uncertain negotiations, Great Britain was called to mourn the loss of a patriot and a statesman, who has had few equals, and perhaps in no age or country any superior. For his own glory he had lived sufficiently long ; but his existence was too short for the good of his country. The public, and even the personal character of Mr. Fox, must be estimated by his speeches in parliament, and by his unwearied efforts to promote the interests of his country. All historical delineation is comparatively feeble. The errors of his early youth he shook off "as dew-drops from the lion's mane." While yet in the morning of life, his genius, bursting through the surrounding clouds, shone with unrivalled radiance, amidst a long succession of political conflicts in times the most momentous. The extent of his sagacity in his vast survey of human affairs, could only be equalled by what has been happily styled "the grandeur of his benevolence." His mind was too lofty to adopt sinister means of effecting even the most important purposes. Too great for pride, too wise for artifice, he was not only free from dissimulation, but from the remotest suspicion of it. His eloquence was as various as the occasions which called it forth ; always clear and forcible, at times dignified, pathetic, and sublime. His attacks were invariably made on the strongholds of his adversaries, and his wit, which was occasionally brilliant, constantly touched on his subject, and never degenerated into personality. Peculiarly gifted to unravel the most complicated web of sophistry, he abstained, as a sacred duty, from ascribing to others sentiments which they themselves disclaimed. Without rhetorical flourishes and gaudy ornaments, his language was the vehicle of thought and feeling. Perfectly master of every kind and mode of reasoning, he modelled his arguments according to those of his principal opponents. Among his rhetorical excellencies may be reckoned his extraordinary powers of arrangement and amplification, the unstudied result of distinct and comprehensive views formed in a mind luminous and energetic, and rapid in all its combinations. His style was such as a powerful understanding and extensive information are calculated to produce : it was not defective either in elegance or harmony, but clear, precise, forcible, and appropriate to the subject he was handling.

As a classical scholar he had few equals. He retained through life his acquaintance with the Greek language. He could converse with a Longinus, on Homer's beauty, sublimity, and pathos ; with an Aristotle, on his exhibitions of man ; and with a pedagogue, on his dactyls and spondees. Such was the rapidity with which the genius of Fox darted into every subject, that he could meet men of the greatest talents on equal terms in their peculiar studies.

His disinterested patriotism and universal philanthropy, render his memory dear to his country and to mankind. While the subverters of thrones and the spoilers of kingdoms are crowned with triumphant laurels, and congratulated with applauding peans, it is to the honour of Mr. Fox, that he never gave a vote in the British senate by which one drop of human blood had been spilt, or the treasures of the nation lavished away. He,

"Midst jarring conflicts, stemm'd the tide of blood,
 "And to the madd'ned world a sea-mark stood ;
 "Whose wisdom bade the broils of nations cease,
 "And taught the world humanity and peace."

The closing scene of his life was employed in the benevolent work of restoring peace to his distracted country, but he lived not to effect the wishes of his heart : posterity, however, will not fail to applaud his efforts and intentions.

In private life, no man was ever more adapted to captivate the minds of those with whom he had frequent intercourse. His genius was at once so profound and so lively, his knowledge so extensive, his disposition so amiable, his deportment so unassuming, his manners so affable and engaging, that he gained the hearts of all who enjoyed his conversation, and was the delight of

every company into which he entered. Though destitute of the gifts of fortune, he was supported by the services, as well as honoured with the esteem, of several of the most wealthy of the aristocracy, while he was beloved by the nation in general, and adored by the people of Westminster, whom he represented. Dr. Johnson, though unfriendly to his whig principles, was proud to call him his friend, and admired his genius and talents. "There is an extraordinary man," said he, "who can leave the empire in doubt whether it shall be ruled by the tongue of Fox, or by the sceptre of George III." Burke and Pitt condemned his politics, but to his talents and virtues they paid the just tribute of applause; and, if report may be credited, the latter with his dying breath recommended him to his sovereign as his successor. The earl of Carlisle hailed the dawning genius of his youth, which he celebrated in a poem of great excellency: all his contemporaries admired the wonders of his maturer years; and many of the nobility regarded him as the brightest ornament of his age.

Such was the public and private character of the man who, through life, never deviated from the principles of benevolence and patriotism. The close of his career was not less brilliant than its meridian splendour. The three last acts of his life were worthy of the lover of his country, and the friend of mankind. By one, he endeavoured to put a period to the ravages of war; and had his valuable life been spared, it can scarcely be doubted that he would have accomplished the desirable object. By another, he laboured to tranquillize an important branch of the empire, that was distracted by religious feuds and dissensions; to remove all legal disabilities on the score of religion; to establish on the broadest basis liberty of conscience; and to unite the interests of Ireland with those of England, by an extension of common rights, and a participation of common benefits. By the third, he obtained from both houses of parliament a resolution for the abolition of the slave trade; and thus closed his life with an act which tends to rescue humanity from reproach, and cause millions yet unborn to revere his memory. When prejudice shall be extinct, and party cavils forgotten, the name of Fox will be classed among the benefactors of mankind, and "History, making an allowance for the indiscretions of his youth, will enshrine his fame in one unclouded blaze of glory."

Poesy has immortalized the names of Pitt and Fox, and erected to the memory of these two celebrated statesmen and eminent orators, a monument more durable than marble or bronze:—

With more than mortal powers endow'd,
How high they soar'd above the crowd!
Theirs was no common party race,
Jostling by dark intrigue for place;
Like fabled gods, their mighty war,
Shook realms and nations in its jar:
Beneath each banner proud to stand,
Look'd up the noblest of the land,
Till through the British world were known
The names of Pitt and Fox alone.
Spells of such force, no wizard grave
E'er framed in dark Thessalian cave;
Though his could drain the ocean dry,
And force the planets from the sky.
If those spells are spent, and spent with these,
The wine of life is on the lees.
Genius, and taste, and talent gone,
For ever tomb'd beneath the stone,
Where—taming thought to human pride!—
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier;
O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,

And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
 The solemn echo seems to cry,
 " Here let their discord with them die.
 Seek not for those a separate doom
 Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb ;
 But search the land of living men,
 Where wilt thou find their like again ?"

On the death of this lamented statesman some new arrangements became necessary among the members of administration. Mr. Grey, now lord Howick, succeeded Mr. Fox in the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and Mr. Thomas Grenville succeeded the former as first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Tierney became president of the board of control, to which the former gentleman had been appointed, on the nomination of lord Minto to the government of India. Lord Sidmouth was president of the council in the room of earl Fitzwilliam, who retired in ill health ; and the vacant office of privy-seal was assigned to lord Holland. These changes were rather unexpectedly followed by a dissolution of parliament ; but this appeal to the people procured for ministers no great accession of strength in the house of commons.

During the late events, Prussia, as I have already mentioned to you, had been flattered by Napoleon, with the idea of holding the balance of power between the great belligerent states ; and the offended pride of the Prussian monarch, consequent on the violation of the territory of Anspach, had so far changed his policy, that he was deterred or prevented only by the quick succession of disasters, from joining the coalition. This was an offence which the French emperor could not easily forgive ; and though Prussia had been encouraged to form a confederation in the north of Germany, similar to that of the Rhine, it was found to be a mere delusion ; the Hanse Towns and other Northern states of the empire, being included in the continually increasing circle of French *protection*. Besides, by the treaty lately signed by D'Oubril, France had guaranteed the possessions of Sweden in Germany ; whereas the Prussian monarch had been led to expect the annexation of Swedish Pomerania and Weigmar to his dominions. But Hanover had been the principal tie by which Frederick William III. had been tempted to desert the cause of sovereigns, and to lend himself to the projects of Gallic ambition ; and though the restoration of that electorate to its lawful sovereign had been promised under the strictest seal of secrecy, the court of Berlin soon obtained authentic information of the projected infraction of the subsisting engagements of France with Prussia.

The resentment of the Prussian monarch, and of all those who adopted the passions of the day, was now extreme. The tide of opinion ran strongly in favour of war, and nothing was talked of at Berlin but the great Frederick and the victory of Rosbach. The alienation of Prussia did not escape the vigilance of the courts either of London or Paris. From the former lord Morpeth was dispatched with great powers to Berlin, and the naval blockade was immediately raised. On the other hand, M. Talleyrand, on the 11th of September, addressed a note to the Prussian ambassador, Knoblesdorf, complaining of the warlike preparations of Prussia, which was evasively answered. On the 1st of October, however, the Prussian ambassador presented in due form the demands of his sovereign :—1st, That the French armies without delay repass the Rhine ; 2d, The establishment of the northern Germanic confederation ; 3d, The separation of certain places from the confederation of the Rhine. To these requisitions the emperor of France did not deign to reply, but advanced at the head of his troops with rapid steps, and approached the frontier of Upper Saxony before Prussia could possibly receive any aid from her ally the emperor of Russia.

On the 9th of October appeared the declaration of Frederick William—a singular document, filled with the most humiliating confessions of the lengths to which Prussia had gone in subservience to France, and with expressions of resentment on being made its dupe and its victim. It nevertheless allows, that " the possession of Hanover, could it have been obtained under less

“unhappy circumstances, would have been of invaluable advantage to Prussia. The king therefore conceived, that he reconciled his wishes with his principles when he accepted of the proposed exchange *only* under the condition of delaying the fulfilment of the same till a general peace, with the consent of his Britannic majesty.”

At this moment of rashness and passion Prussia seemed almost to exult in the idea of entering alone into a contest with France. Early in October the duke of Brunswick, to whom was committed the chief command of the army, fixed his head-quarters at Weimar, the army extending along the banks of the Saale. The Saxons served as auxiliaries under prince Hohenloe on the left, and the whole collected force exceeded one hundred thousand men. The French advanced from Bamberg in three divisions; and after various partial encounters, in one of which, at Saalfeld, prince Louis, brother to the king of Prussia, lost his life, the two armies, nearly of equal strength, but very unequally commanded, seemed to assume an attitude of mutual defiance. The French emperor having by superior manœuvres succeeded in turning the left of the Prussians, and in cutting off the communication with their magazines, occupied in force the heights of Jena, which had been thought impracticable for artillery; and on the eve of the 13th of October the two armies encamped within-cannon-shot of each other.

The action commenced two hours after day-break, and quickly became general, exhibiting for some time equal skill and bravery; but a fierce assault from the French cavalry and cuirassiers, under general Murat, at once decided the fortune of this memorable day. All attempts to restore order were in vain: universal consternation ensued. Nothing resembling even a regular retreat could be effected; and in the flight of the Prussians towards Weimar and Naumburg, multitudes were slaughtered, and a still greater number made prisoners. The duke of Brunswick himself was mortally wounded, and the entire loss did not fall short of forty thousand men; while that of the French, if their own account may be credited, was below five thousand. Further resistance seemed not to be thought of. Erfurt, Magdeburg, Stettin, Leipsic, and Spandau, surrendered almost on the first summons; and on the 25th of October the marshals Davoust and Angereau entered Berlin.

The veteran marshal Mullendorf, last of the generals formed under the great Frederick, was second in command at Jena, and according to report, had strongly remonstrated against the dispositions made by the duke of Brunswick, particularly in separating the left wing, which extended to Auerstadt, to so great and dangerous a distance from the right and centre. According to the accounts given in the French bulletins, the loss of the Prussians was above twenty thousand killed and wounded, and from thirty thousand to forty thousand prisoners, with three hundred pieces of cannon, sixty standards, and immense magazines of warlike stores and provisions. Above twenty of the Prussian generals were taken prisoners: on the side of the French, only one general of brigade was killed and one wounded. Such are the accounts given in the French bulletins of this decisive and sanguinary action; and those which rest on Prussian authority, though somewhat different in regard to particulars, have, in respect to the principal features a greater coincidence than might be expected. The disastrous results, indeed, were too conspicuous to admit of either concealment or palliation. The account which is ascribed to Prussian authority represents the strength of the French army at one hundred and eighty thousand men, and their own at only half that number. The French bulletins, on the contrary, represent the Prussian army engaged in the battle of Jena as consisting of one hundred and twenty-six thousand; and from every previous estimation of the whole military force of Prussia, and every account of its disposal, there is reason to believe the statement approximates pretty nearly to truth.

But whatever suspicion might be supposed to attach to the French account of the respective strength of the armies, the disastrous and extraordinary consequences of this memorable action were such as to render exaggeration unnecessary, and almost impossible. The rapid successes of the French, and the ac-

cumulated misfortunes of the Prussians, are without a precedent in military history. The emperor of France immediately took possession of Potsdam and Berlin, where he levied vast contributions, and sent the sword of Frederick the Great as a trophy to Paris. The different corps of the Prussian army were one after another, obliged to surrender to the enemy, whose divisions daily sent in immense numbers of prisoners, cannon, &c. The main body of the army, under prince Hohenloe, which consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and constituted the last hope of Prussia, was obliged to surrender to the duke of Berg. The imperial city of Lubeck was carried by storm, and general Blucher, with above nine thousand men, was obliged to capitulate, after a great part of his army had been cut in pieces or made prisoners.

It will for ever astonish the readers of military history, when they peruse the relations of this memorable battle, to find the Prussian corps everywhere circumvented, their magazines taken or destroyed, and the scattered divisions of the army without ammunition, forage, or bread, and literally starving in their own country. All the circumstances of this extraordinary contest indicate strange mismanagement in some of the governors of fortified places; nor can the rapid conquests of the Prussian territory be accounted for, except by admitting the fact, that that monarch had been so unfortunate as to lose the hearts of his subjects. Upon any other supposition the rapid successes of the French will remain a problem not easily solved. In the space of little more than a month, from October the 9th to the 12th of November, they had, if we may credit their own account, taken no less than one hundred and forty thousand prisoners, two hundred and fifty standards, and above forty-eight hundred pieces of cannon, of which eight hundred were taken in the field, and above four thousand were found in Berlin and the fortresses which had capitulated.

The policy of Napoleon leading him to detach Saxony from Prussia, he released six thousand Saxon prisoners on their parole, and sent a friendly letter to the elector, who thereupon relinquished his intention of quitting Dresden; and towards the close of the year he signed a treaty of alliance with France, by which he became a member of the confederation of the Rhine, and received from this egregious "King-maker" the royal title. The Prussian provinces on the Lower Rhine, and the Hanoverian territory, were reduced by an army from Holland under Louis Buonaparte; and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had refused to become a member of the Rhenish confederacy, was expelled from his capital and dominions by general Mortier, who then took possession of Hamburg, and ordered the sequestration of all English property.

This was the prelude to a decree issued from Berlin by the French emperor, dated the 30th of November 1806, interdicting all commerce and correspondence between the countries under his government and the islands of Great Britain, which he declared to be in a state of blockade; denouncing all English property as lawful prize; and all vessels touching at any port in England, or any English colony, were excluded from the harbours of France, or the countries under its control. This was vindicated as a measure of retaliation for the flagrant violations of the laws of maritime neutrality by Great Britain; and extravagant as the terms of the decree might seem, its effects were severely felt.

After the dreadful defeat of his army at Jena, the king of Prussia retired to Konigsberg, where he was actively employed in collecting the scattered and feeble remains of his once formidable force. In the mean time the French, under Jerome Buonaparte, who had recently espoused a princess of Wirtemberg, grand-daughter of the late duke of Brunswick, having passed the Oder, made themselves masters of Silesia. The immense barrier which seemed to have wholly separated France from Russia was now broken down; and the emperor Alexander resolved to make a grand effort to protect his own dominions, as well as to support the throne of Prussia and the independence of Europe. While marshals Davoust and Lannes entered Prussian Poland, an immense force was collecting in different parts of the Russian empire, and began to move towards the frontier.

The Russians having crossed the Vistula, in order to check the progress of the enemy, on the 26th of November met his advanced posts; but finding themselves possessed of a force unequal to the undertaking, they re-passed that river; and two days after, the duke of Berg, with a division of the French army, entered Warsaw. The respective strength of France and Russia was now to be put to a decisive trial; and about a month after the forces of these two great powers came into contact, the winter campaign began in a most sanguinary manner by the battle of Pultusk. The Russian general Benningsen having taken a position at this place, was attacked by the French on the 26th of December, led on by marshals Davoust and Lasnes, under the immediate direction of the emperor of France. Davoust with ten thousand men fell upon the left wing of the Russians; at the same time the attack on their right was extremely impetuous, and conducted by Napoleon in person. The conflict was extremely obstinate, and continued till night. The enemy was certainly repulsed; but the French and Russian accounts are extremely contradictory. Both sides laid claim to the victory, but neither gained ground. The loss was unquestionably great; and from subsequent circumstances it appears to have been nearly equal on both sides.

From the Russian official accounts it appears, that when general Benningsen's army broke up from Landshut, it consisted of only seventy thousand men, the general having sent out several detachments. The French army, amounting to nearly ninety thousand, followed Benningsen closely, making continual attacks on his rear. On reaching Eylau, the Russian commander sent general Marcoff to take possession of the town, and a sanguinary conflict ensued between his corps and several columns of the enemy. The Russians, after an obstinate contest, made themselves masters of the town on the 7th of February, 1807; but the French advanced in such force, that they were obliged to retreat. In consequence of this reverse, general Benningsen ordered another division to advance, which, marching in three columns, bore down all opposition, and re-took Eylau by assault.

On the following day the action was renewed, and became general. It would exceed the limits of historical summary to follow the official accounts of the various operations; but they assert, that all the attempts of the French cavalry to break the Russian columns were defeated. "In vain," says general Benningsen, "did the emperor of France lavish his last resources; in vain did he endeavour to excite the courage of his soldiers, and sacrifice so great a part of his army: the bravery and persevering courage of the Russians withstood all his efforts, and snatched from him a victory which had long remained doubtful."—These accounts state the loss of the French at thirty thousand killed, twelve thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners, and add that twelve of the French eagles were taken. The loss of the Russians is stated at twelve thousand killed, and seven thousand nine hundred wounded. From whatever quarter or cause the error may have originated, these statements must be monstrous exaggerations; and other Russian accounts diminish the numbers on both sides to less than one half, which seems to be the nearest approximation to truth.

The battle of Eylau commenced on the 7th of February about three in the afternoon, and, with a short intermission during the night, continued till midnight on the 8th. In all this time, the attacks of the French, under the immediate eye and direction of their emperor, were incessant and impetuous, but repulsed by the Russians with invincible bravery. The loss of men on both sides must therefore have been exceedingly great; but as regards the final issue of this memorable action, in which both sides claimed the victory, nothing can be more discordant, or more flatly contradictory than the Russian official accounts and the French bulletins, which shews that neither of them is entitled to implicit credit. Subsequent circumstances go to prove that the action, however sanguinary, was indecisive, and that neither party could boast of any great advantage. At midnight, when the carnage ceased, the Russians remained masters of the field of battle; but in the morning they began to retreat, and left the French to take possession of Eylau.

From this period the grand armies of France and Russia remained for a considerable time inactive. Warlike operations, however, continued in Swedish Pomerania, where, after a number of actions fought with various success, the Swedes were at last driven into Stralsund. In the month of April a division of the French army commenced the siege of Dantzic. The garrison made vigorous sorties, and several obstinate actions took place in the environs. General Kalkreuth, who commanded in Dantzic, ordered the houses in the suburbs to be destroyed to the value of nine millions of livres; and the damages occasioned in the city itself, by the cannonade and bombardment, were estimated at twelve millions. The Russians, notwithstanding their assumed victory at Eylau, could never make an effort for the relief of Dantzic, which, on the 28th of May, surrendered to the French by capitulation, after the garrison had been reduced from sixteen thousand to nine thousand men, of whom not less than four thousand are said to have deserted. The capture of Dantzic was styled by the French the first fruits of their victory at Eylau, so decidedly claimed by general Benningsen; and it must be confessed, that the surrender of so important a city and fortress, in the very face of the Russian army, was an unfavourable omen.

This was a most eventful crisis in the affairs of the north of Europe, and the grand armies felt it as such; for they laboured incessantly to strengthen their positions, and increase their numbers. The French emperor, in order to concentrate his force, withdrew his troops from before Stralsund, and ordered all those that could be spared from the garrisons of Prussia, to march towards the Vistula. At the same time, numerous bodies of troops were moving from Russia towards the theatre of war. In the month of May the king of Sweden arrived at Stralsund; and the emperor of Russia quitted Petersburg, and repaired to his army. Thus every thing announced a momentous crisis.

The fatal day at length arrived which was to decide the mighty contest. That day was the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo. Having put his soldiers in mind of this circumstance, the emperor Napoleon prepared for an attack on the Russian position at Friedland. The battle did not commence till half-past five in the evening, when marshal Ney and general Marchand advanced, while general Bisson's division supported their left. The Russians attempted to turn marshal Ney with several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a numerous body of Cossacks. But general Latour Mauberg immediately formed his division of dragoons, and, advancing to the right at full gallop, repelled their charge. In the mean while general Victor ordered a battery of thirty pieces of cannon to be placed in the front of his centre; and general Summermont having caused it to be moved about four hundred paces forward, the Russians sustained a dreadful loss from its fire.

The different movements which were made to effect a diversion proved useless. Several columns of the Russian infantry attacked the right of marshal Ney's division, but were charged with the bayonet, and driven into the Alle, in which river several thousands found their death. While Ney advanced to the ravine which surrounds the town of Friedland, the Russian imperial guards made an impetuous attack on his left. This corps was for a moment shaken; but general Dupont's division, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the guards, and routed them with dreadful slaughter. The Russians then drew several re-inforcements from their centre, and other corps of reserve, to defend Friedland; but, in defiance of all their efforts, the town was forced, and its streets covered with dead bodies.

At this moment the centre of the French, commanded by marshal Laanes, was attacked; but the Russians could make no impression. This sanguinary contest was decided chiefly by the bayonet, and the result was the total defeat of the Russians. The carnage that now ensued was dreadful. According to the French bulletins, the Russians left from fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand dead on the field; and the number does not appear to be greatly exaggerated. But it is difficult to give implicit credit to their relations, when they state their own loss at no more than five hundred killed,

and six thousand wounded. The French took eighty pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, and several standards.

On the following day the retreat of the Russians towards Königsberg was cut off; but on the 16th at day-break they destroyed the bridges over the Progel, and, having burned or thrown into the water the stores accumulated in their magazines on the Alle, they continued their retrograde movement. At eight o'clock the same morning the French emperor ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Progel, and continued the pursuit. The Russians in their retreat destroyed all the magazines which they had in the villages. But a division of the French army under Soult took possession of Königsberg where they found twenty thousand wounded Russians and Prussians, several hundred thousand quintals of grain, and a vast quantity of warlike stores, with one hundred and sixty thousand muskets, sent from England for the service of the Russian army. In this disastrous battle and retreat the Russians lost a great part of their artillery, and almost all their magazines and ammunition, on a line of one hundred and twenty miles in extent.

The mysterious veil with which the operations on the Vistula had so long been covered by the contradictory assertions of the French bulletins and Russian dispatches, was now completely removed, and the broad glare of facts dispelled the illusion arising from fallacious representations. The battle of Friedland was not less decisive than those of Austerlitz and Jena, nor its consequences less hostile to the independence of Europe. Without confiding in accounts originating either at Paris or Petersburg, we have nearer home an impartial witness, whose talents for observation are indisputable, and who possessed ample means of information. Lord Hutchinson declared in the British senate, in a speech delivered February 8th, 1808, that the Russians crossed the Niemen with a loss of forty thousand men, having in the space of eleven days lost no less than twenty-seven generals, and one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight officers killed or wounded.

This sanguinary action was followed by an interview between the emperors of France and Russia and the king of Prussia, on the 7th of July, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Tilsit between France and Russia, and a few days afterwards between France and Prussia. The principal articles were, that a part of the Prussian dominions, especially on the eastern side of the Elbe, should be annexed to the new kingdom of Westphalia. Those parts which had been wrested from Poland, and become subject to Prussia, were ceded to the king of Saxony, under the title of the duchy of Warsaw, with a free communication with Saxony by a military road through the king of Prussia's dominions. The city of Dantzic, with a surrounding territory of two leagues, was restored to independence. The navigation of the Vistula was to be free. Russia acknowledged Joseph Buonaparte and his brother Louis, as kings of Naples and Holland, and Jerome as king of Westphalia. The emperor of all the Russias also acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine, and promised to acknowledge all the sovereigns who might hereafter become members of that confederation. All these princes and states were included in the treaty of peace. It was also stipulated, that hostilities should instantly cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and the emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of the emperor of France, for the conclusion of a peace between the two powers.

The French emperor also agreed to accept the mediation of the emperor of Russia, in order to negotiate and conclude a peace with Great Britain, under the condition, however, that this mediation should be accepted by England within a month after the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit. By other articles of a secret nature, the ports of Prussia, as well as of Dantzic, were to be shut against the vessels and trade of Great Britain; and it is not certain whether the emperor of Russia was not bound by the same condition. Subsequent events, indeed, have excited an opinion in favour of the affirmative side of the question. It also appears, that, by another secret article, Russia had consented to cede Corfu and the Seven Islands as an appendage to France. In the month of August a Russian officer, attended by French

commissioners, arrived there; and having convened the senate, opened a dispatch from the emperor Alexander, in which his imperial majesty declared, that he renounced all the rights which he possessed in quality of protector of the Seven Islands, and ceded them to his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy. The French commissioners accepted the renunciation, and took possession of the islands.

By this fatal war the Prussian monarchy lost nearly the half of its territory and of its subjects, with more than half of its revenues; and Russia saw herself deprived of her extensive barrier against the dangerous and domineering power of France. The king of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but his efforts were useless, as the whole power of France could now be directed to that quarter. His Swedish majesty, however, succeeded on the 19th and 20th of August in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund; before the enemy was apprised of his intention, after which he crossed the Baltic and retired into Sweden.

LETTER V.

History of the Affairs of Great Britain, A. D. 1807—8.—Parliamentary proceedings.—The King and his Ministers differ respecting the Catholic question.—Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade.—Change of Ministry.—Character of the late Whig Ministry.—Proceedings of the British army in South America.—Expedition to the Dardanelles.—Proceedings of the British forces in Egypt.—Expedition against Copenhagen.—Rupture between England and Russia.—Dispute with the United States of America.

THE death of Mr. Fox was sensibly felt by the cabinet of which he formed the main-spring; but the new arrangements consequent thereupon having been perfected, as mentioned in a former letter, the ministers, as if apprehensive of a decline of their popularity, advised his majesty to dissolve the parliament, in the hope of increasing their preponderance in the house of commons, while they had the means of powerfully influencing the elections. At the meeting of the new parliament, which took place on the 19th of December 1806, the lord chancellor, in the king's name, took notice of the difficult and arduous circumstances under which the two houses were assembled, and deplored the calamitous events of that war which had been recently kindled anew by the ambition and injustice of the enemy. Prussia, he said, had been constrained to adopt the resolution of resistance; but neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty. Even the hostile demeanour of the court of Berlin, both toward Hanover and Great Britain, had not precluded the manifestation of a wish to afford every assistance that she could desire against the common enemy; but the rapid course of misfortune had "opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose." Amidst these disastrous incidents, it was pleasing to observe the unshaken fidelity of the emperor of Russia, with whom it was more particularly necessary to establish a cordial union, because such an alliance afforded "the only remaining hope for the continent of Europe."

In the early debates, the affairs of Prussia and the conduct of the ministry were discussed with freedom. The misfortunes of Frederick William were imputed to that narrow and selfish policy, by which he had been guided. It was affirmed that he had illiberally consulted his own apparent interest, without regard to the general welfare of Europe; that he had long been blind to the danger which threatened him; and that, when he at last roused himself to an appearance of energy, he acted without caution or judgment, and without even waiting for that succour by which he might have been saved from ruin. The ministers were blamed for not having given a proper direction to

his rising zeal, and for not checking his rashness by friendly expostulation, until a regular concert could have been established. They were accused of being more disposed to resent his offence than to assist him in his distress; and their pretext of being precluded from an opportunity of supporting him was declared to be evasive and unsatisfactory. The late negotiation with France was very temperately discussed; and lord Yarmouth expressed himself with great confidence that had Mr. Fox's life been prolonged but a few months, peace would have been concluded. Mr. Whitbread, indeed, differed from his friends in the cabinet in thinking that peace might have been obtained, even after the death of Mr. Fox, by a perseverance in the negotiation, as the French seemed to afford greater facilities for it than on any other occasion subsequent to their revolution, and he therefore proposed that the king should be requested to promote a renewal of diplomatic communication, rather than avoid it under the pretence of that unbounded ambition which prompted the enemy to baffle all conciliatory endeavours. He thought that war, eternal war, was not to be waged for Sicily and Dalmatia. His proposition, however, was thought unseasonable, and both houses of parliament thanked his majesty for having offered every sacrifice to peace that the interest and glory of his people would allow.

On the 29th of January, 1807, the chancellor of the exchequer stated his plan of finance, which was so framed as to make provision for a series of years to come, on the very probable supposition of a continuance of the war; the loan for the present year was stated at twelve millions. Upon the resolutions moved and finally agreed to by the house, much debate arose, and very forcible objections were urged against them; but as this project was never carried into effect, it is unnecessary to enter further into the detail.

On the 20th of February, lord Howick intimated his intention of preparing some additional and very necessary clauses for insertion in the mutiny bill—an ill-fated proposition, and ever to be deplored inasmuch as it led eventually to the overthrow of the ministry, and their being driven from the councils of the monarch; it will therefore be necessary to go into some explanation on the subject. By the Irish mutiny act, passed in 1793, Catholics were allowed to hold any rank in the army under that of general, on the staff in Ireland, though in Great Britain they were disqualified from serving under severe penalties; thus being deemed by law worthy of trust in one part of the United Kingdom, and unworthy in another. This anomaly it was the object of lord Howick to remedy, by making the provisions of the Irish act general. But on the 5th of March, his lordship, in lieu of the proposed clauses, moved to bring in a bill for, “enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his subjects, in his naval and military forces, on their taking the prescribed oath of allegiance;” for, to grant this privilege to Catholics and deny it to Protestants, would have been manifestly unjust. It might be thought that a law so salutary and equitable would recommend itself by a simple statement of its provisions; but to give it the greater effect, the motion of lord Howick was enforced by him with all the wisdom and eloquence of an accomplished statesman. The Tories, however, took advantage of it to raise the hue-and-cry against ministers, to alarm the conscience of the monarch, and for a time set the whole country in a flame! Mr. Spencer Perceval, late attorney-general, instantly rose to resist, what he styled, one of the most dangerous measures which had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. Our ancient and venerable establishment, he contended, could only be preserved by making a stand against every fresh attempt at innovation, which, if encouraged, would not stop short of abolishing all that the wisdom of our ancestors had thought necessary to enact in defence of our religion. The present question, he said, was simply, whether the legislature were prepared to give up the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland? This measure was, indeed, but a part of the principle of innovation which was gradually increasing; and these approaches were far more dangerous than if it were to come forward at once in all its frightful magnitude; and what might be at first denied by the wisdom of parliament, would be ultimately extorted from its weakness! Such was the nature of the alarm sounded in

parliament, and the spirit of bigotry instantly awoke from its slumber and answered to the call. After an animated debate, an early day was fixed for the reading of the bill; this, however, was twice postponed; and on the 18th of March, lord Howick gave notice that "the bill was not intended, "under present circumstances, to be proceeded upon." These circumstances were of a nature so singular, as to require particular elucidation.

In the month of February, a despatch had been received from the duke of Bedford, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, stating that a disposition had been manifested by the Irish Catholics to prosecute their claims by petition to parliament. Anxious to prevent an application so unseasonable, and at the same time to assure the Catholics of their favourable disposition, an answer to the dispatch of the lord-lieutenant was prepared by ministers, stating their intentions relative to the mutiny bill, a copy of which was transferred to the king accompanied by a cabinet minute. To this proposition the king expressed a strong dissent; and on receiving his disapproval, the cabinet, on the 10th of February, made a respectful representation of the grounds of policy and principle upon which the measure in question was founded. Lord Sidmouth, who was president of the council, had fairly avowed his readiness, to concur in the extension of the Irish act, so far as to legalize the services of the Irish Catholic officers in England, but no further. This he had made known to the sovereign on being questioned by him, confessing, that he saw no alternative but either to repeal the Irish act, or make it operative in England. In consequence of this opinion, corroborated by the lord chancellor, who described the measure as merely a corollary from the Irish act, the king replied to the cabinet minute, "that, adverting to what had taken place in 1793, he would not prevent his ministers from submitting to the consideration of parliament the proposed clauses in the mutiny bill; but thought it necessary to declare, that he could not go one step farther; and trusted that this reluctance and concession would secure him from being distressed by any future proposal connected with the Catholic question." Under this frail and limited sanction, however, a majority of the cabinet transmitted a dispatch to Ireland, exciting expectations far beyond the letter of the act of 1793, not only by removing the bar to higher military advancement, but extending the provisions of the act to the navy, and imparting the same privileges to English Protestant dissenters.

Lord Sidmouth, on being apprised of the import of the new clauses introduced into the bill, plainly declared the necessity he should feel of opposing the measure in parliament; and, in a cabinet council held on the first of March, he stated his conviction, that the extent of it was not understood by the king. Lord Grenville, however, expressing an opposite opinion, it was proposed by lord Howick to transmit to his majesty a copy of the clauses in question, which was done on the following day, accompanied by a dispatch to the lord-lieutenant of the same tenor. These documents were returned without a comment; but on the fourth of March, the king, having previously conferred with lord Sidmouth, declared to lord Howick, at an audience held after the levee, his dislike and disapprobation of the measure, without, however, in express words withdrawing the consent which he had already given. The ministers, therefore, still acted under a misapprehension of the king's mind, and the obnoxious bill was ordered to be read a second time on the 12th of March.

It was in this interval that lord Sidmouth gave notice of a resolution to which he had come to resign his office, with the view of opposing the bill. The king, however, refused to accept his resignation, and mentioned in strong terms his surprise at the extent of the proposition made in the house of commons, after his declaration to lord Howick; and on the same day his majesty informed lord Grenville, in a manner which could not possibly be mistaken, that to those parts of the bill which went beyond the limits of the act of 1793, he could not be induced to give his consent. Lord Sidmouth, on this, prudently advised them to modify the bill, in such a manner as to free it from objections evidently insuperable. This they agreed to do, and lord Grenville, with the concurrence of his colleagues, respectfully apprised the

king of the misconception that had prevailed, and their determination to modify the measure, so as to confine it strictly within those limits to which his majesty understood himself to have consented—an intimation which was graciously received by the king, who gave the strongest assurances of his conviction, that the intentions of his ministers towards him were perfectly honourable.

It was now confidently hoped that the difficulty was surmounted, and that ministers would be able to proceed with the bill, so modified as to meet the wishes of all parties; but, most unaccountably, at a subsequent cabinet meeting held on the 15th of March, to which neither the lord chancellor, the president of the council, nor the lord chief justice were summoned, a resolution was taken to abandon the bill altogether. Nor was this the only, or the principal indiscretion: a minute was transmitted to the king, who now conceived that an amicable and final explanation had taken place, announcing the relinquishment of the measure; but at the same time asserting "their right and intention to avow their opinions in parliament respecting their withdrawal of the bill; and in all future discussions relating to the Catholic question, also to submit for his majesty's decision from time to time, such advice respecting Ireland as the course of circumstances and the interests of the empire should require." This superfluous declaration concerning "rights" which had never been controverted, excited in the breast of the king, the utmost apprehension and uneasiness. He began to think that the question was never to be at rest, and that he was to remain perpetually exposed to a recurrence of importunity and anxious feeling. The royal answer, unadvisedly given, expressed some dissatisfaction at the parliamentary avowals, which the ministers supposed to be necessary. It declared that "his majesty would never consent to any farther concessions; and demanded from ministers a positive and written assurance that he should never again be distressed by a recurrence to this subject." With regard to a demand of this nature, there could be no hesitation on the part of ministers to reject it; and, consequently, it was in dutiful terms represented to the king, "that those who were intrusted by him with the administration of the affairs of his extensive empire, were bound by every obligation, to submit without reserve the best advice they could frame to meet the exigencies of the times; and that the situation of Ireland constituted the most formidable part of the present difficulties."

On the following day, his majesty, with the most gracious expressions of his satisfaction in reference to every other part of their conduct, announced his intention of making a change of ministers, and on the 18th of March lord Howick was authorized to notify to parliament this his intention. On the 25th of the same month his majesty's pleasure was signified, that the members of the present administration should deliver up their seals of office. Thus suddenly and prematurely was dissolved this celebrated Whig administration, from the combined talents and virtues of which so much had been expected by the nation. Their fall was the subject of much exultation to the Tories, and of no great regret to the Whigs, who were severely disappointed that no radical change of system had taken place. Mr. Fox, who alone could be expected to balance the weight of lord Grenville in the cabinet, was, in every point of view an irreparable loss. With him the spirit of peace departed, the prospect of another coalition arose to view, and hope once more told her flattering tale. Nevertheless, the general conduct of the Whig administration was highly honourable to themselves, and advantageous to the country. The limitation of military service; the various reforms of office; the abstaining from all reversionary grants, and from all political prosecutions; with the amelioration of Scottish jurisprudence, and the liberal boon to Ireland their immediate contemplation;—but, above all, the abolition of the slave-trade, that disgrace to humanity, will render this administration short as was its duration, memorable in the annals of the country. In relation to the war, and that only, their policy was unadvised and unfortunate; and though they did not primarily repose on "a bed of roses," as lord Castlereagh had asserted in one of his speeches on their entrance upon office, it cannot be de-

nied that the state of Europe was at this moment incomparably worse than at the period of their entrance into office. Let me now direct your attention to the proceedings of the British army in South America.

Re-inforcements to a considerable extent, had been sent out towards the close of the year 1806, under the command of general sir Alexander Achmuty, and admiral Stirling: sir Home Popham having been re-called from that station, with a view to his being put upon his trial by court-martial, for having undertaken an expedition of such magnitude unauthorized by the constituted authorities at home. The troops were landed near Monte Video, in the month of January 1807, and on their arrival at Maldonado, the general resolved on making an attack on Monte Video, it being the only place on the river which could be assailed with probable advantage. The troops being landed near the town, on the 19th of January, about six thousand of the provincials marched out to attack them, but were repulsed with great slaughter, and the British force afterwards commenced the siege of the place. The works were found strong, and were ably defended; but a practicable breach being made on the 2nd of February, an assault was instantly determined on. This was effected before day break of the following morning; and after a severe action, in which five hundred and sixty of the assailants were killed or wounded, and more than twice that number of the defenders, every thing was carried except the citadel, and that soon after surrendered. The prizes captured were fifty-seven West India and merchantmen, independent of gun-boats and armed vessels.

Before any intelligence had been received in England of the re-capture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, the British government had resolved to send out an expedition for the reduction of the whole province of Chili. For this purpose a force of four thousand men was placed under the command of brigadier-general Crawford, which sailed about the end of October, 1806, accompanied by a naval force under admiral Murray. But the intelligence above referred to occasioned an order to be afterwards dispatched for the expedition to change its object and proceed to the river La Plata. It was overtaken at the Cape of Good Hope, and accordingly sailed for the new destination, where it arrived on the 14th of June 1807, and raised the British force there to nearly ten thousand men. General Whitelocke, who had in the mean time been nominated to the supreme command of the forces in South America, left England in March, taking with him an additional force of sixteen hundred men, the service expected from him being the entire reduction Buenos Ayres. At this time two parties existed in the city of that name; one was devoted entirely to the Spanish government; the other entertained views of throwing off the yoke of the mother-country, and of erecting an independent state. The latter were thought disposed to join the British, if a promise were made them of securing their independence; but as there was a probability that the restoration of the province would be made a condition of peace with Spain, there was an obvious difficulty of treating with this party.

General Whitelocke arrived in the river La Plata in May, and took the command of the troops. On the 28th of June the united force, to the number of about eight thousand men, was landed about thirty miles to the eastward of Buenos Ayres; and after a fatiguing march, the different divisions assembled in the suburbs of the city, which was nearly invested. On the morning of July 5th, a general attack was ordered, each corps to enter by the streets opposite to it, and all with unloaded muskets. The greatest intrepidity was displayed in the execution of the plan, which was so far successful, that two strong posts were gained in the town, though at the expense of two thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the fire from the tops of the houses, and every advantageous position, upon the defenceless troops, having been most murderous.

On the following morning general Linieres sent a letter to the British commander, offering to give up all the prisoners taken in this bloody rencontre, as well as those formerly made with general Bessford, if he would desist from any further attack and withdraw the British armament

from La Plata; intimating that such was the exasperation of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners if offensive operations were persisted in. General Whitelocke, influenced, as he said, by this consideration, and reflecting upon the little advantage that was to be obtained from the possession of a country absolutely hostile, agreed to the proposal. This termination of an enterprise, from which much had been expected, was the cause of great dissatisfaction; and the general, on his return home, was tried by a court-martial, whose sentence was, "that he be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever"—a decision confirmed by the king, and approved of by the public. It was, however, thought that a censure was not less merited by those who had recommended, for such an employment, a man whose military reputation appears at no time to have entitled him to a trust of that importance. * This disastrous expedition was in some small degree counter-balanced, by the reduction of the Dutch settlement of Curaçoa, early in the year 1807, by a small squadron under the command of captain Brisbane, detached from the fleet of admiral Dacres. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications, of which fort Amsterdam alone mounted sixty-six pieces of cannon, and across the entrance were moored two frigates and two armed schooners. The bravery of the British troops, however, in a very short time, and with inconsiderable loss, carried the forts by storm and the shipping by boarding; and a capitulation yielded the island to his Britannic majesty, the garrison and crews of the ships of war remaining prisoners.

England at this time became involved in hostilities with the Ottoman empire of which some notice must be taken. On the refusal of the emperor of Russia to ratify the treaty of D'Oubril, general Sebastiani was sent to Constantinople with a commission from the French government, by every possible means to induce the Sublime Porte to declare war against Russia: and he obtained an edict prohibiting to Russian ships of war the passage of the Dardanelles. But the court of St. Petersburg, not waiting the result of the negotiation, marched an army into Moldavia, and took possession of Choczin, Bender, and Jassi; in consequence of which a declaration of war issued from the Porte, December 29th, 1806, and an English squadron took on board the Russian and British ambassadors. Between Great Britain and Turkey the strictest amity had subsisted since the victory of the Nile; nor was the slightest injury or infraction of treaties pretended, when, with the view of compelling the Turks to an immediate accommodation, or rather submission, the British squadron under sir John Duckworth, in the month of February 1807, received orders to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and present himself in hostile array before Constantinople. In sailing through the strait, the squadron sustained a heavy cannonade from the opposite shores, and a small Turkish armament was destroyed by sir Sidney Smith. On the 20th of February, under the sanction of a flag of truce, Ysac Bey, one of the Turkish ministers, came on board the English fleet, professing an earnest desire on the part of the sultan, Selim III. to give the desired satisfaction. But the demand of Britain was no less than a delivering up to her all the ships of war belonging to the Porte. The negotiation continued till the 27th, and the interval was diligently employed by the Turks, under the direction of French engineers, in erecting batteries on both sides of the long and narrow strait, and a considerable force was collected, both by land and sea, to prevent the return of the English squadron. Sir John Duckworth, finding himself outmanœuvred, even by Turkish artifice, after all his high and menacing language, now thought only of retreat; and weighing anchor on the 1st of March, he succeeded in forcing his passage through the straits, though not without incurring the most imminent peril. Any longer delay would have been fatal; he therefore hastened to repossess the castles of Sestos and Abydos, which saluted him with the fire of vast blocks of marble, one of which, weighing eight hundred pounds, cut in two the main mast of the Windsor, man of war. None of the ships escaped without damage, and the expedition, which was generally condemned as no less impolitic than unjust, cost the country

about two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, while the only effect produced by it was to confirm the influence of France at the Porte.

The failure on this occasion appeared to be in some degree compensated by the success of an attempt against another seat of the Ottoman power. On the 5th of March, a force of about five thousand men was sent from Messina, under the command of general Fraser, of which, on the 16th, a part anchored to the westward of the port of Alexandria. The English consul resident there advised the general not to delay landing his troops, though many of the transports had not yet arrived, because the French consul was endeavouring to procure the admission of a body of Albanians to defend the town. Accordingly, on the 18th, general Fraser put his troops in motion, and having taken possession of Aboukir, and the canal between lakes Maa-die and Mareotis, the city of Alexandria capitulated on the 20th. By the articles of capitulation, the vessels belonging to the Turkish government, and all public property, were given up to the British; the crews were to be sent to a Turkish port, but under a stipulation that they were not to serve against England, or her allies, until exchanged. The loss by which this success was obtained was inconsiderable; and on the day of the treaty the transports which had been missing made their appearance, and two days afterwards sir John Duckworth's squadron also arrived.

Aware that there could be no danger of a scarcity of provisions at Alexandria, provided that Rosetta and Rhumania were in the occupation of the British, general Fraser detached a body of troops consisting of fifteen hundred men, on the 27th, to take possession of Rosetta, but the commanding officer incautiously marching into the town without previously examining it, the troops received so brisk a fire from the roofs and windows of the houses, that after sustaining a loss of three hundred killed and wounded, they found it necessary to retreat to Aboukir. The want of provisions increasing, another corps of about two thousand five hundred men under the command of general Stuart, was sent to reduce Rosetta. The summons to surrender being disregarded, the British began to construct their batteries; and as a succour of Mamelukes was expected, lieutenant-general Macleod was detached to seize a post in order to facilitate their junction. Many days passed in fruitless expectation; at length a great number of vessels were descried sailing down the Nile, which, it was not doubted, contained a reinforcement to the enemy sent from Cairo. Orders were immediately transmitted to colonel Macleod to return from his position, but they were unfortunately intercepted, and his detachment was completely cut off. General Stuart retreated fighting all the way to Alexandria, where he arrived; but a formidable force of the enemy were now perceived approaching that city, and finding its inhabitants also disaffected to the British, a flag of truce was sent by general Fraser, offering instantly to evacuate Egypt with his army on condition that the British prisoners should be liberated, which was readily agreed to, and on the 23d of September the troops sailed for Sicily. The attempt on Rosetta cost the English a thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing.

From the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit, it became increasingly evident, from the aspect of affairs on the continent, that Denmark could not long maintain her neutrality. At the same time, the exertions of the Danish government in augmenting its marine, and collecting great quantities of warlike stores in the arsenals, gave indications of approaching or apprehended hostilities. The English ministry strongly suspected or rather had positive proof, that these hostilities were to be directed against England. In every view of the subject, therefore, it was thought expedient to prevent the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of the French government, who was said to have formed the design of turning the maritime force of Denmark and Portugal against Great Britain. His Britannic majesty consequently thought it expedient to request from the court of Denmark the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in some of the British ports. This proposal was made in the most friendly manner, representing the indis-

pensible necessity of such a measure, under the relative circumstances of the neutral and belligerent powers of Europe, as the only means of security against the mischiefs which the French were meditating through the medium of the Danish navy. In order to give additional weight to the negotiations, a formidable naval and military force, under the command of admiral Gambier and lord Cathcart, was sent to the Baltic, with the view of protecting Denmark against the resentment of France in case of an amicable result, or to enforce compliance should her government reject the proposal. On the arrival of the British army in the Baltic, the Danish cabinet having given a peremptory refusal to the application from England, the troops began to disembark at the village of Wibeck, about half way between Elsinour and Copenhagen, and on the 16th of August, the landing was effected without opposition. Military operations soon commenced, and the British troops gained many important advantages. On the 29th sir Arthur Wellesley totally defeated the Danish army, which lost a considerable number in killed and wounded, independent of eleven hundred men made prisoners, including about sixty officers. The British army then invested Copenhagen, and operations for commencing the siege were carried on with unremitting activity. All the preparations being completed, on the 1st of September the city was summoned, and the offers renewed which at different times had been made to the crown-prince and the governor. The summons producing no effect, the bombardment, both from the land batteries and the shipping, commenced on the following day, and continued till the evening of the 5th, when a proposal for capitulating was made by the garrison. On the following day the basis of the capitulation was agreed upon. The principal articles were, that the ships and vessels of war of every description, together with all the naval stores, should be delivered up to the disposal of his Britannic majesty; and that the British troops should, within the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, evacuate Zealand. A mutual and unconditional restitution of prisoners was to take place; all property, public and private, was to be respected, except the shipping and naval stores; and all the British property, sequestered in consequence of the rupture, was to be restored to the owners.

The Danish navy consisted of eighteen ships of the line—one of ninety-six, two of eighty-four, twelve of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four guns; fifteen frigates, five brigs, and twenty-five gun boats;—a force which in the hands of Napoleon, might have proved the means of great annoyance to England. The loss of the British in this expedition was very inconsiderable if we take into account the magnitude of the object attained. On board the fleet it amounted to little more than fifty men killed and wounded, and the army had only two hundred and eight killed, wounded, and missing, during the siege of Copenhagen, exclusive of a trifling number in the previous operations. The city, however, suffered severely by the bombardment; not less than eleven hundred of the inhabitants are said to have been killed, and the number of houses destroyed was estimated at four hundred, besides many others greatly damaged. The capitulation, however, was not ratified by the crown-prince; and the Danish government, rejecting every conciliatory proposal, issued a formal declaration of war against England. Notwithstanding these demonstrations of hostility; the occupation of Zealand was found to require a greater number of troops than Great Britain could spare from other services, and the country was consequently evacuated according to the convention. From that period the war with Denmark produced no important results.

But, however necessary to the security of the British dominions, the expedition against Denmark was, it served as an ostensible pretext to Russia for commencing hostilities against England. On the 31st of October, the emperor Alexander issued a declaration, in which he accused the British government of rejecting his mediation for peace; of not co-operating with the allies against France during the war; of sending troops against Buenos Ayres and Alexandria, instead of making a diversion in Italy, or some other part of the European continent; and particularly inveighed against the conduct of England in attacking Denmark, and troubling the commerce of

Russia. In consequence of these causes of complaint, his Imperial majesty declared that all friendly intercourse was broken off between Russia and Great Britain, and an imperial ukase was immediately published, ordering the detention of all British ships and property. The first care of the court of St. Petersburg was to put the fort of Cronstadt in the most formidable state of defence; but the war between Russia and England proceeded little farther than to an interruption of commercial intercourse.

The system adopted by the belligerent powers was indeed particularly harassing to the mercantile interest in every quarter. In a former letter, I mentioned to you the decree which the French emperor issued from Berlin, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade. He shut the ports of the countries subject to his tyrannical influence against all vessels that had cleared out from British ports, and subjected to confiscation all neutral vessels that had cargoes of British produce or manufacture. In support of this regulation he decreed, that neutral vessels coming into any port of his dominions, should bring with them a certificate of origin, under the signature of the French consul at the port where they cleared out, attesting that no part of their cargo consisted of British manufacture or produce, and that all vessels met at sea without such a certificate should be liable to seizure. In January 1807, the British government opposed to the commercial restrictions of France, a measure, which interdicted the coasting trade of the enemy to neutrals, by issuing an order subjecting to seizure, all vessels of whatever nation, trading from one hostile port to another with hostile property. This, however, was not deemed an adequate retaliation; and in the month of November, the famous orders in council were issued, declaring France in a state of blockade, with all the countries under her immediate power and influence; and subjecting to seizure all vessels whatever that should attempt to trade between neutral and hostile ports, or that should have on board any such certificate as was required by the Berlin decree. By these orders, neutral vessels, destined for a hostile port were directed first to touch at some port of Great Britain, from whence, after the payment of certain duties, they might be allowed to proceed; and when clearing out with a cargo from any hostile port they were required to come to Great Britain. These restrictive regulations instituted by France and England, proved extremely incommodious to the Americans, who were now become the general carriers of Europe, especially of colonial produce. The congress of the United States retaliated by an embargo in all their ports; and notwithstanding the consequent annihilation of their commerce, they persisted in this measure. The British government sent out Mr. Ross for the purpose of restoring the relations of amity between the two countries; but he returned without effecting the object of his mission. The embargo was continued by the Americans throughout the whole of the year 1808, though not without great dissatisfaction, especially in the northern States. At the meeting of congress in November, the president, in a message, acquainted them with the failure of his negotiations with the French and English courts to obtain a revocation of their measures which were so injurious to neutral commerce. With respect to England, he said that an offer was made to take off the embargo, as far as concerned the trade of Great Britain, or condition of the repeal of the orders in council, but that the offer was not accepted. (1)

(1) London Gazette—Annual Register, 1806—1808—Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George III.

LETTER VI.

History of the affairs of Spain and Portugal, 1807—9.—Departure of the Braganza-family for the Brazils.—Invasion of Spain and Portugal by the armies of France.—Perturbed state of Madrid.—Perfidious conduct of Napoleon.—Charles IV. abdicates the throne.—Resistance of the Spanish patriots.—Joseph Buonaparts takes possession of the crown of Spain.—Peninsular war, first campaign.—Battle of Vimeira.—Convention of Cintra.—Retreat of the British army in Spain, under Sir John Moore.—Battle of Corunna.—Death of Sir John Moore, 16th of January, 1809.

IN prosecuting the narrative of this extraordinary period of the affairs of Europe, I must now, my dear Philip, direct your attention for some considerable time to a part of the continent which has hitherto occupied, comparatively, but a slight portion of your regard. I mean the European peninsula, comprising the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, which were destined to become, during the space of several years, the theatre of war and bloodshed, until liberated from the hostile troops of France, by the superior skill and bravery of the armies of Britain.

The peace of Tilsit having freed the French emperor from all apprehensions in the north, he was left at leisure to pursue his schemes of rapacity and aggrandizement in the south; and the autumn of the year 1807, presented a new and interesting spectacle in modern history—the voluntary migration of a European court into the southern hemisphere. Portugal had long been the faithful ally of Great Britain, and both countries found their interest in the connexion. The former received political support and protection; the latter enjoyed a lucrative commerce. England was the basis on which the independence of Portugal rested; and Lisbon and Oporto were sources whence London derived no inconsiderable portion of its opulence. But the disastrous circumstances of Europe interrupted this enjoyment of reciprocal advantages. The hatred and jealousy of the emperor of France prompted him to threaten the invasion of Portugal with his troops of marauders, and intimidated the court of Lisbon into a compliance with his requisitions, to shut the ports of that kingdom against the ships and commerce of Great Britain, to which effect a decree was issued at Lisbon, on the 22nd of October, 1807.

In consequence of this measure being adopted, his Britannic majesty though he had generously resolved not to resent those acts of unwilling hostility to which the consent of the prince-regent of Portugal had been extorted, nevertheless deemed it expedient to send a squadron to the mouth of the Tagus, to act as future circumstances might render necessary. But the exclusion of British commerce from the Portuguese ports did not satisfy the tyrant of the continent; and the appearance of a French army on the frontier of Portugal induced the prince-regent to sign an order for the detention of all British subjects and the sequestration of all British property. This decree bears date November the 8th, 1807, but the event had been anticipated, and most of the British merchants resident in the country had previously removed their effects. These measures, however, though the consequences of compulsion, placed England and Portugal virtually in a state of hostility; and lord Strangford, the British ambassador demanded his passports, presented a final remonstrance against the conduct of the court of Lisbon, and proceeding on board one of the English ships in the Tagus, a rigorous blockade was established at the mouth of the harbour.

The full compliance of the court of Lisbon with the requirements of the French emperor could not, however, preserve its dominions from his rapacity. He had marked out Portugal for his prey; and no principle of generosity or justice could induce him to deviate from his plans of aggrandize-

ment. It is difficult to conceive of a more critical situation than that in which the prince-regent of Portugal was now placed, being in a state of hostility with England, whose alliance he had been compelled to renounce, and with the French emperor, who had declared that "the house of Braganza should cease to reign." The French army had entered Portugal, and was advancing towards the capital, while the British fleet blockaded the mouth of the Tagus. At this important crisis of the Portuguese monarchy, lord Strangford, in consequence of fresh instructions received from his court, returned to Lisbon, on the 27th of November, to renew the negotiations. His lordship had immediately the most interesting communications with the court, and found that the prince-regent wisely directed his apprehensions to the French army, and his hopes to the British fleet. Having received the most positive assurances of the protection of the British navy, his royal highness instantly came to the determination of removing the royal family and the seat of government to Brazil. Little time was left indeed for either deliberation or delay, as the French army under general Junot had already advanced to Abrantes, within about three days march of the capital.

Thus circumstanced, the embarkation was so expeditiously performed, that on the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus, having on board the prince of Brazil, with the whole of the royal family of Braganza, and a number of persons attached to its fortunes. The French army had already arrived in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and from the hills had a view of the fleet as it dropped down the river. This fleet which conveyed to a distant quarter of the globe the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese monarchy, consisted of eight ships of the line—one of eighty-four, four of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four guns, besides four frigates, three brigs and a schooner. Four ships of the line and five frigates were left in the Tagus; but the former were all unseviceable, except the *Vasco di Gama*, of seventy-four guns, which was repairing and almost ready for sea; of the frigates, two were wholly unseviceable, and the other three stood in need of a thorough repair.

The court was no sooner departed than the French army entered Lisbon without opposition. Sir Sidney Smith, with a British squadron, accompanied the royal emigrants to Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where they arrived on the 19th of January, 1808, after a prosperous voyage. A commercial arrangement was entered into, and a direct intercourse established between Great Britain, and the Portuguese empire in South America, an event which forms an epoch in the history of the commercial relations between the two nations. Brazil and Britain were mutually benefitted at the expense of Lisbon, which was formerly the medium of that intercourse. But before we proceed further with the affairs of Portugal it will be proper to take a survey of the state of the sister kingdom at this tremendous crisis.

The imbecile court of Spain was at this time fast hastening to that condition of internal dissension and degradation, which in a little time occasioned the deposition of the royal family. On the 30th of October, 1807, a singular manifesto was issued by the king of Spain, Charles IV. that his life and crown had been endangered by a conspiracy, of which his own son was the author, whom, in consequence he had caused to be arrested. The foundation of this atrocious charge was a clandestine correspondence carried on by the prince of Asturias with the emperor Napoleon, on the subject of a projected marriage between the former and a princess of the Buonaparte family. Through the interposition of Godoy, the prince of peace, a reconciliation was effected; the prince of Asturias having been induced to write penitential letters to his father and mother; in which, however, there was no confession of any heinous or atrocious design. A treaty was soon afterwards concluded between the sovereigns of France and Spain, the object of which was a partition of the kingdom of Portugal; but in return for the portion which was to devolve on the king of Etruria, his kingdom of Tuscany was to be ceded to Napoleon in quality of king of Italy. By a secret convention, French troops were to be admitted into Spain, and others were to be assembled at Bayonne, to assist in the conquest of Portugal. Thus a handle

was given for placing Spain at the disposal of the emperor of France; and these were the circumstances which led the court of Lisbon to emigrate to the western hemisphere.

The attention of all Europe was at this time turned towards the Peninsula; and the designs of the emperor of France upon that quarter began daily more and more to develop themselves. Spain, once the most potent and flourishing of the European monarchies, had during two centuries been in a state of decline. A wretched system of government had almost extinguished the ancient Castilian spirit; and the Spanish armies, which had been acknowledged superior to those of all other nations, had lost their reputation for courage and discipline. In this state of national degradation, Spain was one of the first countries of the continent which fell under the control of revolutionary France; and it appeared to be one of those that was least calculated for throwing off her yoke. Yet under these unfavourable circumstances, the national spirit burst forth like a meteor, and astonished the view of all Europe.

While the efforts of faction agitated the court of Madrid, and perplexed its councils, the cabinet of St. Cloud was preparing for the execution of a deep laid and most unprincipled design. Under the pretext of invading Portugal and attacking Gibraltar, the armies of France, in the ostensible character of friends and allies, were marching into Spain, securing the strong places, and taking the most commanding positions. In the mean while an apparent reconciliation took place between the Spanish monarch and his son, as already mentioned, an event which diffused great joy throughout the whole kingdom. A perfect harmony seemed also to reign between the French and Spanish cabinets; and the popular reports of the approaching annexation of Portugal and Gibraltar to Spain, were well calculated to allay the suspicions which the entrance of the French armies must naturally have tended to excite among the people.

In this manner, the revolutionary volcano by which the Spanish monarchy was about to be convulsed, had secretly and silently collected its powers, and in the month of March 1808 the explosion took place. It appears that his Catholic majesty had formed the design of removing the seat of government to Mexico, and that the measure was approved of by the queen and the prince of Peace, but reprobated by the prince of Asturias and his brothers, with the majority of the grandees of the court. The motives which led to this extraordinary project are enveloped in mystery; as are indeed all the affairs of the court of Madrid, from the period of the alleged conspiracy of the prince of Asturias, till the journey of the royal family to Bayonne. It seems, however, that the design of emigrating beyond the Atlantic had originated with the prince of Peace, whose views in this affair are not fully ascertained. It is certainly not to be doubted that this minister, whose influence had long been paramount in Spain, perceived the approach of his downfall, and inspired his royal master with apprehensions for the safety of his person and government if he remained at Madrid.

No sooner had the intended emigration of the royal family transpired, than the Spanish capital presented a scene of confusion and turbulence. On the 17th of March a report was in circulation that the guards had received orders to march to Aranjuez, where the court then resided; and the inhabitants of Madrid rushed in crowds to the road to prevent their departure. At the same time, several of the ministers and grandees who disapproved of the emigration, circulated hand-bills in the surrounding country, stating the designs of the court, and the danger to which the kingdom was exposed. The night was a scene of tumult, and on the following day, immense crowds of people hurried to Aranjuez. The palace of the prince of Peace, though defended by his guards, was forcibly opened, and the furniture destroyed. The princess of Peace was conducted to the royal palace with all the respect due to her rank; but the prince had disappeared, and his brother, Don Diego Godoy, commandant of the life-guards, was arrested by the soldiers of his own corps.

A proclamation was immediately issued by the king, announcing the dis-

missal of the prince of Peace from all his employments. But this did not calm the fury of the populace. The same scenes were renewed at Madrid, where, as soon as intelligence was received of what had passed at Aranjuez, the people rushed in crowds to the palace of the prince of Peace, and to the houses of several other ministers. In all these the windows were demolished, and the furniture and ornaments destroyed, while the Swiss regiments cantoned in Madrid remained in their quarters, without daring to oppose these disorders. In the midst of this popular effervescence, the king resolved to withdraw from so tumultuous a scene; and on the 19th of March issued a royal decree, by which he abdicated the throne in favour of his son, the prince of Asturias; one of the first acts of whose sovereignty was the confiscation of the estates and property of Don Emanuel Godoy, prince of Peace, who had been discovered and made prisoner in the place of his concealment. These events, however, were soon succeeded by a counter-revolution, more extraordinary in its nature, and in the circumstances by which it was accompanied, than any of the former changes which stamped a peculiar character on these unstable times. The duke of Berg, with the French army, had entered Madrid, and was in full possession of that capital. All the arrangements being made, the important drama was at length opened.

The two kings of Spain, Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. former prince of Asturias, with the whole of the royal family, and some of the principal grandees, were allured by deceitful pretences to Bayonne, the station which the French emperor had fixed upon for the more convenient accomplishment of his designs. This extraordinary journey may be regarded as the most mysterious part of the Spanish revolution. Without the supposition of force, or deep laid fraud, it is difficult to conceive what motives could induce either Charles or Ferdinand to put themselves in the power of the emperor of the French. Ferdinand indeed declared, that the circumstances in which he assumed the reigns of government dictated the propriety of the measure. "Many provinces of the kingdom," according to his own representation, "and all the frontier garrisons, occupied by great numbers of French troops, and more than sixty thousand of them stationed in the metropolis, with a variety of other data which no other person could possess—all conspired to persuade him and his royal brothers, that, being surrounded by rocks and quicksands, they had no other remedy but to choose, among many evils, the one that would be the least productive of calamity; and, as such, they fixed on a journey to Bayonne."

Unfortunately, however, this proved eventually the most imprudent step they could have taken; and Spain was left to witness whether it were the least productive of calamity. Had Ferdinand thrown himself into the arms of his faithful subjects instead of those of a foreign despot, their subsequent conduct demonstrates, that he would have formed around his person and family an impenetrable bulwark. The rash and indiscreet step which he had taken was followed by terrible commotions throughout the country, and in Madrid, in particular, the most dreadful disorders prevailed. The French were insulted daily; numerous assemblies were held by the populace; and every thing indicated a dreadful explosion. At length on the 2nd of May, a general insurrection took place. The grand-duke of Berg, commander-in-chief of the French armies in Spain, in coming from the palace, was surrounded by the populace, and, after defending himself for some time, was on the point of falling, when he was rescued by his grenadiers. The street of Alcalá, and the great square, were crowded with insurgents. The grand-duke flew to his post, and a battalion of the French, with some cannon, repaired to the palace. Volleys of grape-shot, and charges of cavalry, cleared the streets and the square; but the insurgents continuing to fire from the houses, generals Daubrin and Guillot, with their divisions, broke open the doors, and all who were found in arms were put to the sword. A body of the insurgents, in the mean while, pushed forward to the arsenal, and had already broke in, when general Lafraen just arrived in time to save the arms and ammunition. The loss sustained on each side was so variously represented in the different accounts given at the time, that no credit can be attached

to any of the estimates given to the public; but there can be no doubt of its having been very considerable. In consequence of these disorders, the grand-duke of Berg was constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The crisis was now arrived when the emperor Napoleon, judging it no longer necessary to dissemble, began to unmask his designs. At first he pretended a wish to restore Charles IV. to the throne; but perceiving Madrid to be in a ferment, and having the two kings in his power, he obliged them both to sign a formal abdication, and the infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio renounced all claim to the succession. The queen was also said to have been solicited to declare the prince of Asturias illegitimate; an expedient doubtless, devised with the intent of invalidating in the eyes of Spaniards his right to the crown; and the least effect which it might have been expected to produce, would be that of dividing the public sentiment between him and his brother Don Carlos, and infusing a party spirit from which the French might derive advantage. The abdication signed by the king, and the renunciations made by the different branches of the royal family, were represented as voluntary acts; but Spain and all Europe regarded them in a very different light.

On the 25th of May, however, an imperial decree was issued, declaring the throne of Spain vacant by the abdication of the reigning family, and ordering an assembly of notables, consisting of the prelates, grandees, &c. to be held at Bayonne, for the purpose of fixing the basis of a new government. This order was communicated to the council of Castile, by the duke of Berg; and a commission was established for secularizing the lands of the church. A spirit of discontent had long pervaded the kingdom; but now the public exasperation was indescribable. Except the partisans of France, few Spaniards attended the junta at Bayonne. The proceedings in that assembly might be easily supposed to correspond with the purpose for which it was convened. And the consummation of the whole plan, which had been so long carrying into effect by every engine of intrigue, was, that the French emperor, on the 6th of June, conferred the crown of Spain on his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, who abdicated his kingdom of Naples in favour of the grand-duke of Berg, otherwise Joachim Murat, who had married the sister of Napoleon.

This consummation developed the whole system of perfidious policy which had, for more than eight months, kept Europe in anxious expectation. It was now no longer doubted, that the pretended conspiracy of the prince of Asturias was a scheme laid for his destruction; and all the subsequent intrigues at the court of Madrid were, with too great appearance of probability, considered as the effect of French influence and agency. The measures which Napoleon had taken for ensuring the success of his plans, place the whole matter beyond suspicion or conjecture. They may be considered as the necessary preliminaries of the atrocious act which he meditated. The entrance of his armies into Spain has already been mentioned, and it may not be amiss to add, that their disposal was skilfully adapted to a design of seizing the kingdom. His primary object was to secure the entrances into Spain by the passes of the Pyrenees, that vast barrier of mountains which nature has placed between that kingdom and France. The two principal of these are the entrances from Bayonne into Biscay and Navarre, and that from Perpignan into Catalonia, by Bellegarde, La Jônquiera, Rosas, and the famous pass of Figueras. Of this road, an extent of above fifty miles lies through the gorges of the Pyrenees, in some parts of which a few armed peasants might arrest the progress of an army. To these may be added the entrance from Bayonne into Navarre, a dangerous and difficult road through continuous defiles amidst prodigious mountains.

Being masters of these important passes, the French immediately garrisoned Barcelona and Pampeluna, stations of great strength, which enabled them in some measure to command the northern parts of the kingdom, while the grand-duke of Berg, with the main body of the army, advanced forward to Madrid, the central point from which he might detach his legions to every part of the kingdom. In the mean time the French emperor was proceed-

ing to Bayonne, to be ready to act as circumstances might require. At that place also a strong force was collected, from which detachments were occasionally sent into Biscay, Navarre, Old Castile, and Arragon. This is a retrospective view of the proceedings of the French, from the month of November 1807, when their armies first began to enter Spain; and their forces were continually augmenting, till the last act of the treacherous Junot. Of their numbers it is difficult to make a correct estimate; but from comparing together the various accounts on record, it would seem that the sum-total of the French armies in Spain, prior to the date of Joseph Buonaparte's accession, could not amount to less than one hundred thousand men, while General Junot had at least twenty thousand in Portugal.

Such was the state of affairs in Spain when the spirit of patriotism burst forth like a blaze in that kingdom. The news of the renunciations of the crown, compulsively made by their princes in favour of the emperor Napoleon, was the signal for a general insurrection. The patriotic flame burst forth in Asturia. The brave inhabitants of that province, at the time of the Arabian invasion, a crisis not less perilous than that now under consideration, saved by their valour the remains of the Spanish monarchy; and their intrepid spirit had been transmitted to their descendants through the long succession of eleven hundred years. From the province of Asturia the insurrection spread into Galicia, and into several districts of Leon. An assembly, convened at Oviedo, published a formal declaration of war against the French government; and having appointed the marquis of Santa Cruz generalissimo of the patriotic army, sent deputies to request the assistance of England. This request was immediately acceded to; and on the 4th of July his majesty issued a proclamation, declaring that Great Britain was at peace with the Spanish nation.

The patriotic flame now spread rapidly in Spain, and in every quarter the inhabitants lost no time in taking up arms. The council of Seville, one of the chief provincial jurisdictions in the kingdom, rejecting the authority of the supreme council of Madrid on the ground of its being under foreign control, assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII.; and having published an appeal to the Spanish nation for support, issued a formal declaration of war against the French emperor on the 1st of June. Provincial assemblies were formed in most of the principal provinces, and established in the most suitable situations. Orders were every where issued for raising volunteers, and every effort was made for organizing the armies. In Andalusia alone above fifteen thousand regular troops were collected; arms were put into the hands of sixty thousand peasants; and general Castanos was appointed commander-in-chief.

The insurrection being completely organized under the direction of the different juntas, especially that of Seville, the hostile armies commenced their operations. The grand-duke of Berg began to fortify himself in the Retlero, and to send out detachments from Madrid into the different provinces. General Dupont, with about twenty thousand men, was sent to secure a position at Cordova, from whence he might readily move upon Seville, Carthage, or Cadiz. General Monecy, with a detachment of twelve thousand men, was detached to the provinces of Valencia and Murcia. General Le Febvre, with about eighteen thousand, was stationed in Arragon, for the purpose of obtaining possession of Logroña, and keeping open the communication with Barcelona. The French army, in the north-western parts, consisted of between forty and fifty thousand men, commanded by marshal Bessieres, who had his principal station at Burgos, about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Madrid, in order to maintain a communication between the capital and Bayonne.

The great commercial city of Cadiz was among the first to shew its zeal for the patriotic cause. The French squadron, consisting of five ships of the line, and one frigate, lying in the harbour, was obliged to surrender, on the 14th of June, to the Spanish arms, after having sustained a cannonade and bombardment from the batteries, while the British fleet stood off the port prevented its escape. This affair was followed by the defeat and

almost total destruction of the French army near Almanza. General Moncey having advanced to the city of Valencia on the 28th of June, from two in the afternoon till eight, was repulsed with an almost incredible slaughter. It is not easy to find in the history of any age or country, an instance of more determined valour and patriotism than was displayed by the Valencians on this memorable occasion. The place being destitute of regular troops, its defence rested solely on the inhabitants; and while the monks and clergy acted the part of soldiers, the women were employed in preparing castles, and affording every assistance of which they were capable.

General Moncey being thus repulsed, he immediately began his retreat; but on the following day he was overtaken by the patriotic forces under generals Cerbellon and Caro. A desperate engagement took place about thirty miles from Valencia, in which, according to the Spanish accounts, the whole of the French army was destroyed, except two or three hundred of the cavalry, who made their escape. Saragossa vied with Valencia in patriotic enthusiasm. On the 1st of July, about midnight, the French made a vigorous attack on Saragossa, but the courageous conduct of the brave general Palafox, who commanded in that place, with the valour of the troops and armed inhabitants, completely baffled their efforts. Several succeeding attempts were equally ineffectual; and on the 14th of July the French once more made a desperate assault on that important place, but were again repulsed with prodigious loss. The carnage indeed must have been dreadful; for the enemy is said to have lost no fewer than twelve thousand men in their attacks on Saragossa. In some of the Spanish accounts it is asserted, that the gates of the city being thrown open, the French entered without opposition, and were immediately exterminated with grape-shot in the streets and musketry from the houses; but it is not easy to credit the report of their entering so incautiously, without suspecting some stratagem.

In another quarter, however, the Spaniards were less successful. On the very day on which the French were repulsed in their grand attack on Saragossa, the patriotic general Cuesta, with an army of fourteen thousand men, aided by a body of peasantry, and having twenty-six pieces of cannon, was defeated, near Benavente, by general La Solles, whose force consisted of ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry. The patriots, though on the whole superior in number to the French, had only eight hundred horse; and the battle being fought in a champaign country, their defeat may be attributed to this deficiency.

But the most important transaction took place in the province of Andalusia. The French general Dupont, finding that Seville, Carthagena, and Cadiz, the three principal places which he was sent to cover and protect, had declared for the patriots, abandoned Cordova, and took a strong position on the heights of Andujar, near the banks of the Guadalquivir. General Casanove, at the head of the Andalusian army, immediately advanced upon this position; and having received intelligence that a detachment of eight thousand French, from the head-quarters at Madrid, was already on its march to Andujar, resolved to attack Dupont before he could receive this reinforcement. An obstinate and bloody action ensued; but the patriots at length prevailed, and the victory was decisive. The French general, in order to save the remains of his army from total destruction, on the 20th of July surrendered himself and his troops as prisoners of war. The detachment that was on the way to join him was included in this capitulation, but with this difference, that they should not be considered as prisoners, but be conveyed by sea to France.

This victory was of incalculable importance to the Spanish cause. At the commencement of the action general Dupont's army amounted to more than twelve thousand effective men; so that in one day, not less than twenty thousand of the French were either killed, made prisoners, or expelled from Spain. Had Dupont gained the victory, Seville and Cadiz would have lain at his mercy; and the French would have intersected Spain with their garri- sons in a line from Navarre, through Castile, to Andalusia. By his de-

féat, and that of general Moncey in Valencia, all the southern provinces were completely cleared of the enemy.

While these important events were transpiring in the provinces, Joseph Buonaparte, the newly created sovereign, was preparing to take possession of his kingdom. On his arrival at Vittoria he issued a proclamation, announcing to the Spaniards the inestimable blessings which they were about to derive from his beneficent reign! From Vittoria he proceeded to Burgos, and from thence to Madrid. By a very singular coincidence, king Joseph made his public entrance into his capital on the 20th of July, the identical day that was signalized by the defeat and surrender of general Dupont and his army. His accession was solemnized with illuminations, and other external demonstrations of joy, such as power may always extort, but which would not have given the new monarch much pleasure, had he been apprised at the moment of what was passing in the vicinity of Andujar. The splendid illusion, however, was not of long duration! Successive accounts of the disasters of the French armies in Spain, and of the approach of the patriots towards Madrid, indicated that his crown was likely to prove a crown of thorns, and warned him of the propriety of a timely flight. After a short stay of seven days, on the 27th of July he began his retreat from Madrid, carrying off with him the crown jewels, and all that was most valuable, from the palace of the ancient sovereigns, and retired precipitately towards France, while the patriots advanced and took possession of the capital.

Finding themselves defeated in every part of Spain, the French now began to retreat from the different provinces towards Vittoria; and having left a garrison in Burgos, and seized on Bilbao, they concentrated the remainder of their forces on the banks of the Ebro. Their numbers, as well as the strength of the Spanish patriots, it has always been difficult to ascertain. Collecting their different losses in Valentia, before Saragossa, with the destruction of their army in Andalusia, and those that fell in a variety of less important actions, it has been thought that fifty thousand may be regarded as a fair estimate. The successes of the Spaniards during the month of June and July were certainly important and brilliant; while the losses of the French were greater than they had ever been in so short a period of time since the accession of Napoleon to the throne of France.

About the middle of August an event took place which brought to the patriotic cause a considerable accession of strength. Several bodies of Spanish troops had been furnished by the court of Madrid as auxiliaries to the French emperor: of these, eight thousand were stationed in the Danish island of Funen, and two thousand in that of Langeland. A negotiation being entered into between their commander, the marquis del Romana, and admiral Keats, then commanding a British squadron in the North Seas, in order to effect their liberation, the Spaniards in Funen seized the vessels and small craft, the Danish troops in that island being inadequate to oppose them, and conveyed themselves to Langeland, where their countrymen had seized the battery at the mouth of the harbour. By this excellent manœuvre ten thousand Spanish troops were rescued from the power of Buonaparte, and conveyed by the British ships to Spain, where they joined their brethren in arms in maintaining the cause of their country.

The patriotic spirit by which Spain was so gloriously animated, was now communicated to Portugal. A general insurrection took place in the provinces of Tras los Montes and Entre Douro e Minho, which rapidly spread throughout the whole kingdom. After some severe contests, the French under general Loison were driven out of Oporto, and nearly cut off in their retreat towards Lisbon. The clergy, and particularly the monks of Oporto, distinguished themselves by their courage and patriotism; and partly by their exhortations, and partly by their example, encouraged the people to take up arms against their invaders, the plunderers of their churches, and the oppressors of their country. The result was, that the French were expelled from Coimbra and several other places, and general Junot was obliged to concentrate his troops in and about Lisbon.

The British government had resolved to render every possible assistance

to the Spanish and Portuguese patriots ; and its intentions met with the entire approbation and applause of the public. Seldom, indeed, has the British nation appeared more interested in any cause, or more unanimous in approving the measures of government, than on this occasion. A large quantity of arms had early been shipped off for the use of the patriots of Spain ; and the ministry made no delay in preparing to furnish them with more effectual succours. The most sanguine hopes were consequently now entertained, that a successful stand would be made in the Peninsula against the domineering conduct of France. But these bright and animating prospects were soon beclouded ; for a system of mismanagement was introduced which proved highly detrimental to the common cause. The different provincial juntas of Spain, acting independently of each other, without any supreme authority or centre of union, resembled so many different states confederated for the common interest, rather than one united nation ; and this precarious and intricate state of things prevented any effectual plan from being concerted between the patriots and the British government. Besides this difficulty, it appears that the Spaniards, elated with their important and brilliant successes, considered themselves to be fully adequate to the task of expelling the enemy from their country, which a little time convinced them was a fatal delusion.

Had the patriots concerted with the British government a bold and commanding plan, and as the result of that a large British force had been poured into Spain, as near as possible to the seat of war and the source of danger, the French might, in all probability, have been completely expelled, or forced to surrender. The passes of the Pyrenees might have been secured, and the entrance of fresh armies from France might have been, at least for sometime, effectually opposed. The Spaniards would have gained leisure to establish their government, and organize their military system ; and the national spirit being kept buoyant by national union, the martial bands of a patriotic people would have composed a formidable phalanx. But it was unfortunate for Spain that things were quite differently managed. The patriots seemed to decline the assistance of the British forces in the north, and recommended in preference an expedition to Portugal, while a French army still occupied the banks of the Ebro, and the road from Bayonne to Madrid was left entirely open.

In compliance with the representations of the juntas, Great Britain adopted the plans which they had suggested. About the end of July a force of fourteen thousand men, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, was dispatched to Portugal, the expulsion of the French from that country being the primary object of the expedition. Having effected a landing, only a few days elapsed before they commenced military operations. The French general Laborde was strongly posted on the heights near Roleia ; and as there was reason to apprehend he might be joined by general Loison, who was then at Rio Major, the British general resolved to attack his position before the junction could take place. The army advanced from Caldas in three columns, the right being composed of the Portuguese, and the two others of British troops, led on by major-generals Ferguson and Hill, and brigadiers-generals Nightingale, Crauford, and Fane. The enemy's positions were formidable, and defended with great bravery and skill ; but the attack made by the British columns proved irresistible. After an obstinate engagement, the French were compelled to retire with the loss of a considerable number of men, and three pieces of cannon. The loss of the English was four hundred and seventy-nine killed, wounded, and missing. Lieutenant-colonel Lake fell gallantly in the heat of the action. In the course of the succeeding night, the French generals Loison and Laborde effected a junction at Torres Vedras, and both began their march towards Lisbon. The British army was also re-inforced by a body of troops commanded by brigadier-general Anstruther, being part of a force sent from England under brigadier-general Ackland.

The moment was now approaching which was to decide the fate of the French army in Portugal, and of the Russian fleet in the Tagus. Genera-

Junot, on whom the emperor of France had conferred the title of *duc d'Abrantes*, having collected all his detachments, attacked the British army, on the 21st of August, in its strong position at the village of Vimeira. The attack was made by the French in several columns, and with great impetuosity, till they were driven back by the bayonet; and being at the same time annoyed on their flank by a cannonade from the artillery placed on the heights, they were obliged, after a severe contest, to retire in confusion. A vigorous attack was also made by a considerable body of the enemy's infantry and cavalry on major-general Ferguson's brigade, who bravely repulsed the assailants, and afterwards attacked them, being supported by the brigades of brigadier-generals Nightingale, Bowes, and Ackland, while general Crauford's brigade and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the heights on the left. General Ferguson led on his troops with a degree of courage and judgment superior to all praise, and was supported in the ablest manner by general Nightingale. At length the enemy, being everywhere repulsed, was obliged to retire with the loss of about three thousand five hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners, thirteen pieces of cannon, and twenty-three tumbrils of ammunition. One French general, Beniere, was taken prisoner, and another, supposed to be general Thebauld, was found dead on the field of battle. The loss of the English, as stated in the returns, was seven hundred and forty men killed, wounded, and missing, in which were included many valuable officers.

On the day after the battle of Vimeira, general Dalrymple landed, and took the chief command of the army. On the 30th of August a cessation of hostilities was agreed on, and eight days afterwards a definitive convention was signed by the French and British commanders. By this treaty the French were to carry off all their arms, ammunition, artillery, carriages and horses, with their military chest, and all the plunder acquired by contributions, and to be conveyed to France in British vessels, without any restrictions in regard to future service. The Portuguese artillery, &c. with the military and naval arsenals, were to be surrendered to the British army and navy. No Portuguese was to be molested on account of the part which he had taken with the French invaders; and the British commanders engaged to prevail on the Spaniards to release all the French who were arrested in Spain, and were not *bona fide* military men. The Russian fleet in the Tagus, consisting of nine ships of the line and a frigate, surrendered to the British government as a deposit, to be given up six months after the conclusion of a peace; but the officers and seamen, above five thousand six hundred in number, were to be immediately carried to Russia.

The reasons assigned for consenting to this extraordinary convention were, the apprehended difficulty of obtaining provisions, and the importance of time, on account of the season of the year, the approach of the equinox, and the means which the enemy had of protracting his defence. These reasons, however, were far from being satisfactory either to the British or Portuguese nation. The people of England considered the convention as a disgraceful contrast to the glorious victory of Vimeira, and the Portuguese general entered a solemn protest against several of its articles. A court of inquiry was instituted; but on a minute investigation of the case, nothing appeared that could have the least tendency to criminate any of the generals. Whether better terms could have been obtained is not very clear; and the critical state of Spain rendered it absolutely necessary to terminate as soon as possible the business of Portugal. It is also proper to observe, that the convention of Cintra probably saved the city of Lisbon from destruction.

The British army having consumed more than two months in Lisbon, on the 26th of October commenced its march for Spain, under the command of sir John Moore, and immediately proceeded to Salamanca. Sir David Baird had on the 13th of October, landed a strong body of troops at Corunna, and, after many delays and innumerable difficulties, on the 19th of November arrived at Astorga. In the mean while, the emperor of France had personally entered Spain, with a view of conducting the operations of the war. The patriotic armies under generals Belvidere, Blake, and Castanos,

being successively defeated at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela, the French army forced the pass of Somma Sierra, and on the 2nd of December advanced to Madrid. That city now displayed a horrible scene of confusion. The constituted authorities had no influence. The city was in the power of an ungovernable rabble, consisting in part of strangers from the country; and the opulent inhabitants dreading the alternative of seeing all their property pillaged, either by a victorious enemy or by a licentious mob.

The populace being averse to any measures of conciliation, Napoleon gave orders for an assault on the suburbs, and during the night his troops made themselves masters of the Retiero and other commanding positions. An unruly populace was ill adapted to a vigorous defence. The most turbulent made their escape in the night; and on the 4th of December Madrid surrendered without further opposition. Don T. Morla and the prince of Castel Franco, who had the chief management of affairs, however, did not escape the suspicion of having treasonably delivered up the city. The French emperor having settled the affairs of the capital, hastened to endeavour to cut off the retreat of the English army. For this purpose he put his different divisions in motion, under the dukes of Dalmatia, Abrantes, Dantzic, and Treviso, and on the 18th of December he himself departed from Madrid, with an army of thirty-two thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. But the passage of the mountains of Guadarama proved extremely difficult, being covered with a deep snow; and the incessant rains and overflowing torrents occasioned a delay of two days in his march.

In the mean time, the British general, being apprised of the surrender of Madrid, meditated a junction with the marquis Romana, with the view of making an attack on the duke of Dalmatia. He therefore marched to Majorca, where he was joined by general Baird with the troops from Corunna. The whole British army, which was now found to consist of twenty-three thousand infantry and upwards of two thousand cavalry, besides some small detachments, advanced to Sahagan. But general Moore was no sooner arrived at his station than he received intelligence of the movements of the enemy; and judging it impossible to make an effectual resistance against the formidable force that was coming against him, on the 24th of December he commenced his precipitate retreat through Galicia. The emperor Napoleon made forced marches as far as Astorga; but finding that his expected prey had eluded his grasp, he resigned into the hands of the dukes of Dalmatia and Abrantes the further operations against the English army.

The retreat of the British army was attended by the disasters inseparable from the rapidity with which it was necessarily conducted in the middle of winter, and by roads almost impassable. Great numbers of men, who were unable to keep up with the rest of the army, were left on the line of march, and many dropped down exhausted with fatigue. Many of their horses were also left behind; and no less than one thousand four hundred were killed to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. General Anstruther died through excessive fatigue; and some accounts state the loss of the British army during the retreat at seven thousand men! The English were constantly harassed by the enemy's cavalry, which made frequent attacks on their rear, though they were always repulsed with considerable loss. The valour and perseverance of the troops were never more conspicuous than on this memorable occasion, amidst so many disadvantages, and retreating before a force greatly superior. At length, after fourteen days of precipitate and harassing marches, the army reached Corunna on the 11th of January 1809; and, had the transports been ready, might have embarked without further difficulty or loss. But these had been sent to Vigo, to which place the British general had first intended to retreat; and it was not till the 13th that the first division of transports arrived at Corunna.

On the 12th of January the advanced guard of the enemy arrived at Betanzos, within twelve miles of that place, and their main body came up on the following day. On the 14th and 15th the rest of the transports arrived, and part of the troops were embarked. The French, in the mean while, had

brought up their infantry in great force; and general Moore, perceiving that he should be forced to risk an action, was obliged to suspend the embarkation. On the 15th the enemy began to harass the English with continual skirmishes, while he made his dispositions for a more serious attack. The French had occupied an advantageous position; and their object was, by an impetuous attack on the right wing, to cut off the British army from the point of embarkation. Aware of their design, general Moore took the necessary precaution to draw up his army under the walls of Corunna. In the forenoon of the next day the duke of Dalmatia reconnoitred the English army, and on the 16th of January, about 2 P. M. he gave orders for the attack, which was made with the most tremendous impetuosity. The British troops stood like a wall, and with calm intrepidity received and repulsed the repeated attacks of the enemy. A vigorous charge with the bayonet decided the affair, and compelled the enemy to retreat to the heights. In the beginning of the action, sir David Baird, an officer justly distinguished by his bravery and eminent services in the cause of his country, received a wound in the arm, which rendered instant amputation necessary. Sometime after, general sir John Moore was wounded by a shot in the shoulder, of which he died before midnight. He fell in the flower of his age, but he fell crowned with laurels. Like Wolfe, Abercrombie, and Nelson, he expired in the arms of victory; and like theirs, his name and memory will ever be dear to his country. Several other officers of distinguished rank and merit fell on that memorable day. In this unfortunate expedition, the British army lost all its ammunition and magazines, and five or six thousand men. Even a large portion of the military chest, to the amount of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars was thrown from a precipice, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The action ended about five in the evening. After general Moore had received the wound of which he died, the command of the British troops devolved on general Hope, who completed the victory, and with great ability directed the embarkation, which recommenced about ten o'clock on the evening of the battle, and before the morning of the 18th was completely effected, with a celerity of which there are few examples. Corunna capitulated soon after the departure of the army, and the French also obtained possession of Ferrol, Bilboa, St. Andero, and all the most important places on the northern coast of Spain. (1)

LETTER VII.

State of affairs in the north of Europe, A. D. 1808.—Russia and Denmark attack Sweden.—Extravagant conduct of the King Gustavus IV.—His dethronement.—Is succeeded by the duke of Sudermania, Charles XIII.—The Pops refuses the dictation of Napoleon, who arrests him and has him conveyed captive to Avignon.—Austria takes advantage of the Peninsular war, and resumes hostilities against France.—Battles of Eckmuhl and Esling.—Vienna a second time occupied by the French.—Battle of Wagram.—Peace again concluded at Vienna, 14th October, 1809.

It was a fortunate circumstance for the emperor of France, that Russia had remained faithful to the alliance and the engagements of Tilsit. The emperor Alexander was then in a fit of enthusiasm and affection for this powerful and extraordinary mortal, Napoleon, who, before he ventured to lead his forces into Spain, wishing to assure himself that all was secure in the North, had an interview with Alexander at Erfurth, on the 27th of September, 1808, when the two masters of the west and the north guaranteed the repose and the submission of Europe. Napoleon then marched into Spain,

(1) Southey's History of the war in the Peninsula.—History of the war in the Peninsula, under Napoleon, by General Foy.—Recollections in the Peninsula, &c. &c.—London Gazette, and Annual Register.

as mentioned in my former letter, and Alexander took upon himself the care of Sweden. Among other arbitrary stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, it was resolved that the king of Sweden should be compelled to exclude all British vessels from his harbours;—a demand which the Russian minister insisted upon was supported by former compacts among the northern powers, by which they had agreed to an union of strength in the defence of the Baltic. The king, however, replied that these compacts had ceased to be in force, and he would only promise to prevent the British court from sending ships of war into that sea.

It was not, however, merely the subserviency of Alexander to the views of his new ally, by which his Swedish majesty was aggrieved, but also his desire of adding the whole province of Finland to his immense empire, and this prompted him to order an invasion of his Swedish territories. For the defence of Finland against this powerful enemy, Gustavus sent an army of ten thousand men into the field, with six thousand more to garrison Sweaborg, the Gibraltar of the north. Two of the frontier posts were not tamely yielded even to the great superiority of the assailing force. The Russians endeavoured to prevent the northern troops from joining those of the south; but the valour of the Swedes so far prevailed as to effect the desired union, and to check the advance of the enemy. Resenting keenly the hostile conduct of the Russian emperor, which had not even been preceded by a declaration of war, Gustavus gave orders for the confinement of the Russian minister at his court, as well as the consul, and threatened to banish from Sweden every subject of the Russian emperor. And as he suspected the intentions of the court of Denmark, he demanded from count Moltke, the ambassador, an explanation of the views of his sovereign. The answer was a declaration of war, in which the king's connivance at the attack upon Copenhagen was pointedly censured, and his renewal of alliance with a power which could coolly perpetrate such an act of outrageous injustice was severely condemned. He denied the former charge, though he evidently approved the aggression; and he retorted the accusation of interested subserviency to Great Britain by a reference to the implicit dependence of Denmark upon Russia.

As the danger to which Sweden was exposed would be very inadequately repelled by the unassisted force of that nation, the king addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, stating that he was attacked on every side because he was the friend of England, and requesting, in addition to the stipulated subsidy of one million two hundred thousand pounds, which by a new treaty he was to receive from this country, for employing his whole army and a part of his fleet, during one year against France or her allies, he might receive speedy and more powerful assistance. A promise of succour was readily given; and it was resolved that ten thousand men should be sent under the command of sir John Moore. The conditions, however, which were annexed to this grant of aid, were not altogether agreeable to the views and wishes of Gustavus. They were to be recalled at pleasure; to have as little connexion as possible with the Swedish army; to be entirely under the command of their own general; and not to advance farther from the coast, than would give them the opportunity of communicating with the fleet of Great Britain which conveyed them to the Baltic. But instead of confining their operations to the defence of Sweden, the king wished to employ them in the conquest of Norway, or in an attack on Copenhagen. Sir John Moore arrived at Gottenburg on the 17th of May, 1808, and immediately proceeded to Stockholm to concert measures of co-operation with the Swedish troops. He there found that the king, though with means very insufficient even for defence, was nevertheless bent on conquest; and refusing to concur in some of his extravagant plans, as being contrary to his instructions, the monarch's resentment was roused against him to such a pitch, that he was obliged to escape in disguise, and he brought back his troops without landing them.

The Russians had, in the month of March, taken possession of Abo, the capital of Finland, and declared its annexation to the Russian empire; they now directed all their force by sea and land against the fortress of Sweaborg,

and so feeble was the defence which was made of it, that it induced a suspicion of treachery. The naval force in the harbour was included in the capitulation, under the singular condition that it should be restored to Sweden whenever England restored the fleet of Denmark! The Russians also made descents on the islands of Gothland and Aland, and an engagement between the flotillas of the two powers ended to the disadvantage of the Swedes.

In Finland an armistice was concluded on the 27th of September, which consigned the greatest part of the province to the possession of Russia. The king of Sweden on this gave vent to his anger and chagrin, and broke his guards to the number of four thousand, on account of their behaviour, thus throwing a stigma on many of the first families in the kingdom. A convention was afterwards entered into, by which Finland was continued in the occupation of the Russians, on condition of the unmolested retreat of the remaining Swedish troops.

Notwithstanding the ruinous condition of the Swedish army and finances, with the loss of Finland and Pomerania, the king of Sweden, with what his subjects deemed insensate obstinacy, and the British ministry "the most honourable firmness," persisted in the war, until at length the ancient spirit of the Swedes awoke from its slumber. On the morning of the 13th of March, 1809, as the king was preparing to leave Stockholm for his country residence, he was suddenly arrested in his own palace by general Aldercreutz. He drew his sword in a rage but was instantaneously overpowered, and sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Drotningholm, near the capital. The duke of Sudermania immediately issued a proclamation declaring the deposition of the king from an incapacity to exercise the regal functions.

The Diet assembled in May, when an act of abdication, signed by Gustavus IV. was produced, and a decree was in consequence passed to the effect, that he and his issue, born and not born, were for ever excluded from the throne of Sweden. A new constitution was framed, by which the sacred rights of the nation were restored, and the duke of Sudermania, with united heart and voice, elected king, under the title of Charles XIII.; and the latter being without children, Christian Augustus, a prince of the house of Holstein, was declared presumptive heir of the crown. A treaty of peace followed, on the 17th of September, with Russia, by which the whole of Finland, and that valuable portion of Bothnia bounded by the Torneo, with the isle of Aland, were ceded to Russia. British ships, with certain exceptions, were excluded from the Swedish ports. The deposed monarch was soon after this liberated from his state of confinement, and on the wise and generous recommendation of his successor, an ample provision was made for his maintenance on condition of fixing his residence in Switzerland, to which he readily and even gratefully acceded, contenting himself with the title of count Gottorp. An accommodation between Sweden and France took place in December 1809, in consequence of which the former recovered Pomerania and the isle of Rugen.

The peace of Tilsit had completely extended the French domination over the continent of Europe. Prussia was reduced by one half. Napoleon had instituted in the south of Germany the two kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, against the power of Austria. He created still more in advance, in the north, the two feudatory kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia as a counterpoise to Prussia. That of Saxony was formed of the electorate of that name and of Prussian Poland, erected into the grand duchy of Warsaw: that of Westphalia comprised the states of Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Fulda, Paderborn, the greatest part of Hanover, and was given to Jerome Buonaparte. The emperor Alexander, who subscribed to all these arrangements, evacuated Moldavia and Wallachia; Russia remained the only power untouched, though scathed. Napoleon followed more and more the steps of Charlemagne, he had caused, on the day of his coronation, the crown, the sword, and the sceptre of Charlemagne to be carried before him. A pope had passed the Alps to concentrate his dynasty, and he modelled his states upon the vast empire of this conqueror. The object of the revolution had been to re-establish ancient liberty; Napoleon restored the military hierar-

chy of the middle age ; it had made citizens, he made vassals—it had changed Europe into republics, he transformed it into fiefs. Powerful and energetic as he was, and appearing upon the stage after a shock which had shaken the world to its centre, and perfectly paralysed it, he was able to arrange it for a season as he pleased. Thus the “great empire” grew up ; at home with its system of administration, which replaced the government of the assemblies—its special courts—its lyceums, where the military education was substituted for the republican education of the central colleges—its hereditary noblesse, which completed in 1808, the re-establishment of inequality—its civil discipline, which rendered France as obsequious as an army—abroad, with its secondary kingdoms, its confederated states, its grand fiefs, and its supreme chief. Napoleon no longer experienced any resistance, and his commands were obeyed from one extremity of the continent of Europe to the other. The Imperial power was at this moment at its maximum. Napoleon now employed all his activity to create maritime resources, capable of balancing the power of England, which alone resisted his will, and which had then eleven hundred vessels of war of every description. He formed harbours, fortified the coasts, built ships, and prepared every thing for struggling in a few years, on this new field of battle. But at this epoch was manifested the first opposition to the domination of the emperor, and to the continental system. The principle of re-action now manifested itself, simultaneously in three countries, hitherto the allies of France, and it gave rise to a fifth coalition, to which permit me now to direct your attention.

As if to manifest his contempt of all the powers of Europe, the emperor of France, at this time gave an extraordinary proof of confidence in the plenitude of his power. By a decree of the senate, the fortresses of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, all on the right bank of the Rhine, and Flushing at the mouth of the Scheldt were annexed to the French empire. And as though this were not sufficient to mark his defiance of all the potentates whom he had subdued or gained over to his interests, he published the following decree, in May, 1808. “Whereas the temporal sovereign of Rome has refused “to make war against England, and the interest of the two kingdoms of “Italy and of Naples, ought not to be intercepted by a hostile power ; and “whereas the donation of Charlemagne, *our illustrious predecessor*, of the “countries which form the holy see, was for the good of Christianity, and “not for that of the enemies of our holy religion :—we therefore decree, “that the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macevata, and Camerino be for ever “united to the kingdom of Italy : to which kingdom, all cardinal prelates “and natives of these districts are commanded to return by the 5th of June, “on pain of confiscation of goods.” This singular effusion of undisguised despotism called forth a declaration from the Pope, in which he calmly but forcibly maintained the rights of his See, and solemnly protested against the intended spoliation. This, however, did not prevent the entry of a French army, which took possession of all the strong places in the ecclesiastical territories. And this was followed by the annexation of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany to the French empire, under the appellation of the Taro, the Arno &c., so that the kingdom of Italy was now guarded on every side by the empire of France.

The papal protest was, after the lapse of some months, enforced by a sentence of excommunication against the authors and instruments of the act of spoliation. This was productive of new violence on the part of Napoleon—that dutiful son of the church ! In the following year, the pope was brought as a captive to Avignon ; a provisional government was established in the ecclesiastical states : the inquisition was abolished ; many temporal and spiritual abuses were abrogated ; and various civil and judicial reforms introduced. Rome itself, wonderfully improved and embellished in the hands of Napoleon, was declared the second city of the empire, and empowered to send seven members to the legislative body ; and a deputation arriving from thence at Paris, presented an address of homage, to which he replied in the style and language of an emperor of the West. The Neapo-

Italian crown, vacated by Joseph Buonaparte, was conferred on marshal Murat, duke of Berg, who took the title of Joachim I. The succession of the kingdom of Italy was also at this time settled on Eugene Beauharnois, the viceroy, stepson of Napoleon, whose mild and beneficent government had made him almost adored in Lombardy.

Soon after the battle of Corunna, as mentioned in my last letter, the emperor Napoleon set out on his return to France. Austria had seized the opportunity of his absence and that of his army, and resolving on one more powerful effort, levied a hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehending the landwehr, and began the campaign in the spring of 1809. The Tyrolese rose in rebellion; king Jerome was expelled by the Westphalians; Italy was wavering, and Prussia waited only a reverse in the fortunes of Napoleon once more to take up arms. But the emperor was still in the vigour of life, and in the spring-tide of his prosperity. In the month of March, orders were issued for the French armies to recross the Rhine. The troops of Austria were at the same time marshalled under the archduke Charles, as commander-in-chief. On the side of Italy, the viceroy, Eugene Beauharnois collected a numerous army. Early in April, the Austrians passed the Isar near Shcarding, on which the king of Bavaria quitted his capital and retired to Augsburg. On the 18th, Napoleon arrived at Ingolstadt, and the campaign commenced. The first considerable action took place at Ebensberg, where the archduke Louis was surprised, and his division of troops dispersed or destroyed. In the mean time, the grand army under the command of the archduke Charles took possession of Ratisbon, making the French garrison prisoners of war. On the 22nd of April the two armies met at Echmuhl. The battle commenced at two in the afternoon, and was long and obstinate; but towards evening the Austrians were driven from their positions in confusion, and the darkness alone rescued them from ruin. The vanquished attempted to take refuge under the walls of Ratisbon, but the city was forced by the French with great slaughter, and the Austrians precipitately retreated to the left bank of the Danube. Napoleon following the course of the river, advanced rapidly to Vienna, into which capital, on the 10th of May, he once more entered as conqueror, the emperor Francis having previously retired to Moravia. From Vienna Napoleon issued a proclamation inviting the Hungarians to shake off for ever the yoke of the house of Austria; assuring them, that under the sanction of France they might preserve their territory inviolate, and either regain their ancient liberty or modify it according to their judgment. But, from the auspicious era of the empress Maria Theresa, the policy of Austria respecting Hungary had been entirely changed, and this call upon them produced no effect.

The archduke Charles, having collected his scattered troops, now proceeded by forced marches towards Vienna, hoping to save that capital; but finding that it was already in the possession of the French he moved down the northern bank of the Danube, and took a position between Vienna and Presburg. In the mean time the French army proceeded along the southern bank, purposing to cross the river two leagues below Vienna, the stream being there broken by two islands. Having constructed proper bridges, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters on the farther and larger island which was called Lobau, thence by a third bridge communicating with the northern bank. Meeting no interruption, he chose a position for his army, the right wing extending to the village of Ealing, the left to Asperna. At day-break on the 21st of May, the archduke appeared on a rising ground opposite to the enemy, separated only by an extensive plain. A battle ensued, and the contest was obstinate and bloody. Towards evening the French had been driven from Asperna, but still retained possession of Ealing. During the engagement the archduke had sent fire-ships which succeeded in destroying the bridges communicating with the southern bank. On the next day the conflict was renewed with additional fury. At length the Austrian's left under general Belling, gained the right flank of the enemy, who then retreated towards the Danube; and on the following night recrossed the river to Lobau. The Austrians confessed to the loss of twenty thousand

men in these battles of Ealing, but they could boast of having captured eight thousand prisoners. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was immense, and among the slain was marshal Lasnes, duke of Montebello, much regretted by his comrades in arms; he had acquired by his heroism the appellation of the Orlando of the French army.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed on the situation of Napoleon, who, it was generally supposed, was thus reduced to a most perilous plight:—shut up with his main force in an island of the Danube, a victorious army facing him on the opposite bank, and the Austrians masters of the navigation of the river: and in this state, for several weeks, a scene of total and surprising inaction ensued. In other places, however, the contest was far from languishing. At this critical juncture the inhabitants of the Tyrol, who in courage and loftiness of spirit much resembled the Swiss and Grisons, were roused to action. They had indignantly seen themselves transferred from the government of Austria, which had always respected their privileges, to the despotic dominion of Bavaria. Scarcely had the archduke Charles commenced the campaign, when the Tyrolese rose in arms, under their heroic countryman, Hoffer, who without having been bred to the profession, displayed wonderful military talents. And though, subsequent to the battle of Eckmuhl, the duke of Dantzig (marshal le Febvre) and the Bavarian general Wrede, were sent to reduce the country, and prosecuted a savage warfare with that intent, the Tyrolese persevered with unconquerable valour in its defence; and on the recall of le Febvre, after the battle of Esling, these enraged mountaineers retaliated by destructive inroads into Bavaria.

In the north of Germany also a strong disposition to rise in opposition to the tyranny of France at this time manifested itself. Colonel Schill an officer late in the Prussian service, raised the standard of independence at Luneburg, and was joined by considerable numbers; but he was opposed and overpowered by a far superior force under Jerome Buonaparte. He then retired to Stralsund, in which place he sustained a siege, and lost his life in the defence of it. The duke of Brunswick, too, whose efforts, combined with those of Schill and supported by Great Britain, might have been attended with the happiest results, took up arms when the cause was hopeless, and after some temporary success, found himself compelled towards the end of August to embark on board a British squadron which was cruising at the mouth of the Weser. In Poland, the archduke Ferdinand being resisted by a very inferior force under prince Poniatowski, nephew to the late king Stanislaus, and whose great qualities made him the object of his country's secret hope and warm attachment, took possession of Warsaw, but was recalled in consequence of the early disasters of the Austrian arms. The Russians then joining the Poles, occupied nearly the whole of the Austro-Polish provinces; but the emperor Alexander shewed no disposition to push the war with vigour. In Italy, where the archduke John commanded, the first operations of the Austrians were also successful, and he captured the cities of Padua and Vicenza; but, subsequent to the battle of Eckmuhl, he was also recalled to the defence of Austria. In his retreat, the archduke was closely followed by prince Eugene Beauharnois, who obtained several advantages over him; and on the auspicious anniversary of the battle of Marengo, the two armies coming to a general engagement near Raab in Hungary, the Austrians were totally defeated, and that great bulwark of the kingdom fell into the hands of the enemy.

During the interval of dread repose which succeeded the battle of Esling, all the demonstrations of the French seemed to be pointed against that position, which was, in the expectation of attack, rendered almost impregnable by redoubts and intrenchments. But on the night of the 4th of July, a bridge of vast dimensions was thrown across the river, with almost magical expedition and skill, opposite the left wing of the Austrians stationed at Wagram. Early next morning the whole French army had crossed the river, and appeared in the order of battle. Thus surprised and disconcerted the

archduke Charles spent the day in manœuvring and altering his dispositions. On the 6th of July, at sun-rise, the long expected contest commenced. The French in great force attacked the centre of the Austrian army, and broke the first line by the impetuosity of their charge; but the gallant archduke exerted himself at this critical moment with such spirit and address, that the Austrians rallied, and compelled their adversaries to retreat behind a small river. Night put an end to the engagement, and the French, without just pretensions, claimed the victory. During the night, the Austrians, by an unnecessary extension of their line, occupied the country from Stammorsdorf to Neusiedel. Their general had formed a scheme of concurrent attack upon both flanks of the enemy, in the hope of cutting off the communication with the Danube; but there was not sufficient time to carry into effect all the arrangements that were necessary for this purpose; and that division which had received orders before the rest could be instructed and prepared, suffered severely by a premature attack upon the right wing of the French army. It had been expected that the archduke John would be able to take part in the action; but it was not prudent to depend upon his opportune arrival. The central body passed through Wagram, and had a long contest for the possession of Aderkla which was eventually secured by the Austrians, who, forming two lines in its front, drove the French back upon Raschdorf, spreading disorder through that part of the field in which Napoleon was more especially engaged. In the mean time a part of the Austrian right which had moved towards Asperna found that village and a neighbouring wood occupied by the enemy, but a dislodgment was effected with little difficulty, and the French were pursued to their *tête-de-pont* on the banks of the Danube. The deficiency of cavalry prevented a due advantage from being taken of the retrograde movements of the French centre; and the same disparity was highly unfavourable to the Austrian left, which after being recalled from its attack, could not, even with the aid which it received from the centre, secure itself from being seriously out flanked, or permanently defend Neusiedel against the vigorous assaults of Davoust. The ill success of this corps made an unfavourable impression upon other parts of the Austrian line. The centre, being exposed to a new and formidable attack, gradually retreated; and the right, threatened with the danger of being cut off by the columns marching along the river, evacuated the posts which had been recently seized, and concurred in those movements of timidity or of indecision which not only inspired the French with the confident hope of victory, but gave them a right to claim it, though it is but due to Napoleon to add, in this place, that he afterwards confessed to his friends at St. Helena, that his victory at Wagram was *less decisive* than any of the others on which he plumed himself.

The Austrians having retreated to Znaim, in Moravia, they were followed by Napoleon, who there received from the emperor Francis a proposal to treat for peace, and an armistice was acceded to, on the surrender of several fortresses. The armistice was continued from time to time till the month of October, when a definitive treaty was concluded between the two powers, and signed at the palace of Schonbrun, the head-quarters of Napoleon. The conditions of the treaty proved much less unfavourable than might have been expected from the forlorn and hopeless condition of Austria, whose armies were now dispersed and all but ruined. To Bavaria, the emperor Francis was obliged to yield the important territory of Salzburg, with other districts in the vicinity. To France were ceded Fiume and Trieste, with the entire line of coast connecting the dominions of France on both sides of the Adriatic. In Poland the king of Saxony obtained, in addition to the provinces constituting the duchy of Warsaw, the western Galicia, with the city of Cracow. Another portion of Austrian Poland was assigned to Russia, which had derived advantages from the misfortunes of every other nation. The title of Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain, was recognized. The Tyrolese were abandoned to their fate; that heroic people still maintaining an unavailing resistance. At length, overwhelmed rather

than vanquished, and was put to hostilities in that quarter, and the blood-stained triumph of Bavaria was crowned by the barbarous execution of the patriot Hoffer. (1)

LETTER VIII.

Review of the affairs of England, 1809—10.—Treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Spain.—Parliamentary proceedings.—Charges against the duke of York.—Expedition to the isle of Walcheren.—Dissentions in the British cabinet.—Violent agitations of party.—Brilliant exploits of the British Navy.—Dispute with the United States.

BEFORE we resume the narrative of the peninsular war, which, from the period at which we are arrived, became a prominent object in the political events of Europe, I must detain you a moment, my dear Philip, while we take a cursory survey of the domestic occurrences of our own country. The British parliament was convened for the dispatch of public business on the 19th of January, 1809. The speech from the throne, which was delivered by commission, adverted to an overture for peace which the emperor of France had tendered from Erfurt, in relation to which his majesty expressed his persuasion that the two houses would participate in the feelings expressed in his declaration on the occasion which should be laid before them. He informed them that his engagements with Spain were now reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance. The peculiar claim of the king of Sweden to his majesty's support was insisted on; and the vigorous prosecution of the war earnestly recommended. Some very animated debates ensued on this occasion in both houses of parliament. The assistance afforded to Sweden; the expedition to Portugal; the convention of Cintra; the disasters of Spain; and the American embargo, which had now been confirmed by a non-intercourse bill passed in the new congress, prohibiting the entrance of the ports of the United States to all vessels belonging to Great Britain or France, or to any of the countries under their influence, and adhering either to the Berlin decree or the British orders in council;—all these topics were brought forward and furnished materials for debate and discussion.

The debates on the affairs of Portugal and Spain took precedence in point of curiosity and interest. The earls of St. Vincent, Grenville and Moira, reprobated the idea of sending an army to Portugal when Spain was at stake. "In Spain," said lord Moira, "must be fought the battle of British independence. The fall of Spain must involve in its train, the fall of this country. Had the British government sent out in due time a proper person to concert measures with the Spanish people, and amicably to explain the motives upon which the British nation wished to act towards Spain, the Spaniards would never have refused to accept the aid of troops from England." Lord Grenville asserted that "it was only in the north of Spain, and on the borders of the Pyrenees, that a British force could have acted with effect. After the French had been driven from Madrid, and had retired to the frontiers, a British army had been sent to the north of Spain before the French had received reinforcements, they probably might have been driven through the Pyrenees, those passes forced, and the keys of their country put into the hands of the Spaniards." Lord St. Vincent pointedly condemned the plan of debarking troops in the extremity of the South, which were designed to act in the North. In answer to all these and similar complaints, lord Hawkesbury declared that the sending of a British force to Portugal in preference to Spain, was a measure adopted in compliance with the representations of the Spanish juntas; and Mr. Can-

(1) London Gazette.—Military Panorama.—Austrian account given in the Supplement to the London Gazette of July 11th, 1809.—Der Krieg der Tyroler Landeute, von J. S. L. Bartholdy.

ning, in the lower house, endeavoured to justify the principle on which his majesty's ministers had acted, by a development of the state of Spain at the commencement of the grand insurrection. "When the whole Spanish nation," said he, "rose unanimously, and with a concert almost miraculous, the consequence was, the sudden creation of various local authorities, acknowledging no head: jealous, watchful, and extremely suspicious of any attempt on the part of one to obtain ascendancy over the other. The supreme central junta was not established until the last week in September." To these circumstances Mr. Canning ascribed the direction of the expedition, and the delay of the advance of the British army from Portugal.

A very considerable portion of the present session of Parliament now became occupied with a most extraordinary investigation into the conduct of his royal highness, the duke of York, generalissimo of the British army, of which a regard to impartiality seems to demand that some notice should be taken. So early as the 27th of January, colonel Wardle, an officer of the militia service, and member of parliament, had publicly asserted the existence of a system of abuse in the military department, over which the royal duke presided. The substance of the charge was, that an intriguing female, whose name was Mary Anne Clarke, who during several years had been a favourite with his royal highness, but who was then discarded, had carried on a traffic in commissions, not only with the knowledge, but also the participation of the commander-in-chief; and he concluded by moving for a committee of inquiry.

The introduction of the subject gave rise to a considerable discussion, and when various observations had been offered by different members, Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, to the surprise and regret of the more considerate members, proposed that the inquiry should take place in a committee of the whole house, which was accordingly carried. This ill-advised measure gave occasion to some of the most indecent scenes ever witnessed in that assembly. The daring evidence of Mrs. Clarke was corroborated from various quarters, and fully proved the fact of her own profligate traffic. That she had actually received sums of money for her interest in obtaining promotions and other appointments, was proved beyond all reasonable doubt; but the duke's knowledge of her transactions, and participation in her gains, were circumstances, the proof of which depended chiefly on the testimony of Mrs. Clarke herself.

The defenders of his royal highness were, for the most part, members of the administration and the crown lawyers; whereas, on the other side, were many of the most independent members, who did not always vote with the opposition. Testimonies the most respectable, however, were given by several distinguished persons to the excellence of the duke's general conduct in his high office, and the improvements which the military system had received under his management. Nor was it alledged against him that in any of the instances adduced, promotion had been bestowed on the undeserving, or, yet, that any pecuniary consideration had been actually received by the commander-in-chief. On the 23d of February, his royal highness addressed a letter to the speaker of the house of commons, in which he not only denied all personal participation, but the slightest knowledge of these abuses, adding, that, if upon such evidence as had been adduced against him, the house of commons could think his innocence questionable, he claimed of their justice that he should not be condemned without trial, nor be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every British subject, by those sanctions under which alone evidence is received by the ordinary administration of the laws.

It now became necessary to put an end to these anomalous proceedings, or to frame regular articles of impeachment. With a view to the first alternative, Mr. Perceval on the 17th of March, moved a resolution, that the house having examined the evidence, and having found that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, had been imputed to the duke of York, were of opinion that the imputation was wholly unfounded,—which was carried by two hundred and seventy-eight against one hundred and

ninety-six votes. But though the general conduct of his royal highness as commander-in-chief was not denied to be highly meritorious, the current of national opinion was so adverse, and the public indignation at the discoveries which had transpired so vehement, and so plainly indicated in the numerous addresses presented to colonel Wardle, that the royal duke found it expedient to resign his high office, which was transferred to the hands of sir David Dundas. On the notice of this resignation, a final resolve passed, "that under existing circumstances the house did not think it necessary to proceed farther with the minutes of evidence taken before the committee," which was carried by a large majority. Thus terminated a discussion which, whatever may be thought of its origin, was rendered important in its progress by the unusual interest taken in it throughout the country, and the freedom of debate with which it was conducted; and if its issue be regarded as a proof of the preponderating influence of the ministers in parliament, it also furnishes demonstrative evidence, that the most elevated rank cannot, under the British constitution, shelter abuses from detection, or protect those concerned in them from the effects of the public displeasure. During this ferment of the public mind, a charge of corruption, though of a very different nature, was brought against lord Castlereagh. While that nobleman presided at the India board, he had been complimented by the company with the disposal of a writership; and being desirous of a seat in parliament for a friend, he was recommended to a "trafficking broker," who professed to be able to obtain one as an equivalent for the writership. With this man and for this purpose, lord Castlereagh most imprudently assented to an interview. But the writership, estimated by good judges at three thousand guineas, being a certainty, and the seat in reversion a great uncertainty, the treaty broke off. Though trafficking for seats in parliament was a practice of common occurrence, it was confessedly unconstitutional; and the requisite attention to decorum would not permit any individual occupying a high and responsible office to be personally concerned in any such transaction. Lord Castlereagh, in his defence, disclaimed being actuated by any corrupt motive, or the exertion of any official influence, though he much regretted that he had inadvertently been led to converse on such a subject with such a man as Reding. He further added, that if the house deemed the action, or rather intention, which was all that the accusation amounted to, unparliamentary, he should bow to any censure which he might be thought to deserve.

A resolution of censure was accordingly moved by lord Archibald Hamilton, on the 25th of April, which gave rise to a long debate. But as the offence was only contemplated, and attended with palliating circumstances, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, in voting for which, Mr. Canning took occasion to remark, "that he would by no means be understood in giving his vote, as thereby pronouncing the case submitted to them as not of very serious importance." This opinion, having apparently more weight than the vote, the order of the day was negatived, and Mr. Canning himself moved "that the house, on considering the whole of the case, saw no necessity for a criminating resolution," which was carried by a majority of two hundred and fourteen to one hundred and sixty-seven voices. Before the close of the session, Mr. Curwen obtained leave to bring in a bill for securing the independence and purity of parliament, by preventing the obtaining of seats by improper means; and also to extend the laws against bribery. While the bill was in progress, the speaker of the house of commons made a strong appeal in its favour. "The question," said this distinguished personage, "is no less than this: whether seats in this house shall henceforth be publicly saleable? A proposition, at the sound of which, our ancestors would have startled with indignation; but a practice, which in these days, and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of parliament, has been avowed and justified. If we forbear to reprobate this traffic, we give it legality and sanction. That it is a parliamentary offence, every page of our history,

"our statutes, and our journals, bear evidence." The bill, after various modifications, passed by a small majority.

In defiance, however, of these domestic feuds, and disgraceful scenes, the exertions of England, at this period, were of a nature and upon a scale to surprise the world. It seemed as if her flag literally overwhelmed the whole seas on the coasts of Italy, Spain, the Ionian islands, and the Baltic sea. Wherever there was the least show of resistance to the yoke of Napoleon, the assistance of England was appealed to and as promptly afforded. In Spain, particularly, the British troops led by a general whose name now began to be weighed against those of the ablest of the French commanders, displayed their accustomed gallantry under auspices which no longer permitted it to evaporate in actions of mere eclat. Yet the British administration, while they had thus embraced a broader and more adventurous, and indeed a far wiser system of conducting the war, nevertheless evinced in one very important instance, that they were not free from the ancient prejudices which had so long rendered the energies of the country almost useless to the liberties of the world. The general principle was indeed adopted, that the expeditions of Britain should be directed where they could most benefit the cause of Europe, and most injure the interests of Buonaparte; but it was not difficult to perceive a spirit of national selfishness pervading their councils and mingling itself with their proceedings. Besides the forces already in the Peninsula, Great Britain had the means of disposing of forty thousand men, with a fleet of thirty-five ships of the line, and twenty frigates to assist on any point where their services might be useful. Such an armament on the coast of Spain might have brought to an early issue the long and sanguinary contest in that country, saved much British blood which the protracted war wasted, and struck a blow, the effects of which, like the battle of Trafalgar, Napoleon might have felt on the banks of the Danube. Such an armament, if sent to the north of Germany prior to the destruction of Schill and the defeat of the duke of Brunswick's enterprise, might have been the means of placing all the northern provinces in active opposition to France, by an effort for which the state of the public mind was already prepared. A successful action would even have given spirits to Prussia, and induced that depressed kingdom to resume the struggle for her independence. In fact, Britain might have had the honour of kindling the same flame, which, when excited by Russia in 1813, was the means of destroying the French influence in Germany, and breaking up the confederation of the Rhine. But, unhappily, neither of these important objects seemed to the planners of this enterprise to be connected in a manner sufficiently direct, with objects exclusively interesting to Britain. It was therefore agreed that the expedition should be sent against the strong fortresses, swampy isles, and dangerous coasts of the Netherlands, in order to seek for dock-yards to be destroyed, and ships to be carried off. Antwerp was particularly aimed at; but although Napoleon attached great importance to the immense naval yards and docks which he had formed in the Scheldt, yet, when weighed with the danger and difficulty of an attack upon them, the object of destroying them seems to have been very inadequate. Besides, before Antwerp could be attacked, the islands of Beveland and Walcheren were to be taken possession of, and a long amphibious course of hostilities was to be maintained, to enable the expedition to reach the point where alone great results were expected.

Early in the month of May, 1809, preparations commenced for fitting out this expedition, and towards the end of July, an army of forty thousand men was collected, to be assisted by a fleet of thirty-nine sail of the line, and thirty-six frigates, besides numerous gun-boats, bomb vessels, and small craft. The command of the whole armament was entrusted to the earl of Chatham, son of the great minister of that name, who, far from inheriting the talents of his father, was signalized by nothing so much as a spirit of inactivity and procrastination, the consequences of which had been felt in all the public offices which he held, and which therefore were likely to be

peculiarly fatal in an expedition requiring the utmost celerity and promptitude of action. The armament set sail on the 28th of July, and on the 1st of August invested Flushing. A tremendous cannonade and bombardment commenced on the 13th, which two days afterwards produced from general Monnet, the commander of the garrison, a request for a suspension of arms. This was followed by a surrender of the place, with its garrison consisting of about five thousand men who were sent to England prisoners of war. But here terminated the success of the British. The French, who had at first been much alarmed, had time to recover from their consternation. Fouché, then at the head of the police in Paris, and it may be said of the government, being then minister of the interior, lost no time in collecting and getting under arms about forty thousand national guards, to replace the regular soldiers, of which the low countries had been drained. The command was given to Bernadotte, now created prince of Ponte Corvo, who availed himself of the time afforded by the English, to put Antwerp into a complete state of defence, and to assemble within and under its walls more than thirty thousand men. The country was inundated by opening the sluices; strong batteries were erected on both sides of the Scheldt, and to ascend that river became almost impossible. In addition to all this the spirit of discord began to manifest itself between the British naval and military officers. The troops likewise were becoming very sickly, from their position in these low and marshy grounds, in the most unhealthy season of the year. The final objects of the expedition were therefore abandoned; and on the 14th of September, lord Chatham was induced to depart for England, with the greatest part of his army. The remainder were left to keep possession of Walcheren, for the purpose of blocking up the Scheldt, and affording an inlet for British commerce into Holland where the people were well disposed to admit colonial produce and other commodities. To the troops, however, this determination was extremely fatal. Among the marshes, stagnant canals, and unwholesome trenches of the island of Walcheren, there constantly broods a fever of a deeply pestilential and malignant kind, and which, like most maladies of the same description is more destructive to strangers than to the natives, whose constitutions become by habit proof against its ravages. This dreadful disease broke out among the British troops with the force of a pestilence, and numbers died on the spot, while others who escaped with life brought back with them chronic disorders, and shattered constitutions which long rendered the name of the Walcheren fever a subject of terror to Englishmen. The joy with which Napoleon saw the army of his enemy thus consigned to an obscure and disgraceful death, broke out even in his bulletins, as though the pestilence by which they fell had been caused by his own policy, and was not the consequence of the climate and the ill-advised delay which prevented the soldiers from being withdrawn from it. "We are rejoiced," said Napoleon, in a letter to the minister at war, "to see that the English have packed themselves in the monasteries of Zealand. Let them be only kept in check, and the bad air and fevers peculiar to the country will soon destroy their army." At length, after the loss of more lives than would have been wasted in three general battles, the fortifications of Flushing were blown up, and on the 23d of December, Walcheren was completely evacuated by the relics of the British army, nearly one half of which was either dead or on the sick list. Such was the termination of an expedition which after a prodigious expense, totally disappointed the public hopes and afforded a subject of mockery to the enemies of the country. But the evil did not terminate here; the mode in which it had been directed and conducted, became a source of disension in the British cabinet, and brought on a duel between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning who was severely wounded in the affray. It also occasioned the temporary secession of Mr. Canning, unquestionably the most able and eloquent of its members, who was thus withdrawn from public affairs at a moment when his talents could be least spared by his country. In some measure, however, to counteract this unhappy state of affairs, the marquis of Wellesley was appointed to the situation of secretary at war, a circumstance

which gave, in the estimation of the public, a strong pledge that the efficient measures suggested by the talents of that noble statesman, would be supported and carried through by his brother sir Arthur Wellesley, to whom alone, as a general, the army and the people began to look with hope and confidence.

In this distracted state of the cabinet, the duke of Portland thought proper to retire from his eminent station as head of the administration assigning as a reason for it his growing infirmity ; and lord Castlereagh also relinquished the seals of office as secretary at war. On the 23d of September, Mr Spencer Perceval, upon whom, in consequence of the resignation of the premier and the two secretaries, nearly the sole weight of the government now devolved, wrote to earl Grey and lord Grenville, stating that, " his majesty had authorized the earl of Liverpool (late lord Hawkesbury) " and himself, to communicate with their lordships for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration and requesting their presence in London." As under the actual circumstances of the case no such overture could have been hazarded without the determination to allow the whigs a decided lead in the combined administration, a very favourable opportunity, as was generally thought, occurred of uniting and reconciling the two great opposing parties in the state. Yet this advance was received with a coldness which can only be accounted for by calling to mind the circumstances under which they had formerly quitted office. Lord Grenville indeed repaired to town, in obedience to what he considered to be the king's pleasure ; but in his answer to Mr. Perceval dated 29th of September, he peremptorily declined the communication proposed, declaring " that it could not be " considered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle." Earl Grey, writing from his seat in Northumberland, declared " his attendance in town unnecessary, unless he had received the king's commands to " that effect." and in terms equally strong with those of lord Grenville, assured " an union with the present ministers to be, so far as regarded himself, impossible ; and that the proposed communication could lead to no " useful result." Mr. Perceval in reply explained, that " the proposal was " not for the accession of their lordships to the present administration, but " for the formation of a combined and extended one." Here the correspondence ended ; and the ministers then in office, finding themselves compelled to act with energy or resign at discretion, Mr. Perceval accepted the office of first lord of the treasury ; marquis Wellesley received the seals of the foreign department ; lord Liverpool succeeded Castlereagh as minister at war ; and the honourable Richard Rider, took the place of lord Liverpool in the home department. If the administration were injured in their popularity by the late train of events, no part of this displeasure fell upon the king, who seems to have gained upon the affections of his subjects, in proportion, as advanced years and infirmities (for he had now become almost blind) excited the feelings of commiseration in his behalf. The 25th of October 1809, being the fiftieth celebration of his accession to the throne, was distinguished throughout the united kingdom as a Jubilee, and was marked by every demonstration of loyal attachment and reverence.

Before we take our leave of the affairs of Great Britain during this trying crisis, it will be proper to glance at the success which attended her arms and councils in quarters to which we have not yet adverted. In the month of January, 1809, an expedition, under the command of general Prevost, and admiral Cochrane, appeared off the island of Martinique ; and a landing was effected on the following day. After some severe actions, in which the French were driven from various strong posts, they withdrew their troops to Fort Bourbon, which was immediately invested by the British. The place was captured on the 24th of February with little farther loss, and all resistance ceasing, the island was reduced under the dominion of his Britannic majesty. The French colony of Cayenne was, about the same time, captured by a combined force of English and Portuguese ; the former under the command of captain Yeo of the navy.

A French fleet of nine sail of the line, lying in the road of Aix, near Ro-

chelle, protected by the forts of that island, lord Cochrane, who was acting under the orders of admiral Gambier, proposed to make an attack upon, with a squadron of five ships, a few frigates, and some smaller armed vessels. Standing in with a favourable wind on the 11th of April, a boom laid across the entrance was broken through by the leading ship, on perceiving which, the greater part of the French ships slipped their cables and ran for the shore. On the following day lord Cochrane gave information by telegraph to the admiral, that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, in a situation which afforded an opportunity of destroying them. It being found, however, that the state of the wind rendered it hazardous to enter the roads, in which the water was shallow, with large ships, admiral Gambier, who had unmoored, anchored again three miles from the forts, and sent all the small vessels to the attack. Lord Cochrane, leading the way, opened a fire on a ship of fifty-six guns, which struck, and this was followed by three others of the line, which were also forced to strike; all of which were set on fire and destroyed. The other French ships being got into deep water, moved up the river Charente, where it was impracticable to molest them, but it was doubtful whether they could be again got out to sea.

Lord Collingwood, who had succeeded Nelson, in the chief command of the Mediterranean fleet, having proposed to general Stuart an expedition against the islands of Zante, Cephalonia and others, while the French were occupied with the defence of Naples, a joint force from Messina, Malta, and Corfu, was arranged for this purpose, and on the 1st of October it anchored in the bay of Zante. On the following day a capitulation was agreed on, by which all that group of islands surrendered to the British arms, and the government of the Septinsular republic was restored.

On the 23d of October, three French ships of the line and four frigates, with a convoy of about twenty vessels were descried on their passage from Toulon. Lord Collingwood directed rear admiral Martin to proceed with a squadron in chase of them; and on the 25th, off the mouth of the Rhone, two of the French ships of the line were chased on shore, and set on fire by their own crews, while a third, with a frigate, ran on shore at the entrance of the port of Cette, with little chance of being got off. The convoy mostly escaped at the time into the bay of Rosas; but on the 30th, some ships, with the boats of the fleet under orders from captain Hallowell, entering into the bay, most gallantly overcame every obstacle and all the resistance that could be made, as well from the vessels as from the castle of Rosas and the forts, and captured or destroyed the whole, though not without considerable loss. The lading of the convoy was destined for the supply of the French army in Spain.

The unhappy dispute with America still remained unadjusted. In the office of president of the United States, Mr. Jefferson, who declined a second re-election was succeeded by Mr. Maddison. The embargo, which had been severely felt from its long continuance, was repealed, and an act substituted, prohibiting all intercourse with France and England with this proviso, however, that if either nation rescinded its obnoxious decrees, the prohibition relative to that nation should cease. Mr. Erskine, the English envoy in America, was consequently empowered to promise, that if the American interdiction of July the 7th were withdrawn, the commerce of America with the French colonies should be placed on the same footing as in times of peace, the British cruisers being allowed to capture all vessels trading contrary to this restriction. But Mr. Erskine ventured also, as would seem without proper authority, to declare the orders in council rescinded from the 10th of June, 1809, on the general engagement that "an envoy extraordinary should be received by the president, with a disposition correspondent to that of his Britannic majesty." The British government, however, refused its ratification to this agreement, and the prohibitory laws were again enforced. Mr. Jackson was sent out as successor to Mr. Erskine, but his language was so offensive that congress refused to receive any communications from him, on which he withdrew from the city of Washington to New York. In my next letter, I shall resume the history of the Peninsular war.

LETTER IX.

Retrospective view of the state of parties in Spain.—Joseph Buonaparte returns to Madrid.—Second campaign in Spain and Portugal, A. D. 1809.

THE political state of Spain at the moment Napoleon first marched his armies into it, and treacherously trepanned the royal family into his toils, was unquestionably deplorable in the extreme. The subject has been briefly touched upon already, but I shall not apologise to you for introducing in this place a few additional remarks.

The emperor of France having formed the determination, not only of extending his personal influence, but also of aggrandizing his family in every possible mode, had sufficient penetration to perceive a very favourable opportunity of doing it in the existing state of the peninsula. The languor and imbecility of the Spanish government, and the evident decline of the power and vigour of that monarchy, suggested to him the idea of an usurpation, and seemed to ascertain the facility of its accomplishment. Had he been as prudent as he was ambitious, he would have remained content with the power of dictating to the court of Madrid, in the great points of war and policy; but he was desirous of securing a more complete and permanent sway, by the erection of a new dynasty. With this view, he studiously fermented the dissensions in the Spanish cabinet, and encouraged the animosities of party; and the artful activity of his emissaries, aided by the intrigues of the disaffected around the court, at length produced a crisis which was auspicious to his insidious and malignant purpose.

The pernicious influence which Godoy, the prince of Peace, had acquired over the weak mind of the king, disgusted Ferdinand, the heir apparent: and this prince more particularly resented his exclusion from all concern in the administration of public affairs. His discontent was enflamed by the insinuations of the French ambassador, Beauharnois, by whose advice he rejected the proposal of the court for a marriage with one of his relatives, the minister's sister-in-law, and secretly addressed a letter to Napoleon, offering his hand to any disengaged lady of the imperial family of France. This clandestine correspondence, and the nomination of the duke del Infantado as chief commander of the army in the event of the king's death, furnished Godoy with a pretext for accusing Ferdinand of treasonable machinations; and the latter was arrested, imprisoned, and menaced with a criminal process; but the rising indignation and murmurs of the people, and the submissive behaviour of the royal prisoner, prompted his father to order his liberation.

To secure the subserviency of the imbecile monarch and the favourite Godoy, and at the same time facilitate the seizure of the monarchy, Napoleon, on the 27th of October, 1807, concluded at Fontainebleau, a treaty for the dismemberment of Portugal. It was stipulated, that the northern division of that kingdom should be transferred to the king of Etruria, and the southern part to the prince of Peace, under the guarantee and protection of his Catholic majesty: that the middle portion should remain in sequestration, for future disposal; and that the colonial territories of the same crown should be divided between France and Spain. By a separate convention, twenty-eight thousand French troops were allowed to enter Spain, under the pretext of proceeding to Lisbon: but a much greater number, commanded by Murat; embraced the opportunity of intrusion; since, according to general Roy's statement, the French armies which entered the Peninsula prior to the 1st of June 1808, amounted to no less than one hundred and seventeen thousand men, divided into five corps-d'armes, under Junot, Dupont, Moncey, Bessieres, and Duheane, with a reserve of the imperial guard: and the numbers which thus crossed the Pyrenees were followed, before the 15th of

August, by a reinforcement of forty thousand men : making a total of one hundred and sixty thousand men.(1) This immense force, once admitted, obtained, with little difficulty, possession of some of the strongest towns. These movements filled the king with serious apprehensions that Napoleon had other objects in contemplation than the marching of a small army to Lisbon, and his fears were not removed by the progressive disclosure of the emperor's views. His envoy Isquierdo, informed him that he was expected by his powerful ally, to resign, for the benefit of the French empire, the provinces situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, in return for a more commanding influence in Portugal than was stipulated for in the late treaty. The emperor hoped to intimidate the feeble minded monarch into a retreat from his kingdom to his trans-atlantic possessions, and Charles IV. seemed disposed to copy the example lately set him by the regent of Portugal : but his subjects no sooner got intimation that such an object was in the view of the royal family than they exclaimed against it so loudly that he promised to remain with them and share their fate. Not satisfied with this assurance the malecontents of the province of Aranjuez resolved to wreck their vengeance on the obnoxious favourite Godoy, whose life, however, they spared at the intercession of Ferdinand. When he had been deprived of his power and imprisoned, Charles became dejected, and despairing of ever again reigning in tranquillity, declared his intention of resigning his crown. His son did not dissuade him from his purpose, but readily accepted the offered royalty, and was proclaimed king by the title of Ferdinand VII.(2)

Such was the posture of affairs when the armies of France, professedly entering the country as an ally, began to take possession of their fortified places, and, as mentioned in a former letter, were followed by Napoleon and his brother Joseph Buonaparte. The emperor made his entry into Madrid, and presented himself to the inhabitants of the peninsula, not as a master, but as a liberator. "I have abolished," said he, "the inquisition, which Europe and the age have denounced. Priests ought to direct the conscience, but not to exercise any external and corporeal jurisdiction over their fellow citizens. I have suppressed the feudal rights, and any one may now establish inns, ovens, mills, nets, fisheries, and give free scope to his industry. The selfishness, the wealth, and the prosperity of a small number of men, are more injurious to your agriculture than the heats of the dog-star. As there is only one God, there ought to be in one state only one law. All partial judicatures have been usurped, and are contrary to the rights of the nation : I have destroyed them The present generation may entertain various opinions : too many passions have been put in motion, but your posterity will bless me as your regenerator : they will place among the memorable days of their history, those in which I have been amongst you ; and from these days will date the prosperity of Spain."

This announcement was in itself quite sufficient to call into action all the energies of a domineering and jealous priesthood, who could not but perceive that this "liberator's" object was to undermine their influence and ruin their occupation. Spain unquestionably needed a liberator ; one who by the return of civilization, should restore them to a better condition, and infuse among them just notions of their natural rights and liberties. But in such a country as Spain, this is no more the work of a day, than was the cutting of the canal Napoleon ; and when a country is immersed in ignorance, barbarism, and poverty, covered with convents, and governed by monks, it is necessary to reform its social state before we concern ourselves about its freedom. Spain had at this time many of the distinguished friends of freedom, who understood its value, and laboured to benefit their country by its introduction among them ; but they did not relish the emperor Napoleon's method of forcing the boon upon them against their inclination, and they resisted his attempts to do so. The nation was divided into two classes, the

(1) See General Foy's history of the Peninsular War. London, 1807.

(2) Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Revolution d'Espagne, par M. Nellerde. Paris, 1814.

advocates of civil liberty, and of slavish submission to the priesthood—that of the Cortes and that of the monks; and though aiming at very different objects, they had the skill to defend themselves in common. The one was at the head of the superior and middle, the other of the lower classes, and they vied with each other in inspiring their countrymen with the sentiments of civil independence, or religious fanaticism. You will be much amused with the following catechism which was composed for the instruction of the lower orders, and commonly used by the priests at this time:—

“Tell me, my child, who art thou? A Spaniard by the grace of God.—Who is the enemy of our happiness? The emperor of the French.—How many natures has he? Two: the human and the diabolic nature.—How many emperors of the French are there? One, in three deceitful persons.—What are their names? Napoleon, Murat, and Manuel Godoy.—Which of the three is most wicked? They are all three equally wicked.—From whence did Napoleon come? From sin.—Murat? From Napoleon.—And Godoy? From the fornication of the two.—What is the spirit of the first? Pride and despotism.—Of the second? Rapine and cruelty.—Of the third? Avarice, treason and ignorance.—What are the French? Ancient Christians become heretics.—Is there any sin in putting a Frenchman to death? No, my father, we gain heaven by putting one of these dogs of heretics to death.—What punishment deserves the Spaniard who is wanting in his duty? The death and infamy of traitors.—What shall deliver us from our enemies? Confidence in each other, and in our arms.”

Such was the hostile spirit which Napoleon, who does not seem to have been properly aware of the pride and jealousy belonging to the Spanish character, had to encounter when he entered the peninsula. But he had engaged himself in a tedious and perilous enterprise, in which his whole system was at fault. He appears to have become intoxicated with the height of his elevation to such a degree, as to forget that victory did not here consist in the defeat of an army and the possession of the capital, but in the entire occupation of the territory, and in that which is still more difficult, the subjugation of the mind. Nevertheless, Napoleon was persuading himself that he should subdue this people when he was recalled to Germany by the fifth coalition, as stated in a former letter.—Let us now resume the narrative of the second campaign in the peninsula, the territory of which was defended foot by foot, and it was necessary to take the towns by assault. The British army having embarked from Corunna, the French bent all their efforts to the subjugation of Spain. The neighbourhood of Saragossa had constantly been the theatre of hostilities; and that renowned city, which had repeatedly baffled all the attempts of the enemy, was one of the first objects of his vengeance. A number of fugitives from the army of Castanos, which was defeated at Tudela, on the 23d of November, 1808, had retreated to Saragossa, and these added to its martial citizens and armed peasants from the country, composed a body of fifty thousand men, under the command of general Palafox. The siege was conducted by the duke of Montebello, one of the ablest of the French generals. On the 20th of January, 1809, the French made their grand attack.—About noon on the following day the breaches were practicable, and the assailants entered the city. General Lacoste, and a great number of their bravest officers and men fell in the assault. The determined resolution of the inhabitants, who disputed every inch of ground, and converted every house into a fortress, reduced the French to the necessity of mining and blowing up the houses. The Spaniards on their part, had recourse to countermining, and the effects of this subterraneous war were dreadfully destructive. During these terrible operations, the batteries kept up an incessant fire; and by mining and blowing up the houses as they proceeded, the French, on the 17th of February, at length became masters of the city. Not fewer than twenty thousand of its brave defenders were buried under its ruins, after a resistance to which history can scarcely furnish a parallel, and which will render the siege of Saragossa memorable to all future ages.

A series of disasters falling in rapid succession, now seemed to have sealed

the doom of Spain. An advantage gained by the duke of Albuquerque, on the 22nd of February, over a corps of French at Consevegra, was but a slender compensation for these multiplied misfortunes. The French army in Catalonia made three powerful attacks on that of Spain under general Reding. In the last of these actions, the Spanish general, after an obstinate conflict in which he was severely wounded, was, on the 12th of March, driven from his position and compelled to retire to Tarragona. Soon after this disaster general Cuesta was defeated, March the 29th, at Medellin and forced to retire to Monasterio. The patriots about this time recovered Vigo; but their casual advantages were merged in the long train of successive disasters, and the French having made themselves masters of the centre of Spain, were pushing forward the different divisions of their army towards the extremity of the kingdom.

A better understanding now began to take place between Great Britain and Portugal. General Beresford, invested by the regency with the rank of field-marshal, was most usefully employed in organizing a native force to act with the British army. The duke of Dalmatia having entered Portugal at Barga, on the 29th of March took possession of Talavera. In order to preserve his communications, that general had left a garrison at Chaves; which fortress was soon after wrested out of his hands by Don Francisco Silveira, an active and gallant officer in the Portuguese service who continued to harass the French and straiten their quarters, when, on the 22nd of April, sir Arthur Wellesley once more landed at Lisbon with a re-inforcement of British troops. Instantly repairing to Coimbra, he put himself at the head of his assembled forces, and advanced against Oporto, at the same time detaching marshal Beresford to occupy the fords of the upper Douro. Marshal Soult finding himself in danger of being insulated, judged it necessary to evacuate Oporto, and to retreat with all possible expedition into Galicia, which he did not without sustaining some loss. Marshal Victor, in the mean time, who commanded in Estremadura, after defeating the Spanish general Cuesta, at Medellin, had made himself master of Alcantara, on which the British commander returned to the south, and Victor retired to his former station at Guadiana. The operations in Galicia and the Asturias, under general Romana, were also favourable; and the French were nearly driven from these provinces.

On the 20th of July, sir Arthur Wellesley effected his junction with Cuesta at Oropesa; but Victor, aware of his danger, had by this time crossed the Tagus, at the famous bridge of Almaraz, that noble monument of Roman magnificence. The allied British and Portuguese army marched along the banks of the river towards Olalla, where Victor had his head quarters, and who had now received large re-inforcements from Madrid, led on by king Joseph in person. The British commander took an advantageous position near Talavera de la Reyna, general Cuesta's encampment on the right extending to the Tagus. Early on the morning of the 28th the enemy attacked the British in force, making a demonstration at the same time on the opposite quarter. The battle continued at intervals during the whole day, and ended in the final repulse of the enemy. The French are said to have lost on the occasion, about ten thousand men, killed or wounded, and the number of those who suffered in the British army was between five and six thousand, independent of twelve hundred Spaniards under Cuesta, either killed or wounded.

This apparent victory had not the immediate effect which might have been expected from it. The advance of Soult and Ney with twenty-five thousand men encouraged the retiring troops to a resumption of courage and ulacrity, and they seemed inclined to force the post of Talavera, which the Spanish general Cuesta occupied with his army. It was proposed that the passes of Banos and Porales should be defended; but the Spanish general was so tardy in his movements that the former position was left without succour, and Placentia was seized by the advancing enemy, whose progress intimidated the Spaniards so much that they abandoned Talavera, where fifteen hundred of the wounded were unfortunately left. Sir Arthur Wellesley, now created lord Wellington, was displeased with this movement as it exposed

the combined troops to the risk of a simultaneous attack in the front and rear ; and as he reposed little confidence in the Spaniards, and was doubtful of the practicability of a retreat in case of disaster, he resolved to make an immediate choice of a defensive position. He therefore ordered his army to cross the Tagus, at the bridge of Arcobispo, and fixed his residence at Deletosa, where he thought himself well situated for the defence of Almaraz and the lower parts of the river.

It now became daily more and more apparent that the patriotic cause in Spain was suffering greatly from the want of a regular system of co-operation, the impolitic division of military command, and the continuance of abuses and grievances in every branch of the administration ; and it gave particular uneasiness to the British government. To promote a change of system, the marquis Wellesley was instructed to visit the seat of the supreme junta, then sitting at Cadiz. He was received with politeness, and his suggestions met with respectful attention. He urged upon them the necessity of supplying the wants of the British troops, and of facilitating their progress, that they might not be obliged to quit the country. He hinted the expediency of appointing his brother, lord Wellington, who had so resolutely supported the cause of an injured nation, to the chief command of the Spanish army, which would thus be more effectually united with its allies. The native troops he said ought to be subjected to a new organization and to a more efficient discipline : public spirit ought to be more eagerly promoted ; the ruling council, being too numerous for an executive body, might prudently be diminished ; and the convocation of the Cortes ought not to be delayed. The tardiness of Spanish deliberation did not immediately adopt these prudent and useful hints : yet the wisdom of the ambassador made some impression upon the most intelligent members of the junta.

General Cuesta had presumed to remonstrate against the retreat of lord Wellington, alleging the probability of their being able to defeat the French by a strict union and concert : but his lordship was so disgusted at the conduct of the Spaniards during the late battle, that, in a letter addressed to his brother, while he acknowledged the insufficiency of his army to withstand the French without assistance, he declared it to be his opinion, that he ought to renounce all idea of co-operation with the Spanish troops. Cuesta was soon after obliged by the approach of the enemy to retreat with precipitation and loss ; and sir Robert Wilson, who had recently pushed some parties of his small corps almost to the gates of Madrid, was attacked at Banos, but did not retire until he had defended the pass for nine hours. Venegas, about the same time, had an unfortunate engagement at Almonacid. He formed an extended line, in the hope of turning the flanks of the enemy, who, deriding his efforts, penetrated the line in various parts, and totally routed his army.

While the British troops remained on the defensive, some of the Spanish generals were busily employed in re-organising their respective armies. The duke del Parque was particularly active in this service ; and his troops, posted on the heights of Tamames, found an opportunity for exertion, and in consequence of an attack from general Marchand, who endeavoured to turn their left. The retreat of the cavalry gave the assailants a temporary advantage ; but the steady valour of the infantry at length put them to flight.

Amidst these operations the conduct of the junta was the subject of much complaint. Its attempt to array the nation against the invaders was censured as feeble and inefficient : its direction of the disposable force pronounced injudicious, particularly in risking offensive operations in La Mancha : its inattention to that branch of the war which was connected with the defence of fortresses, also excited animadversion ; and many discontented politicians demanded a more systematic display of vigour and energy than the assembly had yet evinced. A small council of regency, chosen with the most deliberate discrimination, was proposed as a substitute, until the Cortes should meet ; and as this seemed to be the prevalent opinion, the members of the junta so far admitted the principle, that they named a com-

mittee of six of their number for the better enforcement of decisive measures of war and policy. They found a warm opposer of their continued authority in the marquis Romana, who not only condemned their conduct, but denied the legitimacy of their power. His exertions, being strongly supported by the remonstrances of other distinguished patriots, drew forth a manifesto, dated the 28th of October, stating the exigencies and announcing the hopes of the nation, and ordaining the convocation of a representative assembly.

In this proclamation it was stated that an absurd and feeble tyranny had paved the way for French despotism, which at first appeared with a flattering exterior, promising reform in the administration, and announcing the empire of the laws; but the Spaniards were neither so deficient in penetration to be deluded by the artifices of intriguing politicians, nor so spiritless as to submit to the mandates of tyrants. They therefore rushed into arms, and, by their patriotic enthusiasm, soon obtained the honours and rewards of victory. Instead of falling into anarchy, they re-generated and re-composed the state; and established without violence or disorder, a supreme government and a commanding authority. The central junta, while the expulsion of the enemy was its first object, attended with zeal to the removal of abuses; and as soon as the turbulence of war allowed, proclaimed the revival of the Cortes, a name which recalled ideas of legitimate and constitutional sway, connecting the rights of the people with the support of the throne. Some were of opinion, that a regency of three or five persons, without a representative body, would answer every purpose of good government; but such an administration would be accessible to the intrigues of the tyrant and his emissaries, and would not be able to enforce that general submission which the imposing authority of a national council would command. Others were inclined to maintain the preference of the different juntas, as representative bodies, to the proposed assembly; because they concluded that it would be constituted in the ancient mode so as not sufficiently to represent the people; but it was the intention of the ruling council to make such arrangements as would tend to remove this objection. The proposed convocation, it was hoped, would prove the best remedy for the disorders of the state; would call forth all the energies of the nation; confound the views of the enemy; and secure the triumph of the glorious cause of freedom and independence.

The inhabitants of Gerona, at this momentous crisis, gave a striking proof of their zeal in the cause of their country. Emulating the fame of the defenders of Saragossa, they long defied all the efforts of the enemy. They bravely sustained the most impetuous attacks and repeatedly compelled the assailants to retire. The neighbouring castle of Monjuich, though not strongly garrisoned, was defended with great bravery. Five assaults were repelled; and the besiegers were obliged to continue their operations for five subsequent weeks, before the danger of destruction could prompt the remaining occupants to retire into the city. General Blake who had twice contended with Suchet in the province of Arragon, and had not been able on either occasion to prevent his discouraged men from retreating, hoped to be more successful in an effort for the relief of Gerona, which was not then very closely invested. While one part of his army attacked the enemy at Brunolas, another division found an opportunity of entering the city, recruiting the garrison and supplying its wants. More than four months after the first investment, when three breaches had been made in the walls, the besiegers expected the speedy reduction of the place. On the 19th of September, three strong columns were sent forward to an assault, and vengeance seemed to impend over the patriotic defenders. To oppose the intended attack, Don Mariano Alvarez, the governor, made such dispositions as the time and his limited means allowed; and the breaches were guarded with great courage and indefatigable vigilance. The enemy entered at two of the openings, and penetrated to the nearest houses; but their intrusion was at the expense of their lives. Other attempts were made with equal audacity, and baffled with equal spirit. More than eight hundred of the French,

according to the Spanish account were killed; and the repulse operated for some time as a check to the invaders. As the possession of Hostalrich, and the vicinity of Blake's army, tended to prolong the defence of Gerona, general Augereau determined to possess himself of the former town and defeat general Blake; and, by the great superiority of his force, he at length succeeded in accomplishing both objects. He dislodged the Spanish corps from the heights of Brunolas, and drove them to a remote station; the gates of Hostalrich were then set on fire; the French gained admission, attacked the defenders in every street, and overwhelmed them. Precluded from further supply and hopeless of relief, Alvarez capitulated on the 10th of December, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

In the army of La Mancha, the marquis of Ariezaga had superseded Venegas in the command, and high expectations were consequently entertained from its operations. It was confidently hoped that the new general would be able to advance to Madrid, in defiance of all opposition, and expel the usurper from the throne. But he was encountered, on the 19th of November, by a French force, under the command of king Joseph, assisted by marshals Soult, Mortier, and Victor, at Ocana, near the south bank of that river, when the action terminated in a signal victory on the part of the enemy, and the vanquished army retreated in great confusion beyond the mountains. On this occasion, however, the Spanish infantry, particularly the division of Lacey, fought with great bravery, keeping the enemy in check for more than two hours, and a great part of the French line fell back in disorder; but the superiority of the enemy's artillery, and the timid and irresolute behaviour of the Spanish cavalry, whose flight had an ill effect on the rest of the army, enabled the French to triumph. More than ten thousand of the vanquished were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Another defeat quickly followed; the duke del Parque, being attacked at Alba, on the river Tormes, withstood repeated assaults, but he failed to derive from the cavalry the support which he expected: and the impetuous vigour of the French drove him, after the loss of many of his troops, to the mountainous confines of Galicia. And thus, at the termination of the second campaign in the Peninsula, the dark clouds of misfortune hung over the patriotic cause.

LETTER X.

The internal, or domestic Affairs of France.—Napoleon repudiates his wife, Josephine, and marries the daughter of the Emperor of Austria.—Consequences of this marriage on his politics.—Deposes his brother Louis, and annexes Holland to France.—Also the valleys of Piedmont and the Hans-Towns.—Hanover annexed to Westphalia.—Bernadotte elected to the throne of Sweden.—Political affairs of the north of Europe, 1810.

THE legislative body of France assembled on the 3d of December, 1809, on which occasion the emperor Napoleon addressed them in a style of lofty congratulation. Adverting to the late expedition to Holland, he told them that "the English army had terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. The pope whose weakness or treachery opposed the progress of the French arms in Spain, was stripped of his temporal power and authority, and compelled to restore it to the successor of Charlemagne, from whom he received it. By the treaty of Vienna, all his allies had acquired fresh increase of territory. The Illyrian provinces stretched the frontiers of his great empire to the Saave. Holland, placed between England and France, must undergo some changes, in order to ensure the safety of the empire, and to promote their mutual interest"—and he concluded his address with the prediction of new triumphs in the Peninsula. In the annual *exposé*, which immediately followed, the great works carrying on under the auspices of the emperor were particularly enumerated.

The canal Napoleon, uniting the Rhine and the Rhone ; the immense works at Cherbourg ; the magnificent military roads traversing the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees ; the draining of the marshes of Burgundy &c. &c.—all these were indeed imperial works and worthy of his fame and power.

Such was the posture of affairs, when the ruler of France was in the Zenith of his greatness and glory, that he surprised the world, if indeed any thing in his conduct could be thought surprising, by one of the basest actions of his life, namely, the repudiation of his amiable and accomplished spouse, Josephine, and his marriage with the eldest daughter of the emperor of Austria. With the former he had now cohabited more than a dozen years, but she had the misfortune to bear him no issue. He was passionately attached to her ; for her personal charms were great, and as numerous as could be possessed by a wife. She had shared his more lowly fortunes, and by her management and address during his absence in Egypt, had paved the way for the splendid success which he had attained on his return. She had also done much to render his government popular, by softening the sudden and fierce bursts of passion to which he was subject. No one could understand like Josephine, the peculiarities of her husband's temper ; no one dared, like her, to encounter his displeasure, rather than not advise him for his better interest ; no one could possess such opportunities of watching the fit season for intercession ; and no one, it is allowed on all hands, made a more prudent, or a more beneficent use of the opportunities she enjoyed. The character of Napoleon, vehement by temper, a soldier by education, and invested by the success of his arms with the most despotic power, required in an especial manner the moderating influence of such a mind, which could interfere without intrusion, and remonstrate without offence. It is certain that she had obtained great influence over her husband, and to maintain it, Josephine cheerfully made the greatest personal sacrifices. In all the rapid journeys which he performed, she was his companion. No obstacle of road or weather was permitted to interfere with her departure. However sudden the call, the empress was ever ready ; however untimely the hour, her carriage was in instant attendance. The influence which she maintained by the sacrifice of her personal comforts was used for the advancement of her husband's best interests,—the relief of those who were in distress, and the averting the consequences of hasty resolutions, formed in a moment of violence or irritation.

But the sterility of the empress Josephine was now rendered, by the course of nature, an irremediable evil, over which she mourned in hopeless distress ; and conscious on what precarious circumstances the continuance of their union seemed now to depend, she gave way occasionally to fits of jealousy, less excited, according to Napoleon, by personal attachment, than by suspicion that her influence over her husband's mind might be diminished, in case of his having offspring by some paramour. She, therefore, naturally turned her thoughts to seek a remedy, and exerted her influence over her husband, to induce him to declare some one his successor, according to the unlimited powers vested in him by the imperial constitution. She directed his attention towards his step-son Eugene Beauharnois, her own son by her first marriage ; but this did not meet Napoleon's approbation. A child, the son of his brother Louis, by Hortense Beauharnois, appeared, during its brief existence, more likely to become the destined heir of this immense inheritance. But the son of Louis and Hortense died of a disorder incident to childhood ; and thus was broken, while yet a twig, the shoot, that growing to maturity, might have been reckoned on as the stay of an empire. Napoleon manifested the deepest grief, but that of Josephine was inconsolable.

It now became evident to the politicians of the Tuileries, that whatever attachment Napoleon might possess and feel for the empress, it was likely in the long run to give way to the eager desire of a lineal succession, to which he might bequeath his splendid inheritance. As age advanced, every year weakened, though in an imperceptible degree, the influence of Josephine, and must have rendered more eager the desire of her husband to

form a new alliance, which he did not at a period of life which authorized him to hope that he might be able to train to maturity the expected heir. Fouché, the minister of police, the boldest political intriguer of his time, intuitively discovered to what point the emperor must ultimately arrive; and artfully sounding his master's disposition, he discovered that Napoleon was struggling betwixt the supposed political advantages to be derived from a new matrimonial union on the one hand, and on the other, the strong attachment which he still retained for Josephine, whose society and habits held him, as it were, spell-bound. Fouché, therefore, craftily determined to make Josephine herself the medium of suggesting to her husband the measure of her own divorce, and of his second marriage, as a sacrifice necessary to consolidate the empire, and complete the felicity of the emperor. One evening at Fountainbleau, as the empress was returning from mass, Fouché detained her in the embrasure of a window in the gallery, while, with an audacity almost incomprehensible, he explained, with all the alleviating qualifications his ingenuity could suggest, the necessity of a sacrifice, which he represented as equally sublime and inevitable. The agitation of Josephine became excessive; but she commanded her emotions sufficiently to ask Fouché with a faltering voice, whether he was commissioned to hold such language to her. He replied in the negative, adding, that he only ventured on such an insinuation from his having predicted with certainty what must necessarily come to pass; and from his desire to turn her attention to what so nearly concerned her glory and happiness. In consequence of this interview, an impassioned and interesting scene is said to have taken place between Buonaparte and his consort, in which he disavowed the communication of Fouché, and endeavoured by every means in his power to dispel her apprehensions; but he refused to dismiss his minister, when she demanded it as a punishment due to his audacity, in tampering with her feelings. But the idea being now started, the main objection was removed, and Napoleon being spared the pain of directly communicating the unkind and ungrateful proposal to Josephine, he had now only to afford her time to familiarize herself with the idea of a divorce, as that which political combinations rendered inevitable.

The communication of Fouché was made before Napoleon undertook his operations in Spain; and by the time of the meeting at Erfurt, the divorce seems to have been a matter determined. The views of the emperor were primarily directed to the court of St Petersburg; and negotiations were set on foot, which had a reference to one of the archduchesses, but the reigning empress and empress-mother were opposed to it. The idea was therefore abandoned and an archduchess of the house of Austria was substituted for her whose hand was refused. This project is said to have been started in the course of the treaty of Schoenbrunn and was not without its influence in providing lenient terms for the weaker party. Napoleon himself declared that he renounced his purpose of dismembering Austria when his marriage was fixed upon. It is certain that the measures for separating the amiable and interesting Josephine from the man whose fortunes she had assisted to raise, and to whose person she was so much attached, were in full operation soon after Napoleon's return from the campaign of Wagram. On the 3d of December, he attended the solemn service of *Te Deum* for his victories. He was clad with unusual magnificence, wearing the Spanish costume, and displaying in his hat an enormous plume of feathers. The kings of Saxony and Wirtemberg, who attended as his satellites on the occasion, were placed beside him in full uniform, and remained uncovered during the ceremony. From the cathedral, Napoleon passed to the opening of the legislative body, and boasted, in the oration he addressed to them, of the victories he had achieved, and the trophies he had acquired, as already mentioned in the commencement of my letter; and he concluded with this ominous declaration: "I and my family will always know how to sacrifice our most tender affections to the interests and welfare of the great nation"—the meaning of which was soon no riddle to the public in general. Two days afterwards, Josephine was made acquainted with the cruel certainty that the separation

was ultimately determined upon. But neither the many months which had passed since the subject was first touched upon by Fouché, nor the conviction which she must have long since received from various quarters, that the measure was unalterably resolved upon, could support her under the terrible announcement that she was to be repudiated. The scene is thus described by an eye witness. (1)

" Their majesties sat down to table : Josephine wore a large white hat, tied under the chin, and concealing a part of her face. I thought, however, I perceived, that she had been shedding tears, and that she still retained them with difficulty. She seemed to me the image of grief and despair. The most profound silence reigned during this dinner ; they scarcely touched, except for form's sake, the dishes which were set before them. The only words which were uttered, were addressed to me by Napoleon, ' What o'clock is ~~the~~' rising from table as he spoke. Josephine followed slowly. Coffee was presented, and Napoleon took his cup himself from the page on duty, motioning that he desired to be alone. I withdrew very quickly ; but uneasy, anxious, and abandoned to my own sorrowful reflections. In the waiting saloon, which usually served as their majesties eating room, I threw myself into an armed chair, beside the door of the emperor's saloon, and was mechanically looking at the attendants as they cleared away the service that had been used at their majesties dinner, when, all at once, I heard from the emperor's saloon, the empress Josephine utter the most piercing cries. The groom of the chamber, imagining she must be ill, was on the point of opening the door : I prevented him, remarking that the emperor would call for assistance if he found it necessary. I was standing near the door, when Napoleon himself opened it, and perceiving me, said hastily ; come in B..... and shut the door. I entered the saloon, and beheld the unhappy empress stretched on the carpet, giving vent to an agonizing burst of grief, and exclaiming, ' No, I shall never survive it'.....I pass over the affecting detail of poor Josephine's sufferings, on the occasion, and shall merely add Napoleon's remarks to his " Prefet," when Josephine had a little recovered herself. " His uneasiness and agitation," says Mons. B. " were extreme. In the grief which he felt, he told me the cause of all that had happened, and used these expressions : " the interest of France and my dynasty has done violence to my heart, the divorce has become an imperative duty upon me : I am so much the more afflicted at the scene which Josephine has just exhibited, because, three days ago, she must have known from Hortense the unhappy necessity which condemns me to separate from her. " I pity her with all my heart, I thought she had more strength of character, and I was not prepared for the burst of her grief."

The preparations for the separation went on without delay. On the 15th of December, just ten days after the official communication of her fate had been given to the empress, Napoleon and Josephine appeared in the presence of the arch-chancellor, the family of Napoleon, the principal officers of state ; in a word, the full imperial council. In this assembly, Napoleon stated the deep national interest which required that he should have successors of his own body, to occupy the throne on which providence had placed him. He informed them, that he had for several years renounced the hope of having children by his well beloved empress, Josephine ; and that therefore he had resolved to subject the feelings of his heart to the good of the state, and desired the dissolution of their marriage. He was, he said, but forty years old and might well hope to live to train up such children as providence might send him, in his own sentiments and arts of government. Again he dwelt on the truth and tenderness of his beloved spouse, his partner during fifteen years of happy union. Crowned as she had been by his own hand, he desired she should retain the rank of empress during her life. Josephine, then arose, and with a faltering voice and eyes suffused with tears, expressed

(1) *Memoires Anecdotiques sur l'Interieur du Palais &c.* par L. F. J. de Bausset, Ancien Préfet du Palais Impérial, Paris 1827. Tom. 1. p. 369 - 373.

in few words sentiments similar to those of her husband. The imperial pair then demanded from the arch-chancellor, a written document in evidence of their mutual desire of separation ; and it was granted accordingly in all due form with the authority of the council. The senate were next assembled ; and, on the 16th of December, pronounced a consultum, or decree, authorizing the separation of the emperor and empress, and assuring to Josephine a dowry of two millions of francs, and the rank of empress during her life.

The routine of ceremonies being completed, Napoleon retired to St. Cloud, where he lived in seclusion for some days. Josephine, on her part, took up her residence in the beautiful villa of Malmaison, near St. Germain. Here she principally dwelt for the remaining years of her life, which were just prolonged to see the first fall of her husband ; an event which might have been averted had he been content to listen more frequently to her lessons of moderation. Her life was chiefly spent in cultivating the fine arts, of which she collected some beautiful specimens, and in pursuing the study of botany ; but especially in the almost daily practice of acts of benevolence and charity, of which the English who had been detained at the breaking out of hostilities, of whom there were several at St. Germain, frequently shared the benefit. Napoleon often visited her, and uniformly treated her with the respect to which she was entitled. He also added to her dowry another million of francs, that she might feel no inconvenience from the habits of expense to which it was her foible to be addicted.

The necessary formalities relating to his new espousals were discussed and adjusted in little more than twenty-four hours ; and on the 11th of March, 1810, their nuptials were celebrated at Vienna. The person of Napoleon was represented by his favourite Berthier, while the arch-duke Charles assisted at the ceremony in the name of the emperor Francis. A few days afterwards, the youthful bride, accompanied by the queen of Naples, proceeded towards France. Napoleon met them at Soissons and accompanied them to Paris where the marriage ceremony was again performed by the emperor's uncle, the cardinal Fesch. The most splendid rejoicings, illuminations, concerts, festivities, took place on this occasion, though the general joy was much abated by a great calamity which threw a shade over their rejoicings. Prince Swartzenberg, the Austrian ambassador, had given a distinguished ball on the occasion, when the dancing room, which was temporary, and erected in the garden, caught fire. No efforts could stop the progress of the flames, in which several persons perished, and among others the sister of the ambassador himself. This tragical circumstance struck a damp on the public mind, and was considered as a bad omen, especially when coupled in recollection with the marriage of Louis XVI. with a former princess of the house of Austria, which had been signalized by a similar disaster, as mentioned in one of my former letters.

As a domestic occurrence, nothing could contribute more to the happiness of Napoleon than his union with Maria Louisa. He was accustomed to compare her with Josephine, by assigning to the latter all the advantages of art and grace ; to the former the charms of simple modesty and innocence. Both were excellent women, of great sweetness of temper, and fondly attached to Napoleon. As a political occurrence, however, his marriage with the arch-duchess of Austria, was by many been regarded as a grand error. He abandoned his position and his part of an upstart and revolutionary monarch, who was labouring in Europe against the ancient courts, as the republic had done against the ancient monarchies. He placed himself in an awkward position in respect to Austria, which he should either have crushed after the victory of Wagram, or have re-established after the marriage of the arch-duchess. Solid alliances repose only on real interests, and Napoleon did not know how to deprive the Austrian cabinet either of the desire or the power to combat with him again. This marriage also changed the character of his empire, and separated it still more from the popular interests. He now sought for ancient families to grace his court, and he did all in his power to amalgamate the ancient with the new noblesse, as he had already done with respect to the dynasties. Austerlitz had consecrated the plebeian

empire; Wagram was to establish the *noble empire*. The birth of a son, in March 1811, who received the title of *king of Rome*, seemed to consolidate the power of Napoleon by assuring him of a successor. It is time, however, that we quit this subject.

The emperor of France at this moment beheld the whole continent of Europe, Spain and Portugal excepted, either as his allies, or his obsequious vassals. Proceeding in his plan of annexation by which he laboured to round his "Empire of the West," he now took within his grasp the seven Dutch provinces, of which he had recently constituted his brother Louis, king. They had indeed been a mere dependency of "the great nation," from that period; but in the month of December preceding, an intimation had been given, of rendering them a component part of the French empire, to which it was pleaded, they naturally belonged, as being no more than an *alluvion* of the Rhine, the Maese, and the Scheldt. Forty thousand French soldiers were, therefore, gradually, but unceremoniously introduced into Holland, and troops were quartered at the mouths of the rivers, accompanied by French custom house officers, in order to prevent all commerce with England. On the 29th of June, notice was given to king Louis, that the emperor insisted on the occupation of Amsterdam, which was to be made the French head-quarters. Louis, justly regarding himself as no longer king, resigned that nominal dignity in favour of his sons and declared his queen regent. On the day of his abdication, he published a farewell address to the legislative body, in which he stated the circumstances that had rendered it necessary for him to sign a treaty with his brother the emperor, whereby he had been deprived of all authority; and he advised them to receive the French troops with all cordiality and respect. He expressed a warm affection for his late subjects; and indeed his conduct during his short reign had been such as to show himself the real friend of the people upon whom he had been arbitrarily imposed, and as too much a Dutchman to retain the favour of the emperor of France. His act of abdication was considered to be of no validity, not having been previously concerted with the emperor; and the Seven Provinces were inseparably annexed to the French empire. The Valais of Piedmont were also annexed to France, for the purpose of securing the passage of the Alps by the Simplon; and possession was taken of the Hanse Towns, and of the whole course from the Elbe to the Ems,—commanded, it was said, by circumstances. The electorate of Hanover was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, and its very name was obliterated from the map of Europe; while, to that country and all the other dependent kingdoms, the conscription laws were extended. In France, the chains of despotic power were riveted by spies, arbitrary imprisonments, a rigorous police, and restrictions on the liberty of the press; and while the glory of the nation was raised to the highest pitch, every vestige of its freedom was obliterated.

The affairs of Sweden took a very singular turn at this period; and it may be ranked among the most extraordinary occurrences in European history. On the 29th of May, the prince of Augustenburg, presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, died suddenly; and in August, 1810, a diet was assembled at Orebo, to supply the vacancy thus occasioned. In consequence of a strong and pointed recommendation from the emperor Napoleon, the king of Sweden proposed marshal Bernadotte, as the person on whom he wished the choice to fall. This celebrated general, who was of Protestant extraction, had for a considerable time been placed at the head of the army of observation in the electorate of Hanover, where the equity and moderation of his conduct had equalled the reputation of his talents. The king's nomination, therefore, was unanimously approved; and on the 1st of November, Bernadotte was installed in due form. On this occasion he addressed an admirable speech to the diet, expressing in unaffected language his sincere gratitude for the high and unexpected honour conferred upon him, with his unfeigned wishes that the reigning monarch would long afford him the advantage of learning from his conduct the arduous and important lessons of government. "Sound policy," said Bernadotte, "must have for its basis,

“ justice and truth. Such are the principles of the king ; they shall also be mine. I have had a near view of war and its ravages : and I know that there is no conquest which can console a country for the blood of its children shed in a foreign land. Sweden has sustained great losses, but her honour is without taint. Let us submit to the decrees of providence, and recollect that we possess a soil sufficient for our wants, and a sword to defend it.” In the ensuing month a declaration of war was issued against Great Britain ; but the pacific intention of the court of Stockholm was sufficiently apparent ; and the war, to the disappointment of Napoleon proved little more than nominal. The hostility of Denmark was indeed real and great, but her power was circumscribed ; and in the course of the summer a British squadron took possession of the Danish isle of Anholt, situated in the sea called the Cattegat.(1)

LETTER XI.

Affairs of Great Britain, A. D. 1810.—Parliamentary Inquiry into the expedition to the Scheldt.—Sir Francis Burdett sent to the Tower.—Riots in the Metropolis.—Naval expeditions and successes.—Derangement of the king, and appointment of a regency, A. D. 1810—11.

THE British parliament assembled on the 23d of January, 1810, and never did the political atmosphere in this country, exhibit a deeper gloom. Russia, the only continental power which could singly cope with France, was in strict alliance with the French emperor. Austria had been once more laid prostrate at his feet. The resistance of Spain, in the general opinion, had become nearly hopeless ; and all the other powers of Europe were in a state of perfect vassalage. Yet, under these unfavourable circumstances, the speech delivered by the lord chancellor, in his majesty's name, expressed a just confidence, under divine providence, in the wisdom of his parliament, the valour of his forces, and the spirit of his people. His majesty hoped that material advantages would be found to result from the demolition of the docks and the arsenals of Flushing. The expulsion of the French from Portugal, and the splendid victory obtained by lord viscount Wellington at Talavera had contributed to check the progress of their arms in the Peninsula. The speech went on to state that his majesty had received assurances of the friendly disposition of America, and that the state of the national commerce of Great Britain was flourishing, and the produce of the revenue increasing.

The Walcheren expedition, as may naturally be supposed, constituted a prolific topic of declamation to the leaders of opposition in both houses of parliament. The appointment of lord Chatham to the command having been made one of the principal topics of blame, Mr. Perceval, in his reply, contented himself with saying, that the result of the inquiry, if any inquiry were thought necessary, would in a great measure decide the question of the propriety or impropriety of the appointment of that noble lord to the command of the expedition. . Adverting to the overture made, by command of the king, to lords Grey and Grenville to form a part of the administration, he declared that he did not wish for the situation which he then occupied. The circumstances of the times required a strong and an extended administration, and he had entertained hopes that the application would have been successful. Had he been at liberty to state his proposals, the first would have been to resign the treasury to their disposal. After a variety of other proceedings, in which the same subjects were brought under discussion, lord

(1) Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. vii.—*Histoire de la Revolution Française*, par A. F. Mignet.—*Sketch of the reign of Gustavus IV.*—*Dr. Aikin's Annals of George III.*—*Edinburgh Annual Register*, 1810.

Porchester, on the 26th of January, moved in the house of commons that a committee be appointed to inquire into the policy and the conduct of the late expedition to the Scheldt, which was carried by a small majority, and a committee of the whole house was fixed on for the purpose. His lordships then moved for an address to the king for copies of instructions given to the commanders, with other documents relating to this ill-fated expedition, which was also agreed to, and a secret committee was nominated for the inspection of such confidential communications as were deemed improper to be made public.

Among the papers thus submitted to inspection, there was found "A copy of the earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings, dated October the 15th, 1809, and presented to the king, February the 14th, 1810." This document, from its contents, appeared to be an appeal to his majesty by the commander of one part of the expedition against the conduct of the commander of another part, and the circumstance occasioned much debate in the house. Mr. Whitbread moved an address to the king, requesting that there might be laid before the house copies of all reports and other papers submitted at any time to his majesty by the earl of Chatham, relative to the late expedition, which was carried. The answer to this address, acknowledged that the king had received a report from lord Chatham on the 15th of January, which he kept till February the 10th, when it was returned to the earl in consequence of his desire to make some alterations in it; that the report thus altered having been again presented to the king on the 14th, it was, by his majesty's orders, delivered to the secretary of state, and no copy of it kept by the king. Mr. Whitbread, on the 2nd of March, moved two resolutions respecting this matter: one stating the fact, as now mentioned—the other, a strong censure of the same. After a long debate, the previous question was moved, but negatived; and the first resolution being thus carried, Mr. Whitbread consented to waive the second, admitting a modification of it proposed by Mr. Canning. It was then determined that the resolution should be entered on the Journals of the house; and the result of which was that lord Chatham resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance.

When the proceedings relative to the Walcheren expedition first came before the house of commons, Mr. Yorke moved an enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, which he continued to move from day to day. This induced Mr. Sheridan to move a revision of the standing order, so that the decision should not rest on the caprice of any individual member, which was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, who indulged himself in a wild and furious invective against the reporters of the debates in parliament. He professed, indeed, to know nothing of them personally; but he understood them to be a set of men who were chargeable with the most corrupt mis-representations; that among them were to be found persons of all descriptions, bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, decayed tradesmen, and even serving men. Those gentry, he said, had their favourites; and his honourable friend, Mr. Sheridan, was esteemed and hailed by them as a patron of the liberty of the press; but he exhorted the house to maintain their ancient rules and orders! This singular tirade was answered with spirit and temper by Mr. Stephens, an eminent civilian, who had himself, in his earlier days, been a reporter of the debates in parliament.

Another circumstance incidentally connected with the debates on the Walcheren expedition, was productive of consequences which rendered the present session memorable in parliamentary history. There existed at the moment, a debating society in London, under the name of the British Forum, of which the president was John Gale Jones. On the 19th of February, a placard appeared in the streets of London, informing the public that a question had been debated at the British Forum, "which was the greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order of the house of commons for the exclusion of strangers, or Mr. Windham's attack on the liberty of the press? And that it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing order ought to be censured as an invidious and ill-timed attack on the liberties of the press." Mr.

Yorke was so indiscreet as to bring this paper under the cognizance of the house of commons, and an order was made for the printer of it to attend at the bar of the house, who declared that he had been employed to print it by John Gale Jones. The latter was accordingly cited before the honourable house on the 21st of February, when he avowed himself the author of the paper, and added, that he considered it to be the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures and the conduct of public men; but that, on looking over the paper again, he found that he had erred, for which he expressed his contrition, and threw himself upon the clemency of the house. It was then voted unanimously, that John Gale Jones had been guilty of a gross violation of the privileges of the house; which was followed by a motion from Mr. Yorke for his commitment to Newgate, and this also passed unanimously.

Sir Francis Burdett, who had not been present when these proceedings took place, on the 12th of March called the attention of the house once more to the subject, in a speech in which he ventured to deny altogether the power of the house to commit, and ended with moving that John Gale Jones be discharged. Mr. Sheridan said that he should vote for the release of Jones though not on the principles contended for in the speech of the honourable baronet; and he moved an amendment, that Jones should be discharged in consequence of the contrition which he had expressed and the length of his imprisonment: but neither of these was carried. On the 24th of March there appeared in Cobbett's Weekly Register, a letter, entitled "Sir Francis Burdett to his constituents, denying the power of the house of commons to imprison the people of England," detailing the arguments which he had used in his speech. This publication was brought before the house, on the 26th, by Mr. Lethbridge, at whose request the speaker put the question to sir Francis, whether he acknowledged himself to be the author, which he answered in the affirmative. Notice was then given of a motion on the subject by Mr. Lethbridge, which he made on the following day. After reading several of the most obnoxious passages in the letter, he moved two resolutions: the first affirming that the publication in question was a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting on the just rights and liberties of the house; the second, that sir Francis Burdett, who suffered this paper to be printed with his name, had been guilty of a violation of the privileges of this house.

These resolutions were agreed to without a division, and a motion was then made by sir Robert Salisbury for his commitment to the Tower. An amendment was proposed, softening the sentence to a reprimand, but it was rejected by one hundred and ninety votes to one hundred and fifty-two; and the speaker having signed the warrants for his commitment, on the 6th of April they were delivered to the serjeant-at-arms. That officer on going to the house of sir Francis, was informed that he would be ready to receive him on the following morning, which being construed as implying that he would go with him peaceably to the Tower, the officer retired. He, however, returned, accompanied by a messenger, who said that the serjeant had been severely reprimanded by the speaker for not having executed the warrant. Sir Francis now disputed the legality of the warrant, and declared his determination not to go unless compelled by actual force, which he would resist as far as lay in his power.

Some delay now ensued in consequence of a doubt entertained by the speaker respecting his authority in this matter, which induced him to apply to the attorney-general for information on which he might proceed, but on the morning of the 9th of April, the officer of the house of commons, attended by a number of the police, and a detachment of infantry and cavalry, proceeded to the residence of the honourable baronet, to take him into custody, and convey him to the Tower. An entrance was accordingly forced into the house, through the area, and the serjeant with the police officers went up into the room, where sir Francis was sitting in the midst of his family, and acquainted him that he was his prisoner. He repeated his objections to the warrant, and declared that he would yield only to actual force. On this the constables advanced to seize him, when his brother and a friend, each taking

an arm, conducted him to the carriage in waiting and he was conveyed to the Tower without opposition. As the escort which guarded the prisoner was returning from the Tower, a numerous mob assembled in Eastcheap, attacked them with stones and brick-bats, which they bore for some time with great patience. At length the attack becoming serious, the military fired, by which two or three lives were lost, and several persons wounded. On two preceding evenings, the mob had assembled round the house of sir Francis, in Piccadilly, committing many outrages in that and the adjacent streets, and the aid of the military became necessary to disperse them. A letter transmitted by the honourable baronet to the speaker, after his receipt of the warrant, and conceived in terms highly disrespectful to the authority of the house of commons, became the subject of animadversion in the house, on the 10th of April, and much was said as to the manner in which it ought to be treated; but ultimately a resolution was passed, to the effect; "that it is the opinion of this house, that the said letter is a high and flagrant breach of the privileges of the house; but it appearing from the report of the serjeant-at-arms, that the warrant of the speaker for the commitment of sir Francis Burdett to the Tower has been executed, this house will not at this time proceed further on the said letter."—On his liberation, sir Francis brought actions at law against the speaker for issuing his warrant, against the serjeant-at-arms for executing it, and against the constable of the Tower for keeping him in custody, in all of which he failed, on the plea of the legality of the warrant. His want of success, however, in these suits, was abundantly made up to him, by the numerous instances of attachment which he received as the champion of popular rights, in the form of addresses to himself, and petitions to the parliament for his liberation. Some of the latter, especially the petition from the electors of Westminster, and that from the free-holders of Middlesex, were so pointedly contemptuous in their forms of expression, that the house refused to receive them. His confinement was not terminated till the prorogation of parliament, when a triumphal procession through the city, from the Tower to his house, was planned by his friends; but on maturely deliberating the danger which might possibly ensue from collecting an immense mob in the streets of the metropolis, he prudently disappointed their expectations by returning secretly to Westminster by water.

I need not detain you long with the naval transactions of the year 1810; The isles of Bourbon and France, in the Indian Ocean, which had long been a source of considerable annoyance to the East India trade of this country, were now brought under the dominion of the crown of England. Lord Minto, then governor-general of India, laid a plan for their reduction: and to carry it into effect, a body of Europeans and Seapoys, about sixteen hundred of each, sailed from Madras, and being joined by about a thousand more from the island of Rodriguez, all under the command of lieutenant-colonel Keating, accompanied by a fleet of men-of-war and transports, the expedition arrived early in July off the island of Bourbon. Dispositions were made for an attack on St. Denis, the chief town, but it was prevented by an offer to capitulate on honourable terms, which was granted. The other town, St. Paul, was then taken possession of, and the whole island submitted. In the month of November, a body of troops, consisting of eight or ten thousand, partly from India and partly from the Cape of Good Hope, commanded by major general sir John Abercrombie, with a fleet under admiral Bertie, rendezvoused at the Mauritius, or isle of France, and on the 29th, the troops effected a landing. Some skirmishing occurred until the artillery was landed, and preparations made for attacking the forts; but, on the 3d of December a capitulation was proposed on the part of the French, and signed on the same day. By the terms of it, the island with a vast quantity of stores and merchandize, five large frigates, and some smaller ships of war, twenty-eight merchantmen, and two English East Indiamen that had been captured, were surrendered. The garrison was allowed to be sent to France, and left afterwards at their own disposal. This was the most valuable of the French possessions to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Three frigates were afterwards dispatched to destroy the French batteries at Tame-

tava, on the coast of Madagascar, and to root them out from some other small nestling places, which they completely effected, and thus there was not remaining to France, at the beginning of the following year, a slip of land in either Indies, nor a ship in the Indian seas. To countervail this series of successes, however, on the part of the English, the following circumstances must be placed in the reverse. Prior to the capture of the isle of France, three French frigates had captured two English East Indiamen and carried them, as already intimated, into the harbour of Sudest, opposite the isle of Passa; and with the view of recovering them, four English frigates, namely, the Sirius, Magicienne, Nereides, and Iphigenia, all on the Cape of Good Hope station, undertook, in the month of August, to attack the harbour. The Sirius and Magicienne unfortunately ran aground on shoals not known to their pilots, and were burnt by their crews. The Nereides having stood in nearer to the inner harbour, was also stranded, and though exposed to the fire of the enemy's frigates and batteries on shore, was not surrendered by its brave commander, captain Willoughby, until every man on board was either killed or wounded. The Iphigenia, closely blockaded in the isle of Passa, was afterwards liberated when the island fell into the hands of the English.

In the same quarter of the globe, farther conquests were also made from the Dutch, the constant sufferers in all quarrels between France and England. On the 17th of February, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with its dependent islands, surrendered to a British force from Madras. A party of seamen, commanded by captain Cole, of the Caroline frigate, on the 8th of August, having carried a fort on Band Naira, the whole island of Banda, the principal of the Spice Islands, with its dependencies, though protected by seven hundred regular troops and three hundred militia, surrendered unconditionally, and afforded a rich prize to the captors.

The close of the fiftieth year of the reign of George III, had been celebrated in the metropolis as a kind of Jubilee. The king's health, considering his advanced age, was remarkably good; but he had for some time been suffering under a heavy domestic affliction, occasioned by the alarming, and, as it proved, the fatal illness of his youngest daughter, the princess Amelia. At one of his daily visits to this, his favourite and beloved child, a short time before her decease, she placed a ring on his finger, enclosing a lock of her hair, as a farewell token. The agitated and anxious mind of the monarch sunk beneath the shock; nor was he afterwards found capable of transacting business. The princess expired on the 2nd of November, 1810. Parliament had been prorogued on the first of that month, and a commission prepared by the lord chancellor, under an order in council, for a further prorogation to the 29th: but as the sign manual was wanting, the two houses met on the day previously fixed. The illness and inability of the king to open the session being announced, an adjournment of a fortnight was unanimously agreed to, and the members of both houses were summoned on the 15th of November—this was followed by a second adjournment to the 29th, and again a third to the 13th of December. The physicians, on being examined before the lords of the council, and afterwards before a committee of both houses of parliament, accorded in their firm belief of the king's recovery, grounding this expectation on the general state of his health, and the encouraging precedents of 1788, 1801, and 1804. At length Mr. Percival, adopting the mode of procedure of 1788—9, moved three resolutions, affirming, 1st, The incapacity of the king: 2nd, the rights of the two houses to provide the means of supplying the defect; and 3dly, the necessity of determining upon the means of giving the royal assent to a bill for that purpose. These resolutions were carried in both houses, and the heir apparent was invested with the regency during his majesty's illness. So strong indeed were the prepossessions at this period respecting the king's ultimate recovery, that the leaders of the opposition themselves were said to be indifferent to the acceptance of office, at the hazard of being dismissed at the end of a few weeks or months. The issue, however, shewed the expectation to be ill-founded. (1) We now return to the affairs of the Peninsula.

(1) Annual Register, 1810.—Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George III.—London Gazette.—Debates in Parliament, &c. &c.

LETTER XII.

Progress of the war in the Peninsula, third Campaign, 1810.—The French reduce Ciudad-Rodrigo, and Almeida, but meet with a repulse at Buzaco.—Admirable conduct of Lord Wellington.—The French severely hurraised in Spain.—They capture Seville, but fail in the siege of Cadiz.—Proceedings in Catalonia, and Valencia.—Meeting of the Cortes.—Schemes of reform—Attempted invasion of Sicily by Murat, A. D 1810—11.

At the commencement of the year 1810, the cause of Spanish independence was reduced to so low an ebb that many of its friends in England were disposed to look upon it as forlorn hope. The battle of Ocana had left no force that was competent to oppose the armies of France; and although the supreme junta at Seville published an address to the Spanish nation, calculated to rouse their patriotism and quiet their apprehensions, the forced loan which they required, consisting of half the specie possessed by individuals, with other sacrifices and exertions, were measures which their influence was inadequate to carry into effect.

About the middle of January, the main army of the French, arrived at the foot of the Sierra Morena, and on the 20th and 21st they forced their way through the passes of the mountains, almost without resistance, advancing to Jaen and Cordova, in which places they found large quantities of ordnance and military stores. General Sebastiani with his division then marched from Grenada; and having routed the remnant of the Spanish army at Ocana, entered that city, which, on the 28th, threw open its gates to him. Malaga, in which a popular insurrection had deposed the regular authorities as being favourers of the French usurpation, and the country around, which had risen in arms at the instigation of the priests and monks, was the next object of Sebastiani's operations. With his advanced guard he cleared the fastnesses of the mountains; and encountering the numerous but disorderly mass of opponents on the plain, he routed them with considerable slaughter, and entered the city of Malaga with the fugitives. For some time a contest was kept up in the streets, and from the tops of the houses; but the whole of the inhabitants ultimately made their submission, except a few who found an asylum on board three English ships of war then in the harbour. This was an important conquest, in as much as it completed a line of posts occupied by the French from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, intersecting the whole of Spain through its capital.

On the 29th of January, Joseph Buonaparte issued a manifesto to the Spanish nation, in which he affected to consider the contest as now decided, and reminded them that it was the interest of France to preserve the integrity and independence of Spain: on the contrary, if she should still remain an enemy, it must be the policy of France to weaken, dismember, and destroy her. Immediately after the issuing of this menace, marshal Victor appeared before Seville, from whence the supreme junta had withdrawn to the isle of Leon near Cadiz, on his approach. That city was surrounded with fortifications of vast extent; but the defence of them would have required an army of sixty thousand men, whereas its garrison did not exceed seven thousand. To capitulate, therefore, appeared their only resource; and the terms offered to the garrison were, either to enlist into the army of king Joseph, or to lay down their arms and return to their homes. On the 10th of February the gates were opened to the French, who found in the place two hundred pieces of ordnance and a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions.

The junta, who in this crisis of their country's fate, seemed in general to be more attentive to their own individual and personal interests than to the national cause; and who, moreover, were suspected of an intention to enter into a compromise with the usurper, had refused to admit into Seville

and Cadiz a body of seven thousand British troops from Lisbon, though they allowed them to be disembarked in the bay of Cadiz for the purpose of being stationed in the neighbouring towns. Two English regiments had indeed been admitted into Cadiz; but it was upon a promise that they should, on no account, remain in the fortress! This jealousy occasioned a declaration from the English minister, that if the Spaniards would not consent to admit British troops into Cadiz, his majesty must for the present withdraw from the contest, and leave it to be decided by the military efforts of Spain alone.

On the irruption of the French into Andalusia, general Castanos suspecting the designs of the junta, dispatched a confidential letter to the duke of Albuquerque, then commanding the army in Estremadura, urging him to proceed with all possible celerity to Cadiz. With this he complied, and on February the 3d entered that city with his troops. Preparations for its defence were now made with the greatest activity. All persons capable of bearing arms were enrolled. Magazines were established; and the whole Spanish fleet amounting to twenty ships of the line, was moored in the harbour, under the direction of the English admiral Purvis, who brought in his own squadron. British troops from both Lisbon and Gibraltar were now received into the isle of Leon, and an English re-inforcement was admitted into the Spanish garrison of Ceuta. The suspicions which existed against the supreme junta having occasioned tumults among the people of Cadiz, in which they incurred personal danger, they found it expedient to resign their authority, which before the assembling of the Cortes they transferred to a regency of five persons; at the same time a local junta was formed for the political and military government of the city.

On the 10th of February, marshal Soult sent a summons to the duke of Albuquerque to surrender Cadiz; the latter, however, returned for answer that he was well provided with the means of defence, and was determined to make effectual use of them. A message from the usurper to the junta of Cadiz, of a similar import, produced a reply expressive of their determined attachment to Ferdinand, their rightful sovereign. The siege of Cadiz was therefore prosecuted but its progress was slow, being much impeded by the assaults of the guerilla parties, which now began to take an important part in the war. But a re-inforcement of troops, with heavy artillery, arriving at the French lines, in the month of April, the besiegers obtained possession of Matagorda, a place distant about two miles from the city, on which they erected new works, and from which the vessels entering Puntal were continually fired on. The siege was continued throughout the year 1810, and towards the close of it, the French batteries were able to throw shells into Cadiz, but the distance rendered their effect inconsiderable.

In the mean time military operations were vigorously prosecuted in the southern and eastern parts of Spain. General Blake, who was in Murcia, re-organizing the defeated army of Ariezaga, roused to arms the hardy mountaineers of Alpujarras in Grenada; and a detachment of Spanish troops under general Lacy, embarking at Algesiras, marched to Ronda where a French force of six thousand men was stationed. The latter took a sudden panic and fled in disorder, leaving their arms and ammunition, which were distributed among the mountaineers, and, for a considerable time, a sanguinary warfare was kept up between them and the enemy; they were, however, ultimately driven to their fastnesses but not subdued.

The insurrection now spread to the mountains of the borders of Murcia, and in April, general Sebastiani entered that province, obliging the Spaniards, after a number of petty actions to retire to Alicant. A combined expedition consisting of Spaniards and English, sailed in August from Cadiz to Moguer, a town near the sea in the province of Seville, at which a French division was posted. The enemy was driven from the town and pursued; but upon the intelligence of a re-inforcement advancing from Seville, the troops re-embarked and returned to Cadiz. An enterprize against Malaga, undertaken from Gibraltar, and commanded by lord Blaney, completely failed and his lordship was taken prisoner. On the eastern side of Spain, where marshal Suchet commanded, the strong fortress of Ostalric,

was taken early in the year, the Spanish general O'Donnel being defeated under its walls. Lerida, Maquinenza and Tortosa, were captured in succession; but Valencia, which was once more invested, made a furious sally upon the assailants who withdrew in great confusion. Though the regular armies of Spain seemed no longer in existence, the war of the Guerillas, or armed peasantry, was carried on with implacable animosity and increasing effect. They every where attacked the detached parties of the enemy and harassed all the movements of the invaders. They intercepted their convoys, their escorts, and dispatches; so that the French could at no time, by the mere capture of towns and fortresses, be said to be in possession of the surrounding country. The regular forces of the kingdom, too, however dispersed were still numerous; and, though Spain in this war had produced no Gonzalvo, it abounded in valiant and active officers.

The most interesting events of the campaign occurred on the side of Portugal. It was evidently the grand object of Napoleon to acquire the entire possession of that country. With this view it had been determined to commence with the reduction of the strong fortress of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and Almeida, the situation of which being on the frontier between the two kingdoms, would give them the command of a free military communication from one to the other. As soon, therefore, as the capture of Oviedo and Astorga had set at liberty a part of the French troops employed to keep in check the Spaniards of the northern provinces, marshal Ney began to invest Ciudad-Rodrigo. In the mean time Massena arrived from France, to take the command of the army destined for the conquest of Portugal, amounting to about eighty thousand men. The siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo was long obstructed by various impediments, one of which was the contiguity of the combined army of English and Portuguese under lord Wellington. At length, in the middle of June, the trenches were opened, Massena having arrived at the French camp, while Ney commanded the troops on the right bank of the Aguada, and Junot those on the left. A formidable cannonade was kept up on both sides, until on July the 10th, the explosion of a mine having made a practicable breach, which the besiegers were preparing to mount, the garrison surrendered at discretion, and about seven thousand men became prisoners of war. Almeida was next invested, and the trenches were opened about the middle of August. It was garrisoned by five thousand men, partly English and partly Portuguese, commanded by British officers, at the head of whom was brigadier general Cox. The vigour of the defence would in all probability have long retarded its fall, had not a bomb alighted on the principal magazine of powder, which occasioned a terrible and most destructive explosion, involving the whole town in flames. Massena withheld his fire and sent a flag of truce offering terms of capitulation, which were acceded to on the 27th of August. The garrison were allowed the honours of war, but remained prisoners, except the Portuguese militia who were permitted to return home, but many of them entered into the French service.

A vigorous contest for the possession of Portugal was now to commence. Lord Wellington, to whom its defence was committed, had found it advisable to retire from Badajos, during the month of December, to the north of the Tagus. In February 1810, the English and Portuguese troops were posted at a number of different points in Portugal, and its frontier on the side of Spain, lord Wellington having his head quarters during the two following months at Visau. While the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo was in progress, the principal post of the allied army was at Guarda, from which place the French lines might be descried, but nothing of importance could be undertaken for its relief. After the surrender of Almeida, lord Wellington concentrated the different divisions of the allied army, and commenced his retreat towards Lisbon. He had formed a defensive plan, to which he steadily adhered.

As the French force under Massena was much superior, at least in the number of troops on which reliance could be placed, lord Wellington determined to avoid general actions; but to take advantage of every opportunity of retarding the enemy's advance by occupying strong positions. At the same time he put fully into effect, the efficacious but severe policy, of ren-

dering all the country in the line of march entirely inhospitable to the French, by stripping it of all its inhabitants, with the whole of their moveable property, and destroying the rest. He therefore issued a proclamation, dated August the 4th, by which all magistrates and persons holding offices under government, who should remain in towns and villages after receiving orders from any military officers to depart, and all persons whatever who should hold communications with the enemy, were declared traitors to their country, and as such subjected to punishment.

On the 21st of September, the whole force under Massena was concentrated at Visau, where it halted for a time; during which lord Wellington passed to the right bank of the Mondego, and occupied with his centre and left wing, the Sierra Buzaco, which extends to that river. Massena, on arriving in front of his position, on the 26th, resolved upon an attack, which he put in execution on the following day. The French rushed up the heights with great courage in various parts, and one division reached the summit of the ridge. They were, however, met with equal resolution at the point of the bayonet, and were finally repulsed with great loss, two thousand men being left on the field of battle. The loss on the part of the English and Portuguese was also considerable. As the French had only sustained a repulse, Massena immediately turned the British position, making a circuitous march upon Coimbra. Lord Wellington, however, anticipated his object, and taking a more direct route arrived there before him; but finding that the place afforded no facilities of defence, he continued his retreat to the strong lines of Torres Vedras, distant about thirty miles from Lisbon, carrying with him almost all the population of the intervening district, including that of Coimbra, with their portable effects, and much individual distress certainly was the unavoidable consequence of the removal. The sufferings of the poor Portuguese were however alleviated by liberal contributions in the capital, and by aids, both public and private, from England. Massena, who closely followed the steps of the retreating army, having reconnoitred the position of the allies, and finding them admirably fortified and connected, contented himself with strengthening his own position, and collecting provisions for his army, which soon became very scarce. His quarters, too, were straitened by the Portuguese militia which occupied the greatest part of the north-west, and a party of which commanded by colonel Trant, had entered Coimbra and taken five thousand prisoners chiefly sick and wounded. Massena now made Santarem his head quarters, and extended his positions along the right bank of the Tagus, and from thence to Zczere, as far as the borders of Upper Beira. He received from Spain re-inforcements of troops and convoys of provisions; but he was subject to difficulties and privations, from which lord Wellington's army, with the capital behind it, and the sea open to him for supplies of every kind, was happily exempted. Such, at the close of the year, was the posture of the two great armies which were to decide the fate of Portugal.

The Spanish Cortes, so long expected and so long delayed, at length assembled at Cadiz, on the 24th of September 1810. The members were elected by the provinces and cities, in a manner which bore an equal regard to population and property; and the elections took place even in the districts of which the fortresses were in the possession of the French. The first measure of the Spanish legislature was to swear allegiance to Ferdinand VII. as their true and lawful sovereign; declaring the renunciations which had taken place at Bayonne to be totally null and void as having been extorted by violence and without the consent of the nation. The next step was to appoint a regency, consisting of general Blake, the most popular of their commanders, Don Pedro Agar, a naval officer high in reputation; and Don Gabriel Ciscar, governor of Carthagena, and in them was vested the executive power.

In the instructions published early in the year by the supreme junta, the primary objects which the nation had in view in assembling the Cortes are said to be "the salvation of the country, the restoration of the sovereign, and the re-establishment of an ameliorated constitution, worthy of the

“Spanish nation.” And the Cortes soon evinced that they understood both their duties and their rights—and knowing were resolved to maintain them. Great discretion was, nevertheless, necessary in the exercise of these rights. By one of their first decrees, the press was declared free; “except that all writings on matters of religion shall remain subject to the same control they have been under since the council of Trent:” thus, from the necessity of circumstances, associating religious tyranny with political liberty! Yet, in no country were there to be found persons of more enlightened patriotism than many of the Spanish ecclesiastics; and in the discussions which preceded the decree establishing the freedom of the press, Torrero, an individual of that class, had distinguished himself by a most eloquent speech in support of the measure.

The conduct of the supreme junta respecting America had not been characterized by either wisdom or justice. Soon after the commencement of the war between Great Britain and Spain, at the close of the year 1804, the celebrated general Miranda, an American by birth, had applied to the British government for an armed force which might both induce and enable the Spanish colonies in South America to emancipate themselves from the dominion of the mother-country; but not meeting with encouragement in England he embarked for the United States, and, by great exertion, succeeded in fitting out a small armament from New York. From thence he proceeded with some hundreds of his adventurous followers to the province of the Caraccas, where he erected the standard of independence; but no symptoms appearing of that enthusiasm which he expected, he was compelled to retire to the island of Trinidad.

When the French armies invaded Spain in 1808, all the Spanish provinces in South America, had proclaimed Ferdinand VII. with great zeal and unanimity. At Buenos Ayres only a French agent was received by governor Linieres, who exhorted the people to imitate the example of their fore-fathers during the war of the succession, by awaiting the fate of the mother-country; but this temporizing policy was counteracted by the spirit of the inhabitants. As, however, the affairs of Spain soon began to wear a gloomy aspect, the Spanish American colonies were perceived to be agitated by two opposing parties—the royalists, who adhered to the government acting in the name of Ferdinand VII.,—and the republicans who fought for independence on the plan of the United States. The latter gained ground in proportion to the progress of the French armies in the Peninsula; and on the 19th of April 1810, the flourishing province of the Caraccas, with the surrounding districts, formed a union, under the name of the republic of Venezuela; and general Miranda was invited to take the command of their forces. Desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of the British government, application was made for that purpose; and a public declaration of his Britannic majesty’s intentions was communicated by the earl of Liverpool, in a letter dated the 29th of June 1810, stating “that his majesty must discourage every step tending to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother-country: but if Spain should be compelled to submit to the yoke of France, he should feel it his duty to afford every assistance to those provinces, in rendering them independent of French Spain.” But the supreme junta, even when besieged in the isle of Leon, maintained the haughty language of sovereignty, and treated the republic of Venezuela as in a state of rebellion.

In the beginning of July, Murat, the new king of Naples, collected, on the Calabrian coast, a powerful armament for the purpose of invading Sicily. Sir John Stewart, who commanded the British forces in the Mediterranean, made the best preparations in his power for resisting the threatened attack. He disposed all his troops in a line along the shore, with a chain of communications, guarding the whole coast by means of batteries and gun-boats. In the narrowest parts of the Straits a constant firing was kept up on both sides, which was rather a spectacle than a serious conflict; but in repeated attacks upon the Neapolitan flotilla, a number of vessels were taken, destroyed, or dispersed. On the 18th of September, a debarkation of three thousand five hundred Neapolitans and Corsicans was effected near the Taro; but two

British regiments took nine hundred of them prisoners, compelling the rest to retreat to their gun-boats. On the 2nd of October, Murat proclaimed the expedition to Sicily adjourned, the experiment having sufficiently proved that the enemy's flotillas could not obstruct the passage when seriously attempted.(1)

LETTER XIII.

Progress of hostilities in the Peninsula, A. D. 1811—12. Fourth Campaign.—Siege of Cadiz.—Battle of Barossa.—Retreat of the French from Santarém.—Siege of Badajos.—Capture of Tortosa by the French.—Investment of Valencia.—Proceedings of the Cortes.—State of affairs in France.—Napoleon visits Holland.—Glance at Austria,—Germany,—Sweden,—Denmark and Russia.

THE Peninsula of Spain and Portugal still continued the theatre, my dear Son, on which the contest for the liberties of Europe was maintained; and it was carried on with vigour but with various success. The campaign commenced at a very early season of the year. On the 2nd of January, the French marshal Suchet, made himself master of Tortosa, a place which might have held out much longer, since its situation at the mouth of the Ebro afforded it great facilities for receiving supplies. On the 23d of January, marshal Soult took possession of Olivenza; and on the same day the Spanish cause sustained a great loss in the death of the marquis de Romana, who expired suddenly at his head quarters at Cartaxo. The command of the army now devolved on general Mendizabel, who had scarcely put his troops in motion when he was defeated by Soult with great loss.

This was a very inauspicious opening of the campaign, but the success of the French arms soon afterwards received a check, on the heights of Barossa, near the isle of Leon. During the whole of the preceding year, marshal Victor had been occupied with the siege of Cadiz, but without effect, and even without any rational prospect of its reduction, as its peninsular situation, united to the continent by a long and narrow isthmus, rendered it inaccessible to an enemy which had not a fleet to attack it from the sea; and the width of the harbour secured it in a great measure from sustaining any material injury by a cannonade or bombardment from the opposite shores. On the 25th of February, an armament was sent out from Cadiz, under the command of sir Thomas Graham, who disembarked a body of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, at Algeiras. The main object of the expedition was to attack the French army employed in the siege; and the landing being effected on the 28th, the allied army arrived on the morning of March the 5th, on the ridge of Barossa, about four miles to the southward of the river of Santo Pedro. The allied force scarcely amounted to six thousand men, of which about one half were British; while Victor had eight thousand troops in a high state of discipline and equipment opposed to them. In this situation, however, lieutenant-general Graham, and the Spanish general Las Panas, determined on an attack. In the commencement of the action, a well conducted and vigorous attack on the rear of the enemy's lines, near Santo Pedro, by the vanguard of the Spaniards under brigadier-general Ladrizabel, opened the communication with the isle of Leon. This being effected, general Graham moved down from the position of Barossa to the Torre de Bermesa, about half-way to Santo Pedro, in order to secure a communication across the river, over which a bridge had been recently thrown. While making this movement he received intelligence that the enemy had appeared in force on the plains of Chichlana and

(1) Scott's Life of Napoleon, Vol. vii.—Southey's History of the War in the Peninsula, Vol. i.—Recollections in the Peninsula, by an Officer.—Edinburgh Annual Register, 1810.

were advancing towards the heights of Barossa. In consequence of this information, and considering these heights as the key to Santo Pedro, he immediately ordered a counter march, with the view of supporting the troops left for their defence. But before this corps could completely extricate itself from the wood, the troops on the ridge of Barossa were observed to be retiring, while the left wing of the French army was rapidly advancing up the heights, their right being posted on the plain at the edge of the wood.

General Graham, aware that a retreat in the face of an enemy so superior in numbers must expose the allies to great danger, and relying on the courage of his troops, notwithstanding the inferiority of their number and the advantage which the enemy possessed in point of position, resolved on a general and immediate attack. A battery of ten pieces of cannon, under the direction of major Duncan, opened on the enemy's centre. Brigadier-general Dilkes, with a brigade of guards supported by colonel Wheatly's brigade and three companies of the cold-stream guards under lieutenant-colonel Jackson, formed on the left and right. The infantry being thus hastily arranged, the artillery advanced to a more formidable position, and kept up a heavy and well-directed fire. The right of the allies attacked general Rufin's division on the heights, while lieutenant Barnard's battalion and a detachment of Portuguese were engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs. But general Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by major Duncan's battery, advanced in imposing masses, and opened a destructive fire of musquetry. The left wing of the allies now advanced, keeping up a constant fire; and a most determined charge of the 67th regiment, and the three companies of guards, supported by all the rest of the left wing, decided the fate of general Laval's division. The eagle of one of the regiments of light infantry was taken by major Gough. The right wing of the allies was equally successful. The French met brigadier-general Dilkes on the ascent of the ridge, and an obstinate conflict ensued; but the undaunted bravery and steady perseverance of the British troops surmounted every obstacle, and generale Rufin's division being driven from the heights left behind them two pieces of artillery. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action the French began to retreat; but the exhausted state of the allies prevented any pursuit. The loss of the enemy on this occasion was about three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with one eagle and six pieces of cannon, their ammunition waggons, and a number of horses. General Bellegarde, chief of the staff, and aid-de-camp of marshal Victor, and several other officers were killed, besides a number that were wounded and taken prisoners, among whom were the general of division, Rufin, who soon after died of his wounds. The loss of the allies amounted to about twelve hundred in killed and wounded, but among these were unfortunately a number of excellent officers. Of all the actions that had hitherto taken place in the Peninsula, this was one of the most glorious to the British arms; but it was productive of but little advantage. General Graham had gained a brilliant victory, but finding it impossible to procure supplies, he withdrew the next day across the Santo Pedro, and afterwards returned to Cadiz.

About the same time that the British arms were so successful on the heights of Barossa, Massena commenced his retreat from Santarem, where he had never been able to attack lord Wellington with any prospect of success. Scarcity of provisions at length obliged him to retire. Behind him he had only a barren and exhausted country, with a hostile population, circumstances which greatly distressed his army; while the British general, having the Tagus on his right, and Lisbon in his rear, was in a commanding position which ensured ample supplies. Massena, in retreating through Portugal towards the frontier, was closely followed by lord Wellington, whose van attacked the rear of the French, on the 11th of March, and gained a considerable advantage. But this success on the part of the allies was ill compensated by the fall of Badajos, which surrendered on the same day to the duke of Dalmatia, after a vigorous resistance.

The check which the French armies received in the Peninsula, must, nevertheless, have been extremely mortifying to their leaders. Massena, on

entering Portugal had indulged in the most ridiculous vauntings of his determination to "plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon, and drive the leopard into the sea." But his retreat from Santarem, where he left behind him a part of his heavy artillery, was a retrograde movement little expected by him, and, though conducted with military skill, it is said to have been distinguished "by barbarities rarely equalled, and never surpassed." Lord Wellington accused him of acts of cruelty and wanton mischief which would disgrace a horde of savages. In the haste of retreat the French army abandoned their wounded, destroying most of their baggage and other encumbrances. They retained till the close of March a strong post at Guarda, from which, on the approach of the allied army, they retired to Sabugal on the Coa. Their position on that river, was attacked by the allies in force, on the 3d of April, and carried after a sharp action. On the following day, the French army entered Spain, and continued their retreat across the Ageda.

Lord Wellington now made arrangements for the blockade of Almeida, and employed the interval of active operations in visiting the corps under the command of marshal Beresford, in Spanish Estremadura, consisting of an united force of British and Portuguese troops. After repulsing an attack from the French on the 7th of April, near Olivenza, he took up a position whence he could invest both that place and Badajos. Olivenza surrendered to the marshal on the 15th; and lord Wellington, having had an interview with him, during which they established the siege of Badajoz, returned to his army. The siege of this latter place was carried on with vigour until the 12th of May, when the re-advance of marshal Soult was announced by general Blake, who joined the army under Wellington, with a body of troops from Cadiz. At a council of war then held, the three commanders resolved to give battle to the enemy. With this view the siege of Badajoz was raised, and the army took a strong position fronting the banks of the Albuera, and extending to the village of that name, on the summit of a gradual ascent from the river.

On the 16th of May, at an early hour, the French passed the stream in great force, intending to attack the Spaniards posted under general Blake on the right, and to turn the wing of the allies; and after an obstinate resistance, they succeeded in gaining the heights which commanded the whole position. But while the most strenuous efforts were making to dislodge them, and the English brigades headed by general Stewart were actually charging with fixed bayonets, they were themselves charged by a body of Polish cavalry lancers in the rear, who did terrible execution. At this critical moment, however, sir Lowry Cole, bringing up the reserve, the French were driven from the heights with great slaughter. Their attack on the village and the bridge was also successfully repelled by baron Alton, of the German legion, which, with the division of general Hamilton, defended that post; and the whole French army, after six hours fighting, repassed the Albuera with some precipitation, though a deficiency of cavalry prevented the allies from pursuing them. "Never," says marshal Beresford, "did troops more gloriously maintain the honour of their respective countries." General Stewart, after being twice wounded, refused to quit the field. General Houghton, leading his brigade to the charge, fell at their head. The Portuguese, under general Hamilton, evinced, according to marshal Beresford's account, the utmost steadiness and courage, and rivalled the British in their manœuvres. The Spanish generals Blake, Castanos, and Ballesteros, signalized their valour and intrepidity; and marshal Soult himself is said to have acknowledged, "that in the long course of his military service, he had never before witnessed so desperate and sanguinary a contest."

It is worthy of remark, that, in this engagement, no less than six different nations were at once shedding their blood in mortal combat—namely, British, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, French, and Poles! The French army consisted of near thirty thousand men, of which number at least four thousand were cavalry. The allies were superior in infantry; but their cavalry did not exceed two thousand. The total loss in killed and wounded

amounted to about six thousand men on the part of the allies; that of the French must have been still greater. Before day break of the 18th, marshal Soult commenced his retrograde march to Seville.

The siege of Badajoz now recommenced under the superintendance of lord Wellington; but the fortress was of great strength, and the garrison, though with little prospect of relief, defended the place with extraordinary bravery. In two assaults on fort Christoval, the allies were repulsed with great slaughter. In the mean time, Soult, in conjunction with marshal Marmont, who had now succeeded Massena, was collecting a force for its relief; and on their approach, lord Wellington, finding himself much inferior in strength, retired to the right bank of the Guadiana, from whence, after a short interval, he removed his wearied troops, during the sultry heats of summer, into cantonments in the lower Beira. Towards the end of September, the British troops again took the field, threatening the fortress of Ciudad-Rodrigo; but before lord Wellington could complete his preparations, general Marmont collected a force of sixty thousand men with the view of turning the left of his position, and either cutting off his retreat, or forcing him to battle. His skilful opponent, however, aware of his design, made a timely movement beyond the Coa, on which Marmont withdrew towards Salamanca. During these operations, general Hill, who had been detached from the main army and joined by a Spanish force, on the 28th of October, surprised and totally defeated a corps of the French under general Girard, at Arroyo del Molino, with a loss on the part of the enemy of two thousand men, with their artillery and baggage.

In Spain, the province of Catalonia was the theatre of the most active military operations, at the close of the last, and the beginning of this year (1811). The capture of Tortosa, by the French army under marshal Suchet, has been already noticed. After the reduction of that fortress, Suchet sent a division against Fort Balaguez, at the mouth of the Ebro, and on the 9th of January, it was carried by assault. It was then determined to undertake the siege of Taragona, and, as a preliminary step, the whole Italian division of the French army made an attack on the Spanish general Sarsfield, January the 15th, but the assailants were defeated with considerable loss, and this check deferred for some months the siege of that city. During this interval, the fortress of Figueras was recovered by a body of Catalonians who were secretly admitted into the place through a stratagem of some of their countrymen whom the French had forced into their service. The whole French garrison were taken in their beds without a shot being fired.

About the end of April, Suchet marched his army against Tarragona, resolved on the reduction of this important sea-port: and on the 5th of May he completed its investment except on the sea side. A furious assault made on the 21st, after a great slaughter on both sides, placed the lower part of the Town, into which the besiegers had got access through the capture of an out-work, in the power of the enemy. The garrison, however, still held out, until, on the 28th, a practicable breach being made, the assailants rushed in, and almost instantly carried the place. To such a pitch had their fury been roused by the long and determined resistance which had been made, that every outrage and cruelty suffered in a town taken by storm was the melancholy lot of the inhabitants of Tarragona. Multitudes endeavoured to escape into the country; and many, particularly the women and children, fled in boats to the British vessels. Amidst this confusion, the ruthless enemy perpetrated every species of outrage, on persons of both sexes, and of all ages! Suchet, in his letter to the minister of war, says that nine thousand seven hundred and eighty men were made prisoners, and that five thousand were killed or drowned after the entrance of his troops into the city. But the account given of this dreadful disaster, by the Spaniards themselves, makes the number that was butchered by the French to be six thousand, and the prisoners about five thousand. Suchet coolly remarks, that this terrible example, as he terms it, will be long remembered in Spain. And, doubtless, it will be remembered as an indelible disgrace to his character. By this conquest, the

French became possessed of the whole coast of Catalonia; and Suchet, marching into the interior of that province, dispersed the parties which the marquis of Camperverde had raised by his exertions.

In the month of September, Suchet entered the province of Valencia, and on the 27th took possession of Murviedro. He then opened trenches against its fortress, and made several attempts to carry it, which were repulsed with considerable loss. In the mean time general Blake collected all the disposable force in that quarter for its relief. He occupied the heights above the besieging army, where, on the 25th of October he was attacked, and after a well sustained engagement, was defeated with a loss, according to the French account, of six thousand five hundred men killed, wounded and prisoners. On the following day the fortress of Murviedro capitulated, and its garrison remained prisoners of war. Suchet then advanced with part of his army to the suburbs of the city of Valencia, and made preparations for the siege of that capital. On the 26th of November, he attacked general Blake's protecting army, the cavalry of which being routed, the infantry took shelter in their entrenched camp. This was afterwards forced; and the defenders after losing their artillery and baggage, found no other retreat but into the city itself. On the 25th of December, Valencia was invested on every side; but its fall was protracted till the following year.

In the beginning of the year 1811, the Cortes issued a proclamation, declaring that they would not recognize any act of Ferdinand VII. while deprived of his liberty. In April they passed a decree abolishing the use of torture, and referred to a committee a motion for the abolition of the slave trade. Other proceedings of that assembly, tending to the removal of old grievances, were, the admission of plebeians, as well as nobles, into the military colleges: the application to the use of the military hospitals of sums destined for the use of religious fraternities: and the abolition of jurisdictional seigniories and vassalage. A principal object of their attention was the formation of a constitution; and a committee having been appointed for drawing up a plan, two sections were read at a public sitting on the 19th of August, and ordered to be printed. The preliminary article ran thus: "The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; and therefore the right belongs to it, exclusively, of establishing its fundamental laws, and of adopting the form of government which it judges most suitable." This produced a long debate, the result of which was, that the first clause of the article was voted by a large majority; the second was rejected. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the nation, however, met with opposition from the royal council, which circulated a paper expressly disavowing it: in consequence of which the Cortes instituted a criminal proceeding against such persons as concurred in that measure, and in the mean time suspended them from their functions.

The emperor Napoleon, during the summer of this year, was chiefly intent upon his grand project of totally excluding the British commerce from the continent of Europe, and of raising a navy which might in time contend with that of England for the dominion of the sea. On the 1st of January, the annexation of the great commercial city of Hamburg to the French empire, was announced by the display of the French flag, and a public proclamation. The plan of a marine conscription was, by Napoleon's order, presented to the senate, and, of course, received its ratification. It consisted in converting the military into a naval conscription, throughout the thirty maritime departments of the empire. For the purpose of recruiting the navy, youths from the age of thirteen to sixteen were to be selected and trained in the necessary manœuvres; and a decree was passed for placing ten thousand conscripts of each of the classes of 1813, 14, 15, and 16, at the disposal of the minister of the marine. At the same time, seamen were collected from every part of the empire, to man the fleet at Antwerp. In the spirit of forcing even nature to conform to his will, this extraordinary man issued a decree enjoining the culture of beet-root and woad, to a large extent, to supply the place of the sugar-cane and indigo plant: thus hoping to supersede the necessity of colonial importation.

On the 17th of June, a French national ecclesiastical council was opened

at Paris in great form and state. Its object was to supply the numerous vacancies in the episcopal order, which had been occasioned by the peremptory refusal of the pope to induct the bishops of the emperor's nomination. It was consequently declared in the *exposé* of the state of the empire, that the *concordat* between France and the See of Rome no longer existed; and that the fate of episcopacy would henceforth be attached to the deliberations of the council of Paris. But uncontrolled as the will of Napoleon was in all other matters, it appears that he found it necessary to exercise a little management with regard to ecclesiastical affairs. With a view, probably, to conciliate the affections of his new subjects in Holland, and to accelerate his maritime preparations, he set out, in the month of September, accompanied by his amiable consort, Maria Louisa, on a tour to the coast of France, and from thence to the Netherlands and Holland. At Boulogne he ordered his flotilla to make an attempt on an English frigate lying off that port, which terminated only in his mortification. He proceeded to view all the works and shipping at Ostend, Flushing, and Antwerp, in which visit he is said to have found much to flatter his pride and elevate his hopes—not wholly unalloyed, however, with some mortifying circumstances. At Amsterdam, decorated with the title of the third city of the empire, he was received with all the demonstrations of joy and attachment which are so easily procured to gratify the feelings of a present master; and from the imperial palace of that city he issued a string of decrees to regulate the internal government of Holland, the intent of which was to assimilate its institutions in the most perfect manner to those of "the great nation," in which that republican country was now merged. During this time, and after his return to Paris, Napoleon was actively employed in negotiating with the northern powers, the consequences of which soon began to develope themselves. The year closed with an immediate call for a hundred and twenty thousand conscripts for the year 1812.

The humiliated court of Vienna was principally occupied at this time, with efforts for the restoration of its dilapidated resources; one of the means of doing which was the sale of ecclesiastical estates to a considerable extent. The diet of Hungary was opened in August; and in the beginning of September the emperor repaired thither, and read a paper containing the proposals of government relating to matters of revenue and finance. Some opposition beginning to manifest itself, a declaration was made on the part of the emperor, that he would not suffer any resistance to be made to his measures from his Hungarian States. His subserviency to the projects of his son-in-law, Napoleon, was evinced by a note to the stadtholder of Austria, directing that a free passage, and all necessary supplies should be granted to the French troops through his territories. In other parts of Germany, every thing was submissive to the will of the tyrant. The duchy of Oldenburg was annexed to his northern empire without opposition, on no other plea than that of convenience. Prussia was rendered almost entirely dependent; and its unfortunate sovereign was compelled to place a considerable body of troops under French command on the coast of the Baltic, and to join the confederation of the Rhine. This league, the master-piece of Napoleon's policy, was now become of vast consequence from its extent of territory and population. Its contingent of troops was fixed at one hundred and eighteen thousand, six hundred and eighty two men; and this body in the autumn was taken into the pay of France, and an army composed from it was assembled in the vicinity of Mentz.

The political state of Sweden, at this critical juncture, was of a very undecided form. The leading part in the administration, taken by a Frenchman as declared successor to the crown, naturally induced the expectation that French interests would predominate, and the declaration of war against England was apparently the result of this influence; yet the war between the two countries was rather nominal than real. The war was unpopular with the Swedish nation; and the crown prince himself began to shew marked indications of being more swayed by the consideration of his future sovereignty, than by attachment to a former master. In March, the king

issued a proclamation signifying, that, on account of ill-health he had found it necessary for the present to withdraw from public affairs, and that he had transferred the royal authority to the crown-prince. A conscription of twenty thousand men was now levied, but, it was attended with insurrections among the peasantry in various parts, which were not quelled without bloodshed. Sir James Saumarez, who had the command of the English fleet in the Baltic, entered into a negotiation with the Swedish government relative to some detained ships with colonial produce, from which a mutual desire of being upon more amicable terms became apparent. And the conduct of the British admiral, in not only allowing coasting vessels to pass unmolested, but affording them protection, was highly satisfactory to the Swedish nation.

The hostility of Denmark towards England continued without abatement; and the proximity of the power of France, in consequence of the German annexations, necessarily rendered her subservient to French politics. A great proportion of the Danish seamen were allowed to enter into French service, their chief employment at home being confined to the manning of privateers and gun-boats against the British trade. The most considerable enterprise undertaken by the Danes during this year, 1811, was an attempt to recover the island of Anholt from the English. On the 27th of March, a Danish flotilla, with troops on board, constituting a force of about four thousand men, landed on the island, and made an attack on the English fortifications, garrisoned by only three hundred and fifty men. Their operations, however, were so ill directed, that, after repeated efforts, in which no want of courage appeared, they were repulsed with the loss of their commander, and many killed and wounded. Five hundred of them, in one body, unable to get back to their boats, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Russia continued throughout this year to waste its population and revenues in a contest with the Ottoman Porte, which was carried on with vigorous efforts on both sides. At the close of the year, the Russian arms had decidedly obtained that superiority which skill and discipline must always eventually obtain over blind valour. The emperor of Russia might at his pleasure disengage himself from the burden of a war of ambition; but difficulties were now impending over him of a more serious kind. He was now the only continental sovereign capable of asserting his independence against that colossal power, which aimed at nothing less than rendering all Europe subservient to its views; and his determination to maintain that dignified situation was now to be put to the proof. The scheme which Napoleon had formed for ruining the finances of England, by cutting off her communication with the continent of Europe, required an universal concurrence in the means proposed; and he had so far effected his purpose that he could not brook any obstacle to its completion. But the English trade with Russia was too important to that empire to be readily renounced. Many of the nobility derived a great share of their revenues from the sale of products of which Great Britain was the principal market, and its connexions with the mercantile interests of Russia were extremely intimate. On this account English manufactures had never been committed to the flames in that country, as in many others, and British colonial produce was admitted into the Russian ports in neutral bottoms. The presence of an English fleet in the Baltic during the summer could not fail to occasion some relaxation of the system of commercial exclusion, which gave umbrage to the ruler of France. Other causes of difference subsisted between the courts of Petersburg and Paris, and the whole year passed in discussions between them, some of which bore the aspect of immediate hostility. On the whole, it no longer remained doubtful, that the temper of the Russian monarch at the close of the year 1811, was more friendly towards England than towards France; and a cloud was obviously gathering which in the ensuing year burst forth with great fury. (1)

(1) Southey's History of the war in the Peninsula—Narrative of the Campaign of the loyal Lusitanian legion, and of the military operations in Spain and Portugal, by an Officer.—Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon, vol. vii.—New Annual Register, 1811.—Dr. Aikin's Annals of George III. vol. ii.

LETTER XIV.

Affairs of Great Britain, A. D. 1811—1812.—Parliamentary discussions on the king's indisposition.—Turbulent conduct of the Irish Catholics.—Reinstatement of the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief.—Lord Sidmouth defeated in his attempt to restrict the limits of the toleration act.—Affairs of Great Britain and the United States.—Naval operations.—Disturbances in the manufacturing districts of England.—Attempt on the part of the Prince Regent to conciliate the Whigs.—Assassination of Mr. Spencer Perceval.—Negotiations for a new administration.

THE melancholy situation of the monarch had once more rendered the appointment of a regency necessary to the regular administration of the affairs of government. The existing ministry, willing to believe that the king's incapacity would not be permanent, continued to govern in his name for eight weeks, before any parliamentary arrangements were made for the critical occasion. The house of commons then voted, that it was their right and duty, in concert with the peers, to provide the means of supplying the deficiency of the executive power. When the lords were requested to concur in this resolution, and also in a vote for adjusting the means of giving the royal assent to a bill of temporary regulation, the duke of Sussex took up the subject with considerable spirit, and censured the ministers for their audacious and protracted usurpation of the functions of sovereignty. The duke of York also condemned the intention of applying the great seal to a bill without the king's sanction and authority; but their lordships finally agreed to the proposition of the commons. Mr. Perceval suggested the propriety of restricting the regent's power, while he expressed his conviction of the expediency of admitting the prince of Wales to the temporary exercise of the royal authority. To this restrictive scheme also a strong opposition was raised, as being both unconstitutional and impolitic, and with all his exertions, the minister had great difficulty in carrying the measure. In the progress of the scheme, Mr. Perceval and his colleagues found themselves in a minority, when they wished to grant political power to the queen, by allowing her to appoint or remove all the officers of the household; but she was permitted to retain the care of the royal person, and to receive the assistance of a council. In several divisions which took place in the house of lords, the prince's cause was carried by a small majority; but his adversaries gained the chief points at which they aimed. An opinion generally prevailed among them, that he would not retain the king's advisers in the cabinet, and they therefore resolved to diminish the power and patronage of their expected successors.

During the progress of the debates relating to the regency, in the house of lords, earl Grey had taken notice of the circumstance of the king's having been allowed to perform some of the functions of royalty in the year 1804, at a time when his mental malady still rendered him an object of medical control; and a censure on the lord chancellor Eldon was moved on that account, but it was negatived. The subject was again brought forward by Mr. Whitbread, on the 25th of February, 1811, who preface a motion respecting it by stating the facts of the case. The malady of the king, he said, was announced to the public on the 15th of February, 1804, and bulletins continued to be issued until March the 22nd, but it was not till April the 23d, that his complete recovery was declared by a personal attendance at council. Yet, on the 6th of March, lord Eldon mentioned that he had been with the king on the 4th and 5th of that month, and having explained to him the nature of a bill then pending for alienating certain crown lands in favour of the duke of York, his majesty had commanded him to signify his consent to that bill. On the 9th of March, a commission signed by the king was issued.

and the chancellor being asked whether he had personal knowledge of the state of the king's health, declared he was aware of what he was doing, and would take upon himself all the responsibility. Lord Sidmouth, also, on the 26th of March, brought down a message from the king. On these facts, Mr. Whitbread founded a motion for a committee to examine the lords' journals for evidence of the physicians respecting his majesty's health in 1804, and to report the same to the house.

Lord Castlereagh rose in defence of the chancellor, and declared his readiness to share with him the responsibility of the transaction referred to. The defence turned upon the unanimous declaration of the physicians as to the king's competency to transact business on February the 27th, though none was submitted to him until the 5th of March. On the 9th, it was necessary to obtain his sign-manual to the mutiny-act, which could not be deferred without danger. In these and other instances, the physicians had sanctioned the application to him. Mr. Whitbread, in reply, pledged himself to make out the entire charge, if opportunity were given him of cross-examining the physicians; but his motion was negatived. The impression upon the public mind was, that, although there was no reason for supposing that the royal assent had been affixed to any measure not in itself proper, yet that the king had been made to exercise his functions of office at a time when he was not possessed of a distinguishing judgment, or free agency; and that it was highly expedient to prevent any future recurrence of a similar kind.

The Irish Catholics, at this time, manifested a very turbulent conduct, which tended much to embarrass the government, at a period when the external enemies of the country claimed its undivided attention. Influenced by their ambitious leaders, they formed a convention at Dublin, by selecting ten delegates from every county, with the view of promoting their grand object of emancipation. The lord-lieutenant was no sooner apprized of their proceedings, than he issued a circular letter commanding the sheriffs and magistrates to obstruct and prevent such elections. When the facts became known in England, lord Moira called the attention of the house of lords to the subject, condemning the interference of the court as invidious and unseasonable, at a time when the critical state of affairs would suggest to a wise government the expediency of conciliating every class and description of his majesty's subjects; but, the ministry vindicated the conduct of the viceroy. Petitions prepared by the Catholic committee, were now presented to both houses of parliament; but though strongly supported by the eloquence of the earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, they were unsuccessful. After this disappointment; a convention being held in Dublin, a proclamation was issued against such illegal assemblies, and Dr. Sheridan was put upon his trial for a violation of the statute. The judges seemed disposed to declare him guilty, but the jury gave a contrary verdict. When the earl of Fingal had taken the chair at a subsequent meeting, he was displaced by a magistrate, who did not, however, dare to apprehend him.

Although the prince regent, considering himself the possessor of only a restricted and temporary authority, declined to take any part in public transactions, at this time, and allowed the ministers whom he found in office to pursue their own plans without interference; yet one act, which soon followed his accession to power, was certainly regarded as a spontaneous exertion on his part. This was the re-appointment of the duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief of the army. As his resignation had appeared to give general satisfaction, this measure excited considerable surprise; and some of the members of the house of commons, who had stood forward in the charges which had been the cause of the royal duke's resignation, could not but feel the act of his re-appointment as conveying an imputation on their conduct, as well as a stigma on the house itself. It was under this impression that lord Milton, on the 6th of June, after various observations on the former parliamentary proceedings, the object of which was to shew, that, if his royal highness had not voluntarily resigned, the house was prepared to come to some resolution which would have rendered the event necessary—

moved the following resolution: "that upon a deliberate consideration of the recent circumstances under which the duke of York retired from the army in March, 1809, it appears to the house to have been highly indecorous in the advisers of the prince regent, to recommend to his royal highness the re-appointment of the duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief."

The chancellor of the exchequer readily acknowledged the responsibility of ministers for the measure in question; but he contended that when sir David Dundas had expressed a wish to retire, they could have no hesitation as to whom they should recommend to supply the vacancy; the duke of York's eminent services to the army leaving them no choice, especially as no vote had passed the house to preclude his future restoration. The duke consequently resumed his station.

During this session of parliament, a bold attempt was made by some persons connected with the government to curtail the privileges of the dissenters, by altering the provisions of the toleration act. From a report recently presented to the lords, it appeared that the number of dissenting meeting houses amounted to three thousand, four hundred and fifty seven, while the churches and chapels appertaining to the national establishment were only two thousand, five hundred and forty-seven, leaving out of the account those parishes in which the inhabitants did not exceed one thousand! This disclosure naturally excited a ground of alarm, at this progressive encroachment upon the established church; and to counteract the increase of sectarianism, lord Sidmouth introduced a bill which he fondly hoped would check the multiplication of heterodox preachers. He affirmed that the act of toleration was misunderstood; and that the prevailing practice of admitting to the right of preaching the most ignorant and contemptible individuals, many of whom could scarcely write their own names, and could with difficulty read their native language, not only militated against the true sense of the statute, but tended to the discredit of religion itself. He therefore proposed that no person should be authorized to officiate in any place of worship, unless he should be recommended by six reputable housekeepers of the congregation or church of which he was a member, and should also prove that he was permitted to be the pastor of a particular flock. The dissenters throughout England took the alarm at this bill, and the tables of both houses of parliament were almost instantly loaded with petitions from all parts of the kingdom against this encroachment on the freedom of ministerial choice, and so appalling was the clamour, that the peers were induced to explode the offered bill, to the no inconsiderable mortification of lord Sidmouth and his constituents, the former of whom was left to contend with the storm alone.

The state of matters between Great Britain and the United States still remained unadjusted. Early in the year, Mr Foster was sent over as envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary; but so long as the English government was determined to abide by the fatal orders in council, nothing could be effected. In the month of May, an accidental rencontre, originating in some point of naval etiquette, occurred between an English and an American frigate. The two governments equally disavowed intentional hostility, but all these things tended to mutual irritation. On the meeting of congress on the 4th of November, president Maddison announced "the necessity of putting the United States into an *Armour* and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectation!" He at the same time expressed much dissatisfaction with the court of Paris for its delay in restoring the great amount of American seizures, and for the restrictions imposed on their trade in the French dominions. The committee of congress, in their report on the president's speech, expressed themselves in still stronger terms respecting their wrongs, and recommended vigorous measures of preparation by land and sea. Such was the menacing aspect of affairs in that quarter with which the year 1811 closed.

The most splendid naval achievement of this year was the conquest of the island of Java, by an armament fitted out from Madras, under the immediate auspices of lord Minto, who accompanied the expedition in person, the

troops being placed under the able command of sir Samuel Achmuty. On the 5th of August, a landing was effected without opposition, a few leagues east of the city of Batavia which surrendered almost on the first summons; the Dutch forces under general Janssens, amounting to ten thousand men having retired to an entrenched camp near Cornelis. Here they were attacked by the British on the 26th, and after a gallant resistance the lines were forced, the fort of Cornelis stormed, and the Dutch army routed with terrible slaughter, the whole ten thousand men being either taken prisoners, killed, or dispersed. General Janssens fled with a few cavalry to the distance of thirty miles, where he employed himself in collecting his scattered force for the defence of the remainder of the island. Sir Samuel Achmuty, however, pushed his success with vigour; and, marching to Samarang, whither general Janssens had retired, he took possession of it without opposition. Having frustrated another attempt at composition, an armistice took place, which terminated in the surrender of the European troops, and the delivery of the whole island of Java to the British arms. The small island of Madura also submitted; and thus not a vestige was left of the eastern dominion of the Gallo Batavian empire.

Opposing fleets were now no longer to be found upon the ocean; but in the absence of the pride and pomp of war, the public attention was arrested by a remarkably gallant action performed by an English squadron of four frigates of which captain Hoste was the commodore. It occurred off the north point of the island of Lesina on the coast of Dalmatia, which the enemy had been sent to fortify and garrison. On the 18th of March, the English commodore descried a French force consisting of five frigates and six smaller vessels, having five hundred troops on board. Confiding in his superiority, the French commodore bore down in two divisions to attack the English, who formed in a close line to receive him. The action commenced by an attempt of the French commander to practise the manœuvre of breaking the line, in which, however, he failed: and endeavouring afterwards to round the English van, he was so roughly treated that his ship became unmanageable and ran on the rocks. The action was still maintained with great fury, till two of the French frigates struck: two others crowded all sail for the port of Lesina, and the small vessels dispersed in all directions. The result of this action, which ranks among the most brilliant achievements of the British navy, was the burning of the ship of the brave French commodore, who was killed in the engagement, and the capture of two others. A fourth, which had struck her colours, took an opportunity of stealing away, and was in vain reclaimed as a lawful prize by captain Hoste. The loss on the part of the English amounted to two hundred in killed and wounded.

In the month of May of this year (1811) a severe conflict took place in the Indian sea, off Madagascar, between an English and French squadron. Three French frigates, having troops on board, appeared off the Mauritius, but bore away on discovering that the island was in possession of the English. Captain Scomberg, of the *Astra* frigate, conjecturing that they would make for Tamatava, followed them thither, accompanied by two frigates and a sloop of war. On the 20th of May, the enemy was discovered near Foul Point, Madagascar, when a partial engagement took place, in which the English ship *Galatea*, suffered so much in her masts that she could not be brought again into action. On the next day, the engagement was renewed, and the French commodore's ship of 44 guns and 470 men, of which 200 were picked troops, struck, after being reduced to a wreck. Another frigate struck, but, according to the French custom, made its escape. The British squadron then proceeded to Tamatava, which had been re-possessed by the French, and compelled the fort and harbour to surrender, in the latter of which was a frigate of 44 guns that had been in the late action.

The close of this year was remarkable for violent storms, which occasioned great losses at sea, of which the British navy partook its full proportion. On the 4th of December, the *Saldanha* frigate, captain Pakenham, was lost off Lough Swilley, on the northern coast of Ireland, and all its crew perished. A dreadful gale in the German Ocean, on the 24th of December, was much

more extensively fatal. The Hero, captain Newman, of seventy-four guns, escorting a convoy from Wingo Sound, ran upon the Haak Sound, off the Texel, and every effort to save the crew proving ineffectual, the ship went to pieces, and the whole of the crew were lost; several vessels of the convoy sharing her fate. On the same disastrous day, the St. George of ninety-eight guns, admiral Reynolds, and the Defence, of seventy-four guns, captain Atkins, sailing home from the Baltic, were stranded on the western coast of North Jutland: the consequence was the loss of both ships, only six men being saved from one, and eleven from the other.

The operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, enforced as they were by the orders in council, had now produced the most fatal consequences to the mercantile and manufacturing interests. The loan for the last year had sustained a ruinous depreciation: and the foreign demand for British manufactures being greatly diminished, numerous failures were the inevitable and melancholy result. A select committee was appointed to inquire into the state of commercial credit, who recommended, as a temporary expedient an issue of exchequer bills, to the amount of six millions, for the relief of such persons as could give satisfactory security for the repayment of the several sums advanced; but as this could be done by comparatively few, no extensive benefit was afforded. Bank of England notes being at this time at a discount of 20 or 30 per cent., in exchange for gold coin, an act was now passed, by which no person could be held to bail for any debt, the payment of which he tendered in Bank of England notes, or execution entered for rent; at the same time making it penal to take Bank of England notes at a value less than they nominally bore. To such evils, and to such strange and dangerous remedies for those evils, was the country now reduced. The interior tranquillity of England, however, was, comparatively, but little disturbed during the greater part of the year; but as the winter approached, serious tumults arose in the districts of the hosiery manufactory, particularly in the county of Nottingham. These were occasioned by the discharge of many workmen, partly owing to a decrease in the demand for manufactured articles, and partly to the invention of a wide frame for weaving stockings, by which a considerable saving of labour was effected. The first attacks of the rioters were directed against these frames. They commenced on the 10th of November, near Nottingham, and were continued with augmented daring, attended with outrages of other kinds. The riotous spirit extended to the manufacturing districts of Derbyshire and Leicestershire, though Nottingham was still the centre of the mischief. Numbers of frames were destroyed during the month of December, and the evil went on increasing until in the following year it spread so far as to become an object of serious attention to the government. Frame-breaking now had become organized into a regular system, which the exertions of the magistrates, even with the aid of a military force, were unable to control. On the 14th of February, 1812, two bills were introduced into the house of commons, the object of which was to add new powers to those already conferred by the laws for the suppression of tumultuous proceedings. The first of these was to render the crime of frame-breaking, hitherto punishable by transportation, a capital offence. The second was to enable the lord-lieutenant of the county, the sheriff, or five justices, where disturbances existed, "to call a special meeting for the appointment of a necessary number of constables, and establishing watch and ward. These bills were made operative throughout the kingdom, but they were limited to the 1st of March, 1814.

The year 1812, on which we have now entered, will long be distinguished in the annals of British history by the extraordinary and important events to which it gave birth. The parliament of the united kingdom was opened by commission on the 7th of January. The council appointed to assist the queen, and who were required by the regency act to make a report every three months of the state of the king's health, had hitherto encouraged the expectation of a favourable result. They now, however, acknowledged that, in the opinion of all the physicians, his majesty's complete and final recovery was improbable. The year of restriction and

limitation was now on the point of expiring, and a strong persuasion seemed to prevail of a material change, both as to men and measures, though not the slightest intimation had been given to that effect in the opening speech from the throne. On the 13th of February, however, the prince regent addressed a letter to the duke of York, in which he declared that the restrictions of the regency act being about to expire, he must make his arrangements for the future administration; his sentiments relative to which he had hitherto withheld, from his earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of parliament, unmixed with any other consideration. He declared that he could not reflect without pleasure on the events which had distinguished the short period of his restricted regency: and, in regard to the war in the Peninsula, "I shall," said his royal highness, "be most anxious to avoid any measure that can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it. I have no predilection to indulge, no resentment to gratify. Having made this communication, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my public life were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will communicate them to lord Grenville."

This letter, as might be expected, created no little surprise in all the political circles, and gave rise to much free animadversion. It seemed particularly surprising to many that his royal highness could for a moment indulge the expectation that lords Grey and Grenville, who had rejected with disdain the far more respectful overture of 1809, should now condescend to constitute a part of Mr. Perceval's administration. In a letter bearing the signature of the two noble lords, in reply to the duke of York, they say, "We must express without reserve the impossibility of uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such union. His royal highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember that we have already *twice* acted on this impression."

The existing administration now proceeded unchanged, and without any symptoms of a want of stability, till it was deprived of its leader by a most tragical and singular incident. On the 11th of May, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons, about five in the afternoon, a person of the name of Bellingham fired a pistol at him, the ball of which entered his left breast and pierced his heart. He staggered, fell, and almost instantly expired. Nothing could surpass the consternation in both houses which was excited by this horrible catastrophe: the first idea which suggested itself being that of a conspiracy against the members of administration to an unknown extent. It was, however, soon discovered that the act was merely in revenge of some supposed private injury. Bellingham, in a commercial visit to Russia, had sustained some heavy losses, for which he fancied the English government was bound to procure him redress. He had made repeated applications to them for that purpose, and their refusal to take cognizance of his case had made such an impression on a mind, constitutionally disposed to melancholy, that he resolved to make a sacrifice of some conspicuous member of the government which had neglected him. The general regard entertained for Mr. Perceval's character as a man, even by those who widely differed from him in political opinions, was testified by an ample provision voted unanimously for his widow and family. The assassin paid, with the forfeiture of his life, a deed of atrocity which would have been a national stain, had it not resulted from a mind under a degree of mental obliquity.

This event was regarded as inflicting such a wound on the ministry, as would render absolutely necessary, if not a radical change, at least a very considerable alteration in its system and composition; and the earl of Liverpool, on whom the office of premier now devolved, was directed by the prince regent to endeavour to acquire an accession of strength by the association of the

marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning. The negotiation for this purpose, however, failed; the cause of which appears to have been a continued difference of opinion relative to the measures to be pursued respecting the Catholics, and the scale on which the war in the Peninsula was to be conducted.

The house of commons now carried an address to the prince regent, praying him to take such steps as might be best calculated to form an efficient administration; and it having become apparent that the ministers were no longer supported by a majority of that house, his royal highness gave directions that negotiations should be opened for effecting the object of the address. The first person to whom this delicate commission was intrusted, was the marquis Wellesley, who, after a short time, tendered his royal highness a resignation of the proposed trust. The reason assigned by the noble marquis for his failure, as given in a speech in the house of lords, on the 3rd of June, was, "the most dreadful personal animosities, and the most terrible difficulties arising out of questions the most complicated and important, which interposed obstacles that were insurmountable to an arrangement so essential to the public welfare." These strong expressions he afterwards explained as not referring to the prince regent, but to lord Liverpool and his colleagues, who, however, disavowed the personal animosity imputed to them.

The task of arrangement was now transferred to the hands of lord Moira, whose political sentiments were known to be in unison with those of the great whig leaders, on the points then at issue; and the nation was now prepared to hail the appointment of a new administration, of which earl Grey, who beyond any individual possessed the confidence of the country, should be the head. Yet the sanguine hopes now formed were, by a strange fatality, completely disappointed. The stipulations made by the whig leaders for an entire change in the household offices of the regent were so violent, that lord Moira regarded them as bordering upon something like a contempt of the regent's feelings, and he refused to comply with it. In the issue, the prince regent appointed lord Liverpool first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer; lords Bathurst, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh were nominated secretaries of state; and the earl of Moira, now honoured with the garter, was appointed governor-general of India, a station for which he was deemed peculiarly well qualified. The public, sensible that the regent had not been wanting in his efforts to form such an administration, as the times demanded, acquiesced without any expressions of dissatisfaction in the present arrangement.(1)

LETTER XV.

Peninsular war in 1812, fourth campaign.—Capture of Ciudad-Rodrigo by the allies.—Surrender of Badajoz.—Retreat of marshals Soult and Marmont.—Battle of Salamanca.—The allies enter Madrid.—The French abandon the siege of Cadiz.—Lord Wellington fails in the siege of Burgos, and retreats to Freynada.—Nov. 1812.

Of the highly momentous transactions which took place on the continent of Europe in the course of this memorable year, those in the Spanish peninsula, though inferior in point of political importance to some others, will nevertheless claim our first notice, and the present letter shall be confined to a review of them.

Towards the close of the preceding year, the town of Tariffa, in the province of Andalusia, garrisoned by a thousand British infantry, with a detach-

(1) Annual Register, 1811 and 1812—Parliamentary Debates.—Aikin's Annals of the reign of George III.—Bissett's History of the reign of George III.

ment of artillery, under the command of colonel Skerrett, and a body of Spaniards, was invested by the French with an army of ten thousand men commanded by marshal Victor. A breach being made in the wall, the enemy advanced to the assault on the 31st of December, but they were received with so much intrepidity, that, after a considerable loss, they were obliged to retreat. They continued to fire against the breach, and another attack was expected, when on the 3th of January their columns were seen retiring, having left behind them their ammunition, artillery, and stores. This defence conferred great honour on the garrison and its commander, who held out with only eighteen hundred men behind a weak wall against a marshal of France.

Lord Wellington having made his dispositions for reducing the frontier fortresses occupied by the enemy, now crossed the Agueda, and on the 8th of January invested Ciudad-Rodrigo, while general Hill, advancing from Merida, compelled Druet to retire from his position, leaving behind him his stores and ammunition. Badajos was thus reduced to the utmost extremity, the country lying between the Tagus and the Guadiana cleared of the enemy, and the communication between Soult and Marmont intercepted. The siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo was now vigorously pressed; and on the 19th an attack was made in five separate columns, which proved successful at every point. After a desperate conflict the garrison, which consisted of seventeen hundred men, besides officers, surrendered, thus placing in the hands of the allies the heavy train of the French artillery, with great quantities of ammunition and stores. The British army, however, sustained a severe loss on this occasion in the death of some of its best officers. Major-general Makinon fell at the head of his storming party, being blown up by the explosion of a magazine, and Crauford, an officer of the same rank, was mortally wounded in his approach; besides these, many other brave men fell in the dangerous service. The total loss of the British, from the commencement of the siege to the termination of the assault, amounted to thirteen hundred and ten men in killed and wounded. Marmont was surprised at the speedy reduction of so defensible a town; for in the space of ten days the allies succeeded in recovering a fortress, which, when in a state of weakness, and garrisoned by Spaniards, resisted for a whole month the efforts of general Massena, supported by an army of a hundred and ten thousand men. Marmont, who had stationed his army on the Tagus to support the operations in Valencia, had calculated on being in time for the relief of Ciudad-Rodrigo, by the 29th of January. He had advanced to Salamanca with a large army, collected from the north and centre of Spain, when he was surprised and mortified by the news of its fall. After a fruitless attempt to allure his antagonist to a battle, he placed his army in cantonments along the Tormes.

After an interval of tranquil observation, during which lord Wellington received from England the gratifying intelligence of the grant of an earldom and an additional pension, he moved towards the Guadiana, and invested Badajos. When the siege had been carried on for three weeks, the garrison witnessed with apprehension and dismay those preparations for a general assault which had lately been so effectual. Breaches had been made in two of the bastions; and to divide the attention of the enemy, a third was effected before the process of storming commenced. Lieutenant-general Picton was ordered to scale the walls of the castle, while Colville and Bernard conducted those divisions which were expected to force their way through the breaches. It was now the 6th of April, and a feint attack was proposed to be made on the left, which was to become a real one if a favourable occasion should be offered. The principal fortress was defended by vigorous but fruitless exertions. So powerful were the obstacles to the ascent of the breaches, that the troops, after considerable loss, were obliged to retire. The brigade of major-general Walker, being encouraged to make an effectual assault, proceeded to a bastion in which no opening had been made, and took it by escalade. Orders were now given for a renewal of the discontinued attempt, but it was rendered unnecessary by a cessation of resistance, and in the morning the governor consented to a surrender. The garrison,

which at first consisted of five thousand men, had lost twelve hundred in the assault. The loss on the part of the allies, also, was dreadfully severe. During the siege and in the assault, they lost more than a thousand men, besides near four thousand wounded.

By the speedy reduction of this important fortress, lord Wellington once more baffled his opponents. Marmont, after in vain attempting to surprise Ciudad-Rodrigo and Almeida, penetrated into Portugal as far as Castello-Branco, where he no sooner learnt the result of the siege of Badajos, than he commenced a precipitate retreat. Soult, who had reached Villa Franca, fell back with equal haste, pursued by the British cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton. On the 11th of April, the dragoons under major-general La Marchant charged the vanguard of the French with such impetuosity, that he drove them with the utmost confusion into Learena, where the main army was posted. On the same day Soult evacuated the place, and thus the province of Estramadura was entirely freed from the enemy. The British commander, following up these successes, detached general Hill to destroy the bridge of Almaraz, which was almost the only communication below Toledo by which a large army could cross the Tagus. This bridge was strongly defended on either side by works which the enemy had thrown up; and it was moreover protected by the neighbouring castle and redoubts of Mirabeto. The extreme badness of the roads retarded this enterprise, but, on the 19th of May, the British carried by escalade the works on the left bank of the river. The enemy made an effort to escape over the bridge, but their comrades on the other side destroyed it, and fled with precipitation towards Naval Mora. Many of the fugitives whose escape was thus intercepted, perished in the stream, and three hundred were taken prisoners. When Marmont heard of the movement upon Almaraz, he moved to the south-east as far as Fort Veras, where the intelligence of its success induced him to retrace his steps, and again occupy himself in fortifying the convents of Salamanca.

The caution of lord Wellington now became less scrupulous as that of Marmont increased. He crossed the Agueda in quest of the enemy, and advanced to the Tormes. The marshal retreated, leaving a garrison at Salamanca, in fortified colleges and monasteries. When he found that a siege had been commenced, he dispatched a detachment to take a forward position; and when this had been repulsed, an attempt was made to secure a communication with the troops in the city by the left bank; but this scheme was also baffled by the vigilance of the besiegers. Major-general Clinton with the sixth division was then ordered to reduce the forts, in which, after some delay occasioned by an accidental scarcity of ammunition, he succeeded. In storming one of the forts, major-general Bowes was wounded. He retired for surgical aid, and hastening back to head his troops to the assault, he perished in the fruitless attempt. The flames being now seen to rise from the largest fort, and a breach appearing in another, the commandant of the former entreated a delay of some hours, for the adjustment of a capitulation. Lord Wellington refused to listen to this request, and gave orders for an assault unless an immediate surrender should be made. The storming commenced, on which the garrison gave themselves up as prisoners of war. When the allies entered the town and observed the excellence of the fortifications, they expressed great surprise at the shortness of the siege, which had not continued beyond ten days.

Lord Wellington now put his army in motion against Marmont, but the latter retired behind the Douro, destroyed the bridges, and concentrated his forces at Tordesillas. His rear-guard stationed at Rueda was attacked by the British cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, and driven in great confusion upon the main body. The British general now menaced the Spanish capital; on which Marmont, who had received a reinforcement under general Bonnet, which gave him a superiority of numerical force, extended his right wing as far as Toro, restored the bridge at that place, and ordered a part of his army to cross the river, as if to turn the left wing of the British. But,

hastily recalling them, he pushed on rapidly to Tordesillas, crossing at that point, and succeeded in turning the flank of the allies at Castrogon. This brilliant movement re-established his communication with Madrid and with the army of the centre. Lord Wellington having made dispositions for the retreat and junction of his different divisions, now took up a position in which he offered battle, which Marmont thought it expedient to decline, but declining to wait for some reinforcements that were hastening to him, he persevered in his manœuvres on the British flanks.

A series of skilful movements now ensued on both sides until the 31st of July, when the allied army was concentrated on the Tormes. On the same day the French crossed the river, and appeared to threaten Ciudad-Rodrigo. On the two following days, Marmont had recourse to a variety of evolutions to distract the attention of the British general from his real plan, which was to enclose the allies in their position on a peninsula formed by the river, and to cut off their retreat. He threatened their left, which he found well provided with the means of defence, while their other flank, where the real attack was expected, presented a no less formidable resistance. In aiming to surround the British, he extended and weakened his own line, and lord Wellington, watching the progress of this error, seized the favourable moment of striking the decisive blow. His arrangements were soon made, and no time lost in executing them.

Major-general Pakenham, at the head of the third division, commenced a bold attack on the flanks of the enemy's left, in which he was supported by brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, by the fourth and fifth divisions, and by the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton in front. The French, though finely posted and supported by cannon were overthrown. Against their centre, on the hill of the Arapiles, general Pack's attempt was at first unsuccessful, but the fifth division, after its success on their left, changed its front, and attacking their centre, drove it from the hill with precipitation. The right wing of the French being joined by the fugitives, maintained a shew of resistance, but it was attacked both in front and flank, and driven in confusion from the field. The pursuit was continued until night, and renewed on the following morning, when the French rear-guard was overtaken, attacked, and put to flight, the cavalry leaving the infantry to their fate. Three whole battalions surrendered, and large quantities of stores, baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the allies. Eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, and six stand of colours were taken; five generals, three lieutenant-colonels, one hundred and thirty officers of different ranks, and seven thousand privates, were made prisoners. On the part of the allies, the loss was about seven hundred killed and four thousand wounded. Major-general La Marchant, a brave and skilful officer, was among the killed. Lieutenant-generals Leith and Cole, and major-general Alton were wounded. Sir Stapleton Cotton was fired upon at night by mistake, by a British soldier, but happily his wound did not prove fatal. On the part of the enemy, Marmont and Bonnet were both wounded, and the command of the fugitive army devolved upon general Clausel, who for some time made a stand on the Douro, but on the approach of the allies, he crossed that river, abandoned Valladolid, and continued his retreat upon Burgos. Thus terminated the battle of Salamanca, in which lord Wellington obtained a complete victory over an army superior to his own in numbers, and commanded by one of the most skilful of the French marshals. On this memorable occasion the Portuguese bravely seconded the British troops, but the Spaniards had scarcely any concern in the contest, as they lost only two of their number.

Lord Wellington now resolved to engage the central army, should king Joseph have the courage to meet him, and compel him to quit the capital. Leaving a force, therefore, under general Paget to watch the motions of the enemy, the British commander advanced with the main body of his army towards Madrid. King Joseph, who with twenty thousand men under his command had reached Segovia, hearing of the defeat of Marmont, hastily retreated through Madrid to Alhambra, a position from which he could command the river of Guadarrama, Suchet or Soult. On the 12th of August the allied

army entered the capital. The Beteiro, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, immediately surrendered, and Guadalaxara was, at the same time taken by the army of Empecinado. At this time intelligence reached lord Wellington, that an army of British and Neapolitan troops from Sicily, under the command of general Maitland, with some Spaniards from Majorca, had arrived at the port of Alicante. Expectations were consequently formed that this force, uniting with the patriots of Murcia and Valencia, might favour the operations of the grand army by a powerful diversion; but unfortunately the defeat of general O'Donnel by the French troops under Harispe, combined with other reverses, disabled the Spaniards from acting, and, in a great measure, deranged the plan of the campaign.

Aware that their losses had been aggravated by a want of concert, the generals who commanded the armies of France now endeavoured to cooperate with the view of retrieving them. On the 24th of August, Soult abandoned the siege of Cadiz, and began to evacuate the province of Andalusia, for the purpose of uniting his forces with those of king Joseph and mareschal Suchet, for the recovery of the capital. The French troops in Biscay, also evacuated that province, and joining the wreck of Marmont's army under Clausel, moved in the direction of Burgos, to watch the British troops destined for the siege of that place. By thus threatening Madrid and reinforcing Burgos, they hoped to compel the British either to fight at a disadvantage, or to retreat. They had strongly fortified the latter place, and made it the centre of their operations in the north of Spain. On the 1st of September lord Wellington quitted Madrid, and advanced to Valladolid, the enemy retiring before him across the Pucerga. He pursued them to Burgos, through which city they retired during the night of the 17th, leaving a strong garrison in the castle. Preparations were immediately formed by the allies for besieging this strong fortress; and as the heavy artillery had not arrived, recourse was had to the slow and uncertain process of sapping. On the 11th of October, a mine was successfully sprung; the breaches were instantly stormed and the lines escaladed, part of the British army actually entered the works; but the fire from the garrison was so heavy, that after sustaining some loss they were compelled to retire. Preparations were then made for renewing the assault; but at this critical period the British army had to encounter a series of disappointments. They had been led to calculate on the support of a Gallician army, thirty thousand strong, in the highest state of order and equipment; whereas this army was found to consist of only ten thousand undisciplined troops. General Ballasteros, instead of obeying the orders of lord Wellington to harass the retreat of Soult into Valencia, made an appeal to the Spanish army and the nation, against the Cortes who had invested lord Wellington with the chief command. A French army under Souham approached for the relief of Burgos, and after sustaining a spirited repulse, appeared in great force, on the 19th, in the vicinity of the besieged fortress. On the 21st, advices were received, that an army of seventy thousand men, under the command of mareschal Soult, of Suchet, and king Joseph were fast approaching the passes against general Hill, whose force was totally inadequate to oppose them. This intelligence induced lord Wellington to raise the siege of Burgos, to retire towards the Douro, recall his troops from Madrid, and give directions to general Hill to proceed northward to join him. He moved upon Salamanca, where he hoped to establish himself; but Soult advancing from Madrid, and uniting his forces with Souham, obliged him to continue his retreat. On the 24th of November he fixed his head quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier, after a masterly retreat before an army of ninety thousand men, against which he could oppose only fifty-two thousand. The campaign might have had a far different issue, had it not been for the miserable jealousy of Balasteros, who was arrested by order of the Cortes, and banished to Ceuta. The retreat of lord Wellington, however, like most other retreats when pressed by a superior force, was characterized by disorder and rapine, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the commander, who indig-

nantly complained in his public orders, "of a want of discipline, greater than that of the army which he had ever served, and which he had ever read."

LETTER XLV.

Resumption of hostilities between France and Russia, 1812.—Immense preparations of Napoleon for the campaign.—Retreat of the Russian army from the Vistula to the Dwina.—Advance of the French army to Smolensk.—Conflagration of the town.—Battle of Borodino.—Napoleon drives his army on to Moscow.—The Russians set fire to the city.—Dreadful proceedings there.—Distress to which the French army is reduced for want of supplies.—Napoleon sues for an armistice, but in vain.—The grand army commences its retreat—pursued by the Russians.—Annihilation of the French army.

HAVING pursued the narrative of the fourth Peninsular campaign to its termination; I shall now, my dear Philip, revert to the affairs of the north of Europe, where the contest between France and Russia attracted the attention and involved the interests of all the continental powers. Almost from the commencement of the year 1812, the eyes of all Europe had been directed towards a new scene which was opening in the north, and which gave rise to a variety of political conjectures. For some time the two powerful emperors, who from the treaty of Tilsit had maintained a state of strict amity and alliance, now exhibited indications of misunderstanding and even of approaching hostilities.

The appointment of a French general to the Swedish succession had apparently formed an indissoluble union of interests between Sweden and France; but circumstances arose which broke this connection. In the month of February, 1812, the emperor Napoleon had seized upon Swedish Pomerania; and this unprovoked aggression incited the crown-prince to assert the independence of his expected throne. The dispute between Russia and France originated chiefly in the commercial restrictions which the continental system, established by the French emperor, had imposed upon Europe. The emperor Alexander, indignant at the ruin of the trade of his empire, disdained any longer to submit to the restraints of a system, which, though planned solely for the impoverishment of Great Britain, was highly injurious to his subjects, destructive to the commerce of the continent, and wholly unprecedented in the annals of the world.

A train of negotiations now commenced between Russia, Sweden, and England, and also between the two former powers and France. While the political affairs of Europe were thus in a state of suspense and uncertainty, speculative politicians amused themselves and others with numerous and various conjectures. By some, a new continental system was fully expected; by others, it was considered as a case of the highest improbability that Russia should hazard a war with the French emperor, who would be supported by Austria and the confederations of the Rhine. It was alleged that Russia, by engaging again in a war with France, would be stopped in her progress towards the conquest of European Turkey, and even lose all that she had recently gained in that quarter. It was observed, that two more campaigns would bring the Russian armies to the shores of the Propontis, and the gates of Constantinople; and the inference was, that it could not be expected that Russia would sacrifice her hopes of conquest for the barren and dangerous glory of a war with France.

In regard to Sweden, it was considered as highly absurd to suppose that the crown-prince should engage in a war against the French emperor. Besides, it was deemed very improbable that Napoleon should provoke a war

with Russia, since, by attacking her, he would ruin his cause in Spain and Portugal, and lose the countries in Europe for the conquest of morasses and deserts. The event, however, turned out contrary to all these sage speculations; and the reasonings and conjectures of the cabinets of St. Petersburg, Stockholm, and St. Cloud, appeared to be widely different from those of news-writers and political pamphleteers. The great features of national relations and interests are in general sufficiently conspicuous; but the resolutions of courts and the results of cabinet counsels often depend on the dispositions and passions of men, on the particular views which monarchs and their ministers have of the state of affairs, and on various other circumstances which lie beyond the reach of public inspection.

The emperors of France and Russia were known to be men of widely different characters. Alexander, beneficent and pacific, might be ranked among the few princes whose virtues adorn an hereditary throne, and promote the prosperity and happiness of mankind. Napoleon, enterprising and turbulent, nurtured in camps, skilful in tactics, and inured to war, which seemed to be his element, was by nature and education admirably fitted for scenes of confusion and carnage, and for disturbing the peace of the world. The support of the continental system, contrived for the purpose of annihilating the commerce of Great Britain, and drying up the sources of her wealth, was the favourite object of the ruler of France. The overthrow of this system was evidently the interest of Russia, Sweden, and Prussia: but the resources of Sweden were inconsiderable, and Prussia was in vassalage to France. Russia was the only power that could take the lead in an attempt of that nature, in which, however, she was certain of being supported by Great Britain. The emperor of the French, with the forces of Prussia and those of the confederation of the Rhine at his command, and with every reason to expect the assistance of Austria, might probably suppose that his appearance in the field, with so vast a display of military strength, would intimidate Russia into a compliance with his demands; or, calling to mind the ensanguined fields of Austerlitz and Friedland, he might flatter himself that one successful campaign, or one decisive victory, would enable him to dictate the conditions of peace.

But whatever might be the views and expectations of the emperor of France, he began very early in the spring of this year to move numerous bodies of troops into the interior of Germany. The Russian monarch, in the meanwhile, prepared to meet the impending storm; and after issuing a declaration of war, put his armies in motion, and by an imperial ukase, dated the 23d of March 1812, ordered a levy of two men in five hundred throughout his extensive dominions. During the months of February, March, and April, great numbers of French troops were continually marching through Germany; and being joined by the contingents of the Rhenish confederation, proceeded towards the Vistula, after placing garrisons in the principal cities and fortresses of Prussia. Preparatory to the great contest which was about to commence, the emperor of the French concluded treaties of alliance with Prussia and Austria, by which these two powers engaged to assist him with very considerable forces. The emperor of Russia also concluded a treaty of peace with the Ottoman Porte, to which he restored the conquests recently made in Moldavia and Wallachia, thus enabling him to withdraw his armies from the banks of the Danube. All matters of dispute were also settled between Russia and Great Britain.

Such were the preparations made for the decisive contest, which was destined to produce events contrary to all expectation, and wholly unparalleled in history. On the 8th of May the French emperor, accompanied by his august consort Maria Louisa, set out from Paris, and on the 11th of that month arrived at Mentz, where they received the grand-duke and duchess of Hesse Darmstadt, and the prince of Anhalt Goethen. On the 13th they proceeded to Wurtzburg, where they were received by the king of Wirtemberg, and the grand-duke of Baden. On the 15th they arrived at Freyberg, where they were met by the king and queen of Saxony, and were received with the highest honours. From thence they proceeded to Dresden,

where they were met by their king, the emperor and empress of Austria. The emperor of Russia was the first army under the command of count Bawlay, who had been defeated.

On the 20th of May the emperors of Russia and Prussia departed from Dresden: the former proceeded towards the east, and the latter the command of his army, the latter returned to Vienna. The emperor of Prussia, who had attended at the interview, left that city on the 21st of May, and the empress of France, after remaining a few days at Dresden, proceeded to Paris. On the 6th of June Napoleon passed the Vistula, and issued a declaration, announcing his determination of restoring the independence of Poland, and placing the duke of Wurtzburg on the throne of Saxony, and inviting the Poles to rally round his standard. The emperor of Prussia attempted to the last moment to bring the Russian march to a halt, but by negotiation: the latter, however, adhering to his former plan, made by prince Kurakin, insisted on the evacuation of Prussia, on which troops as the basis of negotiation; on which Napoleon ordered his army to march for the purpose of crossing the Niemen.

In commencing the campaign, the emperor of France endeavoured to excite the courage of his troops by issuing a proclamation, in which he manifested his usual confidence as to the success of the campaign. "Russia," said he, "is dragged along by a fatality! her destinies must be accomplished. Should she consider us as degenerated? Are we no longer to be regarded as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation. Let us, then, march forward! Let us pass the Niemen! Let us carry the war into her territory! The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first." In placing before the eyes of his followers a prospect of splendid success, the calculations of the French emperor had frequently proved correct, and his promises had often been realized; but he had now attained to the meridian of his glory: a tide of prosperity and success, flowing for so many years without interruption, had induced him to imagine that victory was inseparably attached to his banners; and he seems to have thought it impossible that fortune ever could frown where she had so long been accustomed to smile.

This proclamation was issued on the 22d of June, and on the following day the army was put in motion. At two o'clock in the morning the emperor Napoleon, accompanied by a general of engineers, inspected the banks of the Niemen; and on the same day Murat king of Naples, who commanded the cavalry, advanced within six miles of that river. The different corps commanded by the viceroy of Italy, the prince of Echmuhl, the duke d'Elchingen, the duke de Reggio, the duke of Tarentum, and prince Poniatowski, made corresponding movements; and the pontoon train also arrived within six miles of the Niemen. The 5th, 7th, and 8th corps, commanded by the king of Westphalia, had proceeded no farther than Novogorod, about half way between the Vistula and the Niemen; and the first Austrian corps, under prince Schwartzberg, was near Lublin, at an almost equal distance between Lemburg and Warsaw. The duke of Belluno, with the 9th corps and some other troops, remained in reserve, occupying the country between the Elbe and the Oder.

At this crisis a Polish diet was held at Warsaw under the sanction of the French emperor, which, resolving itself into "a general confederation of Poland," published on the first of July a memorable declaration, announcing that the liberties of Poland and the Polish nation were re-established, and appointing a council of state, consisting of eleven members, for the administration of affairs. By one of the articles the king of Saxony, as grand-duke of Warsaw, was invited by deputation to accede to the confederacy; and by another the emperor Napoleon was entreated "to encircle reviving Poland with his powerful protection." The diet disclaimed all vindictive retrospection, saying, "that it cannot regard the true Poles whosever shall search into the real motives of measures of oppression." The deputies sent by the diet to the French emperor at Vienna, in the audience with which they

were favoured, July 1806. "the honour and interest of France required the re-union of Poland." To this bold truth Napoleon returned an answer of evasive and successful evasion. He highly applauded the patriotism of the diet, and had he reigned during the first, second, or third partition, he would have secured all his people in their support; but in his situation he had many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform: he notwithstanding approved the efforts they wished to make; and if they were unanimous, he would conceive the hope of reducing their enemies to acknowledge the partition, but he had guaranteed to the emperor of Austria the integrity of the partition. "Be animated," said he, "with the same spirit that animated the Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success your efforts, and recompense that devotion to your country which has secured me so many claims to my esteem and protection."

A more favourable opportunity could never occur of restoring Poland to its just rank among the nations; but Napoleon merely aimed to gain the aid of the Polish army byattery; and though he subsequently affirmed it to have been his intention to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, and to place prince Pōstotowski upon the throne, "in order to oppose a barrier to that formidable empire which threatened to overwhelm all Europe," there exists no trace of any such design in his language or conduct at this period.

The plan which the Russians had formed, and according to which they resolved to conduct the present campaign, was, to resist the progress of the invader at all points where a stand could easily be made without risking a general engagement; to lay waste the country through which he should aim to penetrate; to harass him as he advanced; and to cut off his supplies. Napoleon encountered no formidable resistance in his rapid advance to Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, which he entered on the 28th of June, and from whence he issued the proclamation above-mentioned; but a division of the French army under Macdonald received a severe check from general Essen, to whom the defence of Riga was intrusted. Count Witgensten also defeated marshal Oudinot and the Bavarian general Wrede, at Polotsk, after a conflict of twelve hours, in which the enemy lost ten thousand men in killed and wounded: thus were they foiled in their attempts to open a passage to St. Petersburg.

While these things were transacting, the emperor of France directed his attention to the main Russian army, which, on the 17th of August, he attacked at Smolensko. After a furious contest, the Russians retired from the city, which the French on their entrance found burning and in ruins. Napoleon gave vent to his chagrin by exclaiming—"Never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies!" He certainly had encountered no such obstacles in either of his marches to Vienna.

The Russian army now retired upon Viasma followed by the rear-guard, which had been nearly intercepted by marshal Ney; but having received a reasonable reinforcement, they were enabled to repulse him. Viasma not being considered tenable, every thing in it which could be considered of use to the enemy was destroyed, and the army took up a position near Moscow. At this juncture the veteran general Kutusoff was called from his retirement at St. Petersburg to take the chief command of the army. On his way to head-quarters he passed through Moscow, where he had an interview with count Rostopchin, the governor. Arriving at head-quarters on the 29th of August, he put the army in motion, and halted it on the 31st near the village of Borodino, on the great road leading to the capital, where he determined to hazard a battle.

The French entered Viasma on the 30th of August, and did not advance till the 4th of September. It was remarked that Napoleon, on being apprized that Kutusoff was opposed to him, became more cautious in his movements, and that he was more than usually anxious for the arrival of reinforcements. The interval of preparation, however, was no longer than was necessary for a conflict between two armies, each amounting to more than

120,000 men. It commenced on the 14th of September, by a tremendous attack on the Russian line, which was broken by one-half of the French force was directed; while another half, under the command of the centre, and Beaubarnois assailed the right. Kutusoff, on his left, after a combat of three hours, was giving way, reinforced by his grenadiers and cavalry from the reserve, when a desperate charge was made to recover the lost position. Upon which the French were at length driven. Beaubarnois made repeated efforts to carry the village of Borodino, but the redoubts which covered it, but he was ultimately repulsed. The Russians were then enabled to reinforce their centre, and the battle raged with great fury until night, when the French were driven back, leaving them masters of the field. They estimated that more than forty thousand in killed and wounded, and that the French lost nearly thirty thousand. Napoleon himself, however, gave credit to the success of this action to O'Meara at St. Helena: "I attacked the Russian army whose army was two hundred and fifty thousand, and I killed seventy thousand necks, with ninety thousand men, and totally destroyed seventy thousand Russians lay upon the field." Among the Russians were generals Touchkoff and Konovitzen: Prince Bragation afterwards died of his wounds. Of the French generals, Montbrun was killed, and twelve others dangerously wounded.

After this dearly purchased victory, Kutusoff found himself unable to make head against the fresh troops which his antagonist was soon enabled to bring forward. He therefore ordered Moscow to be evacuated, and retired with his army beyond it, to protect the rich provinces of Toula and Kaluga, where he maintained an uninterrupted communication with Tschichagoff; while to the north of the capital, Winsigarode, by the occupation of Twer, completed the line which was thus extended round the enemy. The painful but necessary measure of withdrawing from their homes in Moscow two hundred thousand human beings of both sexes, and of every age, was carried into effect by count Rostopchin, who placed himself at the head of forty thousand of its brave inhabitants, and proceeded to join the Russian army.

Rostopchin had a villa in the neighbourhood of Moscow, to which he set fire with his own hands, having affixed the following notification to one of its gates: "FRENCHMEN! for eight years I found pleasure in embellishing this country retreat. I lived here in perfect happiness within the boom of my family, and those around me largely partook of my felicity. But you approach; the peasantry of this domain, to the number of seventeen hundred and twenty human beings, fly for mercy, and I set fire to my house. We abandon all, we consume all, that neither ourselves nor our habitations may be polluted by your presence. FRENCHMEN! I left to your rapacity two of my houses in Moscow, full of furniture and valuables, to the amount of half a million of roubles. Here you will find nothing but ashes."

The advanced guard of the French, under Murat and Beaubarnois, entered Moscow on the 14th of September, and soon overpowered the small band which had lingered in the ancient palace of the czars, called the Kremlin. The deserted city was discovered to be on fire in several places; and the French soldiers, eagerly seeking their long promised plunder, rather increased than checked the conflagration. The French emperor was waiting at the barrier on the Smolensko road, to receive the homage of the constituted authorities as he made his triumphal entry. A Polish general, whom he sent to require the citizens of their duty, returned with information that there were no constituted authorities, and that Moscow would soon be a heap of ruins. The mortified conqueror entered without parade on the following day, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. At this moment the second day of the month (for such he affected to be thought) had reached the zenith of his fortune. From the elevated heights of the Kremlin the French emperor beheld, as he thought, the reward and termination of his labours; and when from the golden domes and spires of Moscow rose to his view, he

is said to have exclaimed, "All this is yours!" The splendour of the scene appeared to have exceeded his faculties; and his pride and presumption overbore his serious considerations of prudence, he persisted in maintaining his position amidst the ruins of Moscow. Of the consequences which now ensued, Napoleon himself has left us a narrative sufficiently interesting to entitle it to insertion in this place.

"I was next to the walls of a fine city, provisioned for a year; for in Russia there were always large provisions for several months before the frost sets in. Stores of grain were in plenty. The houses of the inhabitants were well provided, and many had even left their servants to attend upon us. In most of the houses was a note left by the proprietor, begging of the French to take possession to be careful of their furniture and other effects, as they had left every article necessary for our wants, and hoped for a speedy peace. When the emperor Alexander had accommodated himself to the idea, they would be happy to see us. Many ladies remained behind, as they knew that I had been in Berlin and Vienna with my armies, and that no injury had been done to the inhabitants; and, moreover, they expected a speedy peace. We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring.

"Two days after our arrival a fire was discovered, which at first was not thought to be alarming, but to have been caused by the soldiers kindling their fires too near the houses, which were chiefly of wood. I was angry at this, and issued very strict orders to the commandants of regiments and others. The next day it had increased, but still not so as to create serious alarm. However, afraid that it might gain upon us, I went out on horseback, and gave every direction to extinguish it. The next morning a violent wind arose, and the fire spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundred miscreants, hired for that purpose, dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, and with matches, which they concealed under their cloaks, set fire to as many houses to windward as they could, which was easily done, in consequence of the combustible materials of which they were built. This, together with the violence of the wind, rendered every effort to extinguish the fire ineffectual. I myself narrowly escaped with life.

"In order to shew an example, I ventured into the midst of the flames, and had my hair and eye-brows singed, and my clothes burnt off my back; but it was in vain, as they had destroyed most of the pumps, of which there were above a thousand: out of all these, I believe that we could only find one that was serviceable. Besides, the wretches that had been hired by Rostopchin ran about in every quarter, disseminating fire with their matches, in which they were but too much assisted by the wind. This terrible conflagration ruined every thing. I was prepared for all but this: it was unforeseen; for who would have thought that a nation would have set its capital on fire? The inhabitants themselves, however, did all they could to extinguish it, and several of them perished in their endeavours. They also brought before us numbers of the incendiaries with their matches, and I caused about two hundred of these wretches to be shot.

"Had it not been for this fatal fire, I possessed every thing my army wanted: excellent winter quarters, stores of all kinds were in plenty, and the next year would have decided it; Alexander would have made peace, or I would have been in Petersburg. Several of the generals were burnt out of their beds. I myself remained in the Kremlin until surrounded by flames. The fire advanced, seized the Chinese and India warehouses, and several stores of oil and spirits, which burst forth in flames, and overwhelmed every thing. I then retired to a country house of the emperor Alexander, distant about a league from Moscow; and you may figure to yourself the intensity of the fire, when I tell you, that you could scarcely bear your hands upon the walls or the windows on the side next to Moscow, in consequence of their heated state. *It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky*

"and clouds of flame; mountains of smoke like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth, and glowing to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of smoke below; and it was the most grand the most sublime, and the most terrible sight the world ever beheld."

This event was evidently a severe disappointment to the French emperor, who lingered about this devoted city as if it had still been his intention to retain it. At length, however, the unshaken resolution of the Russians to persist in their system of making all sacrifices to the great object of a conqueror; the assemblage of dead bodies of the French around Moscow, and the approach of inclement seasons, reminded him of the danger and prolonging his stay. By a prompt retreat he might have secured winter-quarters in Poland; but his pride revolted at a retreat suggested alike by policy and humanity. Urged at length by the complaints of his soldiers, he sent Lauriston with a flag of truce to the Russian head-quarters, announcing his readiness to treat. The Russian general, however, said no terms could be entered into while an enemy was in the Russian territory. The roads leading to Moscow were now blocked up by detached corps, who cut off the supplies, dispersed the straggling parties of the French, and took many prisoners. Napoleon sent Lauriston a second time to demand, that if the Russian general would not listen to a negotiation, he should forward a letter to the emperor Alexander. "I will do that," replied Kutusoff, "provided the word *Peace* is not expressed in the letter. I would not be a party to such an insult on my sovereign, by forwarding a proposal which he would order to be instantly destroyed. You already know on what terms offers of peace shall be attended to." The clamours of the French soldiers still increased; their foreign auxiliaries deserted by thousands, and made known the extent of their distresses. Lauriston was sent a third time to the Russian head-quarters, with proposals for an armistice, and an offer that the French should evacuate Moscow, and take up a position in the neighbourhood, where the terms of a treaty might be afterwards arranged. The answer was, "It is not time for us to grant either armistice or negotiation, as the campaign on our part is but just opening." Thus foiled in all his attempts at procuring an armistice, Napoleon soon afterwards announced his intention of leading his army into other provinces until the return of spring, when he would advance on St. Petersburg, and erase the name of Russia from the list of European nations. He then indulged his soldiers with an eight day's pillage of Moscow; and having wasted five irreparable weeks in that scene of desolation and despair, he commenced his retreat, leaving a force to blow up the Kremlin. General Ilievasky, however, arrived in time to prevent the completion of this outrage; and on the 23d of October the exiled inhabitants of Moscow began to return to their desolated city.

Dividing his forces, Murat and Beauharnois, with fifty thousand men, were ordered to attack the grand army of the Russians under Kutusoff; while the emperor himself, with the remainder, took the route to Minsk. The former met with a severe repulse; and nothing was now thought of but how to quit a country which they had so lately entered in triumph. Scarcely could they hazard a march without a battle; and thus harassed, retreat became more and more difficult. Minsk itself was obliged to surrender. A stand was attempted at Viasna, but without success; and the French, dispirited and weary, were driven from their positions with much slaughter. The ensuing night was rendered dreadfully memorable by a prodigious fall of snow; and from this period ensued a series of terrible disasters. His own account of the matter, dictated while at St. Helena, will best describe the shocking scene, and you shall have it in his own words.

"I was a few days too late:—I had made a calculation of the weather for the month of November, and the extreme cold had never commenced until the 10th of December, twenty days later than it began this time. At Moscow, the cold was at three of the thermometer, and the French could with difficulty bear. But on the march the thermometer sank eight or ten degrees, and consequently nearly all the

"horses perished. In the night I lost forty thousand." The artillery of which I had five hundred pieces, was in a great measure obliged to be abandoned: neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried. We could not, for want of horses, make a reconnaissance, or send out an advance of men to reconnoitre, or recover the way. The soldiers lost their spirits and their courage, and fell into confusion. The most trifling circumstance became a great one. Four or five men were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Instead of keeping together, they wandered about in search of food. Some were sent out on duty in advance, abandoning their posts. The means of warming themselves in the houses, their sepulchres, and all directions, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. The soldiers, down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils, and they died. In this manner thousands perished. The loss of the French of their horses and artillery, but the French, and the soldiers of the nations, were no longer the same men. In particular the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved."

Napoleon reached Smolensko on the 9th of November, and remained there until the 15th, when he set out for Krasnoi. Davoust, who followed him, after blowing up the ramparts, was beaten by Milarodavich on the 15th, and escaped with the loss of four thousand killed and wounded, and nine thousand taken prisoners, with seventy pieces of cannon. He also lost the whole of his baggage, three standards, and his *bâton de maréchal*. Ney, who left Smolensko with the rear-guard on the day of battle, was surprised by the victorious Russians, and compelled to fly with a small proportion of his staff, leaving eleven thousand of his troops in the hands of his pursuers. In the mean time, the Russian general Witgenstein, after a series of successes against the corps of St Cyr, Oudinot, and Victor, advanced from Polotsk, and on the 8th of November reached Vitepsk, where he was informed of the retreat of the grand French army. On the 18th he was informed of the flight of the Austrian and Saxon auxiliaries, and of the rapid advance of the Russians in pursuit. Witgenstein was soon in communication with Platoff and the commander-in-chief, so that the whole force of the Russian empire was now directly co-operating against the retreating enemy.

After quitting Krasnoi, the French emperor was informed that his stores at Minsk were in the hands of the Russians; that his Polish general Dombroski was routed; that the corps of Oudinot and Victor were dispersed; and that the Russian grand army, the army of the Dwina on its left and that of the Danube on its right, were closing upon him. To secure his escape he ordered two bridges to be thrown over the Beresina at Studenzi and Vaselova. Scarcely had he passed the river with his guard at the latter point, when Witgenstein opened a cannonade on the troops who were preparing to follow. They rushed in crowds towards the bridge: it was blown up by Napoleon's order. A shout of despair followed the explosion. Numbers plunged into the stream and disappeared amidst the floating masses of ice: five thousand lost their lives, and thirteen thousand were taken prisoners. The artillery, baggage, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Russians, who on this occasion recovered the greater part of the plunder which the French had taken from their cities.

Having repaired the bridges the Russian armies advanced, and on the 12th of December prince Kutusoff established his head-quarters at Wilna. The retreat of the French from the Beresina to the Niemen was attended with horrors, to which no parallel can be found in the annals of the world. For weeks before they quitted Moscow, they had no regular supplies of food; they were now exhausted by long marches; harassed by an indefatigable enemy, and exposed to the severity of a Russian winter, with scarcely a garment to protect their freezing limbs. Their route might not unfrequently be traced by the dead bodies, which appeared like the mounds in a church-yard when covered with snow. The scene of a night-watch often exhibited at dawn a circle of the dying and the dead wrapped in rags, matting, and canvass, and even of raw hides stript from the perished horses. The fugitives

set fire to houses and villages; and many, whose limbs were racked by the sudden transition from cold to heat, became insensible and fell into the flames. Numbers, with their feet frozen and feet paralyzed, were left to perish in the snow. To pursue the detail of these complicated miseries would be tedious: the result may be calculated from what is known, that of the three or four hundred thousand men who composed the invading army, not more than fifty thousand including the Saxons, were left to repress the Russian frontiers. Their total losses by capture, on the 26th of December, as stated in the accounts published at St. Petersburg, were forty-one generals, one thousand two hundred and ninety-eight officers, one hundred and sixty-seven thousand, five hundred and ten non-commissioned officers and privates, and one thousand, one hundred, and thirty-two pieces of cannon.

Napoleon did not remain to witness the last scene of the tragedy. He reached Wilna on the 17th of December, and having transferred to Murat the chief command of the army, he took his departure for Warsaw, accompanied by Caulincourt, from whence he made a rapid journey to Paris. He was the herald of his own discomfiture; and he proclaimed with circumstantial precision the results of a campaign, which did equal credit to his foresight as a politician, and to his skill as a general. He had lost an army the most formidable, perhaps, that any nation ever brought into the field, if we take into consideration not only its numbers, but also its complete organization and equipment, the perfection of its military discipline, and the talents and experience of its generals. The wars of Modern Europe had furnished no instance of so extensive and complete a destruction; and history records no similar event since the invasion of Greece by Xerxes.(1)

LETTER XVII.

Progress and termination of the War, 1812—1814.—Lord Wellington prosecutes his successes in Spain,—Fifth campaign, 1813—drives the enemy before him, and enters the French territory.—Reaction in the internal state of France.—Symptoms of a falling empire.—Glance at the affairs of Sweden,—Denmark,—Norway,—Prussia,—and Austria.—Defeat of the French armies by the Russians, who now invade France.—Discomfiture of Napoleon, who rejects overtures of peace from the allies, and dissolves the legislative assembly, December the 31st, 1813.—Campaign of the first three months of 1814.—Progress of the allied arms.—Surrender of Paris.—Abdication of Napoleon, who retires to Elba.—Reflections.

THE conflagration of Moscow, and the destruction of the French army, were made known to the people of England while engaged in the ferment of a contested election. The sensations of astonishment and awe produced by these events gave place to a hope that the Russians, after making so tremendous a sacrifice, would follow up their victories and extricate the nations of Europe from the galling yoke with which they had now been so long oppressed. Subsequent events soon heightened this hope into confidence; and the new parliament assembled on the 24th of November, 1812, under happier auspices than the most sanguine politician could have ventured to anticipate. One of its first measures was to vote the sum of one hundred thousand pounds to the duke of Wellington, as a reward for his military services; and two hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

The campaign in Spain, of the year 1813, commenced under favourable auspices. The enemy not being able to obtain reinforcements from France, was reduced to the necessity of settling on the defensive, a plan always ru-

(1) History of the Expedition to Russia, by General Count Philip de Segur.—Napoleon in Exile, or a Voice from St. Helena.

ious to an invasion of the coast along attempted operations on a bolder scale; and on the 21st of May, he made a general attack on the line of the allies, in which, however, he was repulsed with loss, and compelled to retire upon Vittoria. On the 22d and 23d of May, lord Wellington moved in great force by the mountain towards Madrid, on which the new king once more abandoned the city and retired to Burgos. On the approach of the British army, the allies continued their march towards the Ebro, without making any attempt to enter the city or even the citadel of Burgos, without immense losses being expended. The allies, by a sudden movement to the left, having crossed the Ebro near to its source, in their pursuit found the French encamped in front of the town of Vittoria, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by mareschal Jourdan, Soult having been summoned to the aid of Napoleon in Germany. Lord Wellington instantly resolved upon attacking them; and on the 21st of June, the battle began by a severe contest for the heights of Arlanzon, on the left of the French position. These were ultimately carried by general Hill, who then passed a rivulet which ran through the valley, as did general Picton at the head of another division. About the same time, general Graham on the opposite wing forced his passage over two bridges thrown across the stream; on which, after a severe contest, the whole French army retreated in good order on Vittoria, from whence they continued their march towards Pampeluna. As Vittoria was the grand depot of the French, a great quantity of cannon, and stores of every description to a vast amount, fell into the hands of the allies. After the defeat which they had sustained, the retreat of the French became so rapid as not to permit them to carry off their artillery and baggage, the whole of which, amounting to a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with four hundred and fifty waggons of ammunition, fell into the hands of the allies, whose loss on this occasion was about seven hundred killed and four thousand wounded, the greater part of whom were British. Such was the battle of Vittoria, which added fresh laurels to the illustrious commander. The French retired by Pampeluna on the road of Roncesvallos; and, being driven by sir Thomas Graham, who had taken Tolosa, from all their strong posts, they at length crossed the Bidissoa by the bridge of Irun, and entered the French territory.

On the eastern coast of Spain, events of a different kind were in the mean time passing. On the 31st of May, sir John Murray embarked his force on board the English fleet which was cruising on that station; and on the 3d of June invested Tarragona. Having possessed himself of fort St. Philipa, on the Col de Balaguer, which blocks the direct road from Tortosa to Tarragona, and advancing his batteries against the besieged place, he received intelligence that mareschal Suchet was marching from Valencia for its relief, with a force superior in number and quality to his own. Without waiting for any certain tidings of the enemy's approach, or information of his actual strength, he determined to avoid all conflict by a timely retreat; and accordingly re-embarked his army, leaving his cannon in the batteries, though admiral Holloway gave it as his opinion that they might have been brought off had he remained till night. The expedition then sailed to Alicant, and Suchet did not fail to triumph in the result.

The centre of the French retreating army, having still maintained itself on the Spanish side of the frontier, general Hill, made an attack upon it with a combined force of British and Portuguese, and obliged it to retire into France. Soult, who had now returned to the Peninsula, and constituted commander-in-chief of the French troops in Spain, and the southern provinces of France, re-joined the army on the 13th of July. On the 24th he collected his right and left wings, and a part of his centre, at St. Jean Pied de Fort, amounting in the whole to thirty or forty thousand men, with which he made an attack on an English post at Roncesvallos, in which he succeeded; and other posts were consequently withdrawn. Various operations of attack and defence were now carried on during some successive days, and after considerable loss on both sides, the allied army, on the 1st of August,

was nearly in its first position. The siege of St. Sebastian had, in the mean time, been advancing under the conduct of sir Thomas Graham; and an unsuccessful attempt to storm had been made on the 28th of July, which occasioned a severe loss. On the 31st of August, another attempt was undertaken by order of lord Wellington, which, though attended by peculiar and unseen difficulties, succeeded, at the expense of two thousand three hundred men in killed and wounded. The importance of the place was proved by a vigorous effort that was made to relieve it, but which was repelled by the Spanish troops alone. The strong castle of St. Sebastian was taken on the 18th of September, in the operations against which the British navy rendered efficient aid.

On the 7th of October, lord Wellington entered France, by crossing the Bidassou, which was performed at different fords, by a series of spirited actions against the enemy's defences. The strong fortress of Pampeluna, which had been in a state of blockade from the time of the battle of Vittoria, was induced to accept of a capitulation on the 31st of October, the garrison remaining prisoners of war. This event having disengaged the right wing of the allied army from the service of covering the blockade, lord Wellington put in execution a plan which he had projected against the enemy, the object of which was, to force their centre and establish the allied army in the rear of their right. The attack was made by different columns on the 10th of November, and after various actions, which occupied the whole day, the purpose was attained at night. The French during the night quitted all their works and posts in front of St. Jean de Leon, and crossed the Nivelle: and being pursued on the following day, they retired to an entrenched camp in front of Bayonne. The result of this operation was, the expulsion of the French from positions which they had been fortifying with great labour for three months, and taking from them fifty pieces of cannon, and fourteen hundred prisoners. On the 9th of December the river Neve was crossed by a part of the allied army: and on the four following days several desperate attacks were made by the French during the completion of this passage; but they were finally repulsed, and the enemy, after great loss, withdrew to his entrenchments. The British and Portuguese, during these few days, lost between four and five thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing. Thus the year 1813 closed with lord Wellington's obtaining a firm footing on the French territory.

But the die was now cast; the tide of events was now turned. Since his retreat from Moscow, Napoleon had entered upon a new series of events. The decline of his empire was now manifest; all Europe had become weary of his domination; and all those by whose concurrence he had been raised took part against him. At home the priests had secretly conspired since his rupture with the pope; eight state prisons had been officially erected for the disaffected of this party. The mass of the nation also shewed itself as weary of his conquests as it had been formerly of factions. It had expected from him attention to private interests, the increase of commerce, respect for the interests of humanity; and it found itself oppressed by conscriptions, by imposts, by the blockade, and by the "consolidated taxes," the inevitable result of his conquering system. He had no longer for adversaries merely the small number of men who had remained faithful to the revolution, and whom he called *ideologists*, but all those who, without any precise opinions, wished to realize the tangible benefits of a better state of a civilisation. Abroad the people groaned under a military yoke, and the humiliated dynasties aspired to restore themselves. The whole continent of Europe was ill at ease, and a check naturally led to an universal insurrection. "I triumphed," said Napoleon himself, when speaking of the preceding campaigns, "in the midst of perils always springing up again. As much address was necessary as of force. If I had not conquered at Austerlitz, I should have had all Prussia in arms. If I had not triumphed at Jena, Austria and Spain would have declared themselves upon my rear. If I had not fought at Wagram, which was not so decisive, I should have feared that Russia would have abandon-

"ed me; that Prussia would have risen up against me, and the English " were before Antwerp." (1) Such was his actual condition; the more he advanced in his career, the more necessary did it become for him to conquer, and that decisively. Thus, when defeat and disaster overtook him, the kings whom he had subdued, and the kings whom he had created, the allies whom he had aggrandized, the states which he had incorporated with the empire, the senators who had flattered him so lavishly, and even his companions in arms abandoned him.

The field of battle which in 1812, Napoleon had conveyed to Moscow, was transferred to Dresden in 1813, and was around Paris in 1814—so rapid was the reverse of fortune. The cabinet of Berlin began the defection. On the 1st of March 1813, Prussia re-united its arms with those of Russia and England, which formed the sixth coalition, and Sweden shortly after was added to the confederacy. The emperor, whom the allies considered to be crushed, opened the campaign with new successes. The battle of Lutzen, gained on the 2nd of May, with raw conscripts; the occupation of Dresden; the victory of Bautzen; and the war carried to the banks of the Elbe, astonished the coalition. Austria, which was placed in 1810, on the footing of peace, was again about to take up arms: it already meditated a change of alliance, and proposed itself as mediator between Napoleon and the confederates. Its mediation was accepted; an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz on the 4th of June, and a congress assembled at Prague to negotiate the peace. The views of the parties, however, were soon found to be strangely at variance with each other. Napoleon would on no account consent to a diminution of his power, and Europe would no longer remain subject to him. The confederated powers, in concurrence with Austria, demanded that the empire of France, should be bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Meuse; which was disdainfully rejected, and the negotiators separated without coming to any conclusion. War alone could terminate this grand debate. But the power of France was now become greatly diminished. Napoleon had only two hundred and eighty thousand men against five hundred and twenty thousand. He wished to drive the allies beyond the Elbe, and dissolve as usual this new coalition by the promptitude and vigour of his measures; and for a short time victory still clung to his standard. He beat the united allies at Dresden; but the defeats of his lieutenants deranged his plans. Macdonald was vanquished in Silesia; Ney near Berlin; Vandamme at Kulm. Finding himself unable to make head against the enemy, which was now ready to burst upon him from every quarter, Napoleon began to think of retreating. The princes of the confederation of the Rhine chose this moment to desert the French empire. A sanguinary engagement took place between the two armies at Leipsic, and the Saxons and the Wurtembergers passed over to the enemy on the field of battle. This defection and the augmented force of the allies, whom experience had now taught to make war more compactly and skilfully, compelled Napoleon to retreat after a struggle of three days. His army marched in the greatest confusion towards the Rhine, of which the Bavarians, who had also revolted, wished to prevent the passage; but the French crushed them at Hanau, and re-entered upon the territory of the empire on the 30th of October, 1813. The end of this campaign was almost as disadvantageous as that of the preceding. France was menaced within its own frontiers as in 1799, but it had no longer the same enthusiasm of independence; and the man who had despoiled it of its rights found it at this trying crisis incapable of supporting him and defending itself. Thus is expired, sooner or later, the enslavement of nations.

Napoleon returned to Paris on the 9th of November, 1812, and having obtained from the senate a levy of three hundred thousand men, he made with the greatest ardour preparations for a new campaign. He convoked the legislative body in order to associate it in the common defence. He communicated to it the documents relative to the negotiation at Prague, and delegated from it a new and last effort, in order to ensure a glorious peace, which was the universal wish of the French people. But the legislative body,

(1) Memorial of St. Helena. tom. iii. p 251.

hitherto silent and obedient, chose this critical moment to resist the emperor's demands. The allied sovereigns had issued a declaration from Frankfort, on the 1st of December, explanatory of their views and policy; and the laudable moderation which it displayed, considering that it was put forth in the height of their successes, had made a deep impression on the minds of the legislative body, and convinced them that it was the mission of France to negotiate a peace, and not grant Napoleon the desired levy. "Victory," they said, "had conducted them to the banks of the Rhine, and the first use which they made of it was to offer peace. They desired that France might be great and powerful, because in a state of greatness and strength she constituted one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wished that France might be happy, that her commerce might revive, and that the arts might again flourish, because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as they are happy. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France, under kings, never knew, because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and bloody contest, in which it had fought with its accustomed bravery. They desired a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, might preserve their people from the numberless calamities which had overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years."

This was, indeed, language so different from what had been previously expected: it was so just and reasonable, so equitable and generous, that it diffused a spirit of unanimity unknown since the commencement of the war. The conduct of Napoleon, on the other hand, was such as to cause universal indignation and astonishment. He seemed to be incapable of forming an estimate of his own perilous situation. The treaty of Luneville was the basis modified according to circumstances, to which the allied sovereigns were disposed to revert; but the words and actions of the French emperor breathed nothing but war. Alarmed at the dangers impending over the country, the legislative body ventured to suggest, through the medium of a committee of deputation, who waited on him on the 28th of December, "that the declaration of the allies should be met by a counter-manifesto on his part, distinctly avowing the sacrifices which he was willing to make for the repose of Europe." To this counsel, enforced by the urgent remonstrances of Talleyrand, he returned a haughty answer, accusing them of "drawing a line of distinction between the interests of the sovereign and the people," and forbade the printing of the report. To the council of state he complained in angry terms of this application of the legislative body. "They stun me," said he, "with their clamorous demands for peace. Instead of assisting me with all their efforts, they seek to obstruct mine." On the 31st of December, 1813, he suddenly dissolved the assembly. This beginning of resistance was the harbinger of internal defection. After having extended itself from Russia over the whole of Germany, it was now going to pass from Germany to Italy and France. In the latter country, Napoleon, without being aware of it, was now under the influence of the royalist party, which had been secretly conspiring since the decline of the empire, and had once more revived its hopes. But now all depended on the fate of the war, which even the winter had not suspended. Napoleon derived all his hopes from this source, and set out from Paris on the 25th of January, 1814, for this immortal campaign.

In the meantime the allies were invading the empire at all points. The Austrians were advancing into Italy, while the British troops, who had made themselves masters of the entire peninsula during the last two years, had, as already mentioned, passed the Bidassoa under the victorious Wellington, and had crossed the Pyrenees. Three large armies were hanging on France to the east and the north. The grand allied army, of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of prince Schwartzberg, was entering on France by way of Switzerland; that of Silesia under Blucher, consisting of a hundred and thirty thousand men, was entering by Frankfort; and that of the north, of a hundred thousand men, under Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, had invaded Holland and penetrated into Belgium. Disregard-

ing in their turn the fortified places, and instructed by Napoleon in the principles of carrying on war upon a grand scale, the allies determined to march upon the capital. At the moment when the emperor was quitting Paris to put his troops in motion, the two armies of Schwartzemberg and Blucher were at the point of effecting their junction in Champagne. Deprived of the support of the people, who were now mere spectators of the last act of the drama, Napoleon stood alone against the world, with a handful of veteran soldiers, aided by his genius which had lost nothing of its audacity and his vigour. It certainly is an interesting spectacle to contemplate him at this moment, no longer an oppressor, no longer a conqueror, defending, foot by foot, the soil of his country, his empire, and his renown.

Under these circumstances he marched into Champagne against the two grand allies. General Maison was instructed to stop the career of Bernadotte in Bagnat; Augereau the Austrians at Lyons; Soult the English upon the Spanish frontiers; prince Eugene was to defend Italy; and the empire although assailed at its centre, still extended its vast arms to the heart of Germany by its garrisons beyond the Rhine. Napoleon did not despair of hurling back, by means of a powerful military re-action, this multitude of enemies out of France, and of again raising his banners upon the soil of the enemy. He dexterously placed himself between Blucher, who was descending the Marne, and Schwartzemberg, who was descending the Seine; he flew from one army to another, and beat them both in succession. Blucher was defeated at Champaubert, at Montmirail, at Chateau-Tierry, and at Vau-champs; and, when his army was destroyed, Napoleon returned upon the Seine, overthrew the Austrians at Montereau, and drove them before him. His combinations were so powerful, his activity so great, and his manœuvres so certain, that he appeared on the point of entirely disorganizing these formidable armies, and by the annihilation of them to put an end to the coalition.

But if he conquered wherever he was present himself, the enemy gained ground wherever he was absent. Lord Wellington had entered Bourdeaux, where the white flag, the standard of the Bourbons, was erected. The Austrians occupied the city of Lyons. The army of Belgium was united to that of Blucher, and presented itself upon the rear of Napoleon. The spirit of defection entered into his own family, and Murat imitated in Italy the conduct of Bernadotte and joined the coalition. The great officers of the empire still served him, but their support was feeble; and he did not find in them that zeal and unshaken fidelity of the inferior generals and his indefatigable soldiers. Napoleon had to march anew upon Blucher, who escaped him three times upon the left of the Marne, by a sudden frost which hardened the mud, in the midst of which the Prussians were set fast, and on the point of perishing; again, upon the Aisne by the defection of Soissons, which opened a passage to them at the moment when there seemed no chance of escape; and thirdly, at Craonne, by the fault of the duke of Ragusa, who prevented a decisive battle by allowing himself to be taken by surprise in the night. After all these fatalities which disconcerted his plans, Napoleon, badly supported by his generals, and surrounded by the allied armies, conceived the bold design of marching upon St. Dizier, in order to close the outlet of the enemy from France. This bold and finely conceived march alarmed for a moment the generals who commanded the confederated armies, to whom it shut out the chance of retreat; but stimulated by secret encouragement, without permitting themselves to be disturbed by manœuvres in their rear they boldly advanced upon Paris.

This great city, the only one of the capitals of the continent which had not been invaded during this horrible war, now beheld the troops of all Europe entering upon its plains, and was on the point of undergoing the common humiliation. It was abandoned to itself. The empress Maria Louisa, who had some months before been nominated regent, quitted it and took up her residence at Blois. Napoleon was at a distance. There was no longer that desperation and enthusiastic ardour for liberty and the glory of "the great nation," which stimulates the people to resistance. The war was no

longer between nations, but governments; and the emperor had taken upon himself alone all public interest, and placed all means of defence upon mechanical troops. There was a great and general exhaustion: a sentiment of pride alone inspired their grief at the approach of the enemy, and naturally wounded the heart of every Frenchman at witnessing the national soil trampled upon by armies which had been so frequently vanquished: but this sentiment was not sufficiently powerful to rouse the mass of the people against the enemy; and the intrigues of the royalist party, at the head of which was the celebrated Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, summoned the allied forces to the capital. On the 30th of March they were under the walls of Paris, posted with their right towards Montmâre, and their left towards the wood of Vincennes. Prince Schwartzberg now addressed a proclamation to the people of Paris, in which, acquainting them with the presence of the army of the allies before their city, their object being a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France, he added, that "the attempts hitherto made to put an end to so many calamities have proved fruitless because there exists in the very power of the government which oppresses you, an insurmountable obstacle to peace." He further hinted the expectation which was entertained by the allied powers, that the people of Paris would declare in favour of "a salutary authority," and alluded to the conduct of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux; concluding with an assurance of paying every attention to the preservation and tranquillity of the city.

But the fate of the French emperor was not to be decided without another struggle. On the memorable 30th of March, a French army under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, the ex-king of Spain, assisted by marshals Marmont and Mortier, took a position on the heights near Paris, the centre of which was protected by several redoubts, and along which upwards of a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were planted. An attack was immediately determined on by the allies, and it was commenced by the two princes of Wurtemberg. After an obstinate resistance the opposite heights were carried. The success of the day, however, was for some time retarded by an accident which delayed the advance of Blucher's army. Ultimately the positions gained by the allies, and the loss which the French had sustained, induced the latter to send a flag of truce, proposing the cessation of hostilities, on condition of yielding all the ground without the barrier of Paris. The terms were accepted, and in the evening count Nesselrode, the Russian minister, entered Paris. This was followed by a capitulation, and on the morning of the 31st of March, the troops of Marmont and Mortier marched out, carrying with them all their military appurtenances. The national guard, and the municipal gendarmerie, was entirely separated from the troops of the line; the arsenals and magazines were left in their existing state. On the same day the allied sovereigns entered Paris, attended by their guards, the greatest order being every where preserved.

The emperor of Russia now issued a declaration, expressive of the intentions of himself and the other allied sovereigns. It affirmed that they would no more treat with Napoleon Buonaparte, nor with any of his family; that they respected the integrity of France as it existed under its legitimate kings, and they would recognize and guarantee the constitution which France should adopt. On the 1st of April the senate assembled pursuant to an extraordinary convocation. Talleyrand was appointed president, and its first act was to nominate a provisional government, consisting of five persons, the president himself being at the head. It then passed a decree, declaring that "Napoleon had forfeited the throne, that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family, and that the French people and army were absolved from their oath of fidelity to him." It proclaimed that man a tyrant; whose despotism it had so long facilitated by its adulation.

While these extraordinary proceedings were transacting in Paris, Napoleon, urged by the advice of others, had abandoned his march upon St. Dizier and at the head of fifty thousand men marched upon Paris, in the hope of still preventing the entrance of the enemy. On his arrival, on the 1st of April, he learned that Paris had capitulated, and he took up a position at

Fontainebleau, where he was informed of the defection of the senate and of his forfeiture of the crown. It was then, when he saw every thing shrinking from him, under his adverse fortune, the people, and the senate, and the generals, and the countries, that he resolved to abdicate in favour of his son. He sent the duke of Visenza, the prince of Moskowa, and the duke of Tarentum, as plenipotentiaries to the allied sovereigns, and they were to take with them, on their road, the duke of Ragusa, who covered Fontainebleau with a division of his army. Napoleon, with fifty thousand men and his strong military position, might possibly have still imposed the sovereignty of his son upon the coalesced powers; but the duke of Ragusa abandoned his post, treated with the enemy, and left Fontainebleau exposed. He was then compelled to submit to the conditions of the allies, whose pretensions expanded with their power. At Prague they were disposed to cede to him the empire within the Alps and the Rhone. After the invasion of France, they offered him at Châtillon the possession only of the ancient monarchy. Subsequently they refused to treat with him for himself, but only in favour of his son. But now resolved to exterminate the last remains of the revolution in Europe, his conquests, and his dynasty, they compelled him to an unconditional abdication. On the 11th of April, 1814, he renounced for himself and his children the thrones of France and Italy; and in exchange for his vast sovereignty, the limits of which had recently extended from Cadiz to the Baltic sea, he received the small isle of Elba, in the Mediterranean, opposite the grand duchy of Tuscany. On the 20th of the same month, after an affecting farewell to his veteran companions in arms, he set out for his new principality.

Thus fell this extraordinary man, whose name for twice seven years had filled the world with wonder and amazement. His enterprising and organizing genius, his restless desires, his unbounded ambition, his dauntless energy, his love of glory, and the immense disposable force which the revolution had put into his hands, had rendered him the most gigantic being of modern times. That which would have rendered the destiny of another man extraordinary, was scarcely observed in his. Sprung from obscurity, elevated to the supreme power, from a simple officer in the artillery become the leader of the greatest of empires, he had dared to conceive the idea of universal monarchy, and, for a moment, he may be said to have realized it. Having obtained the empire by his victories, he set out himself to subdue Europe by means of France, and to reduce England by means of Europe. This design succeeded for several years, and from Lisbon to Moscow he subjected the people and their potentates to his general orders, and to the vast sequestration which he had prescribed. In exercising for his own advantage the power which he had received, in attacking the liberties of the people by his despotic institutions, the independence of states by war, he dissatisfied both the opinions and the interests of mankind, he excited universal hostility, and the nation withdrew itself from him. After having been long victorious, having planted his standard upon the walls of every capital, after having for ten years augmented his power, and gained a realm at every battle, a single reverse united the world against him, and he fell, exhibiting a striking proof of the instability of human greatness, and a proof of the impracticability of despotism in the present times. (1)

(1) History of the wars in Spain and Portugal, by General Sarrazin.—Jones's Journals of the sieges in Spain.—London Gazette, and the New Annual Register, 1812, 13, 14.—Porter's Narrative of the Campaign.—Life and Campaigns of Blücher.—Phillipart's History of the Campaign in Germany and France.

LETTER XVIII.

Affairs of Great Britain.—War with the United States.—Restoration of the Bourbons, and Napoleon's exile to Elba.—Prussians' liberation and return to Madrid.—Unwise measures pursued by the State of France to the re-appearance of Napoleon in that country, A. D. 1812—1815.

THE unhappy differences which had arisen between Great Britain and the United States, in consequence of the Berlin decrees, had now subsisted for some time; and at the commencement of the year 1812, the tone and temper of the government of the latter country, rendered it but too apparent that nothing could prevent hostilities between the two countries, but a repeal on the part of the former of the orders in council. The spring of that year passed away in the discussion of various measures of preparation by the congress, in all which the war party displayed a manifest preponderance. An act for an embargo on all the shipping of the United States, for the term of ninety days from its date, passed the congress in the beginning of April, the purpose of which was to expedite the fitting out of the American ships of war, and to prevent any more pledges from remaining in the power of the enemy on the commencement of hostilities.

On the 1st of June, the president sent a long message to both houses of congress, enumerating all the provocations received from England, and recommending the subject to their early deliberation; and on the 4th he laid before them copies of the correspondence between Mr. Foster and Mr. Munroe, in which no expectation was held out of any relaxation of its orders by the British government. The result of the subsequent discussions in congress was an act passed on the 18th of June, declaring the *actual existence* of war between the United States and Great Britain. The different feelings with respect to this event, were manifested by the tokens of mourning displayed on the day of the declaration of war at Boston, in which city the commercial connexions with England, and an abhorrence of French principles, rendered the breach extremely unpopular; whereas, at Baltimore, where a number of privateers were fitting out to commit depredations on the British West India trade, a furious mob perpetrated cruel atrocities against some of the opposers of the war.

The conquest of Canada was an object which the American government evidently had in view when they declared hostilities, regarding it no doubt of easy attainment, the British force in that country being small, and the attachment of the people equivocal. Their operations against it commenced early in July 1812. General Hull entered the province of Upper Canada, above Fort Detroit, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in a style expressive of his high confidence of success. He proceeded to attack Fort Malden, but failed in his attempt; and the British general Brock having collected a force for its relief, the Americans retired to Detroit. Hull was there besieged in his turn; and on the 16th of August entered into a capitulation, in virtue of which he surrendered the Fort with two thousand five hundred men, and thirty-three pieces of ordnance, to a much inferior force of British and Indians. This was a severe mortification to the American government, which in its sanguine hopes of conquest, had refused to continue an armistice that had been temporarily agreed upon, between general Provoost, the governor-general of Canada, and general Dearborn, commander-in-chief of the American forces in the northern states. The plan for the invasion of Canada, though disconcerted by this event, was by no means relinquished; and a considerable American force being assembled in the neighbourhood of Niagara, general Dearborn, on October the 13th, made an attack upon the British position of Queenstown. General Brock, who hastened to its defence, was killed while cheering on his men, and the position

was for a time taken; but a re-inforcement being brought up by major-general Sheaffe, the Americans were defeated, and general Wadsworth with nine hundred men, surrounded themselves prisoners of war.

These disasters of the American arms by land were in some degree compensated by their successes at sea. Their navy consisted in a few frigates, of a rate corresponding to the largest British, but in size, weight of metal, and number of men, nearly equal to ships of the line. Hence, when encountered by British frigates, the latter found themselves, as it were, surprised into a conflict with antagonists of much superior force. The first action of this kind took place on August the 19th, between the English frigate *Guerriere*, captain Dacres, and the American frigate *Constitution*, captain Hull, in which the former, being soon totally disabled by the enemy's very superior fire, was obliged to strike. The injury she had received was so great, that the captors set her on fire. On October the 25th, the Macedonian English frigate, captain Carden, desecring a large frigate under American colours, bore down, and an action ensued which was continued with great bravery for more than two hours; when the English ship being reduced to the condition of a perfect wreck, and having incurred a heavy loss of men, to save the rest it was found necessary to surrender. Her antagonist proved to be the United States, commodore Decatur, ranking as a frigate, with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship. In an action between two sloops of war, the advantage also was on the American side; and these events, so unusual to the British navy, though easily to be accounted for, were the source of as much mortification to one party as of triumph to the other. Numerous captures made by the American privateers among the West India islands, gave rise to complaints from the merchants and planters of Jamaica. Such were the principal circumstances of the first year of this new American war.

Eager to retrieve the disasters of the former campaign, the American general Winchester, in the month of January 1813, advanced again with more than one thousand men to the attack of Fort Detroit. Opposed to him was colonel Procter, with five hundred regulars and militia, and six hundred Indians; when about five hundred of the Americans, with their commander, surrendered prisoners, and the greater part of the rest, on their retreat, were cut off by the Indians. This misfortune, however, was compensated to them by the capture of York, the capital of Upper Canada, on Lake Ontario. General Dearborn arriving by water at the place on the 27th of April, landed his troops, and commenced an attack on the works, defended by general Sheaffe at the head of seven hundred regulars and militia, and some Indians. At the same time the American flotilla, under commodore Chauncey, opened a fire on the British batteries from the harbour. An explosion took place, which obliged general Sheaffe to march out with the regulars, leaving the others to capitulate. Considerable public stores were taken with the town.

The lakes of Canada now became the most active scene of warfare, and a number of spirited actions took place on their coasts and waters. On the 23d of April colonel Procter embarked with a force of regulars, militia, and Indians, to attack a post of Americans at the Rapids of the Miami, a river flowing into Lake Erie. While engaged in battering their defences an American re-inforcement of thirteen hundred men, under the command of brigadier-general Clay, coming down the river, made an attack upon him, aided by a sally of the garrison. After a severe action they were repulsed, and the greater part killed or taken prisoners. Colonel Procter, however, was not able to maintain his position.

The Americans, in force, made a landing on the 27th of May at Fort George, on the Niagara, and proceeded to an attack of the place. After a gallant defence, it was evacuated by the commander, colonel Vincent, who retreated to a position near the head of Lake Ontario. In the mean-time, the American army pushed forwards in a large body, which rendered them masters of the Niagara frontier. They, however, met with several checks in attempting a further advance; and in June general Dearborn concentrated his forces at Fort George, where he remained in a strongly intrenched camp.

On Lake Ontario, the British naval commander sir James Yeo, and the American commodore Chauncey, kept each other in check, without any decided superiority on either side. A British expedition to Lake Champlain was successful in destroying a number of military buildings, and a great quantity of naval and other stores. In the month of September, the Americans accomplished the object of gaining naval possession of the lakes, as far as concerned Lake Erie. Their commander on that station, commodore Perry, on the 10th of that month brought to action the British, or rather the Canadian squadron, commanded by captain Barclay, and compelled the whole of it to surrender. The consequence of this disaster was the relinquishment by the British of the Michigan territory, with the exception of Fort Michilimackinack, and the abandonment of the posts in Upper Canada beyond Grand River.

In the autumnal months a powerful effort was made by the Americans for the invasion of Canada at different points. It commenced with the advance of major-general Hampton to the frontier on the Montreal side. Sir George Prevost repaired to the spot, bringing a re-inforcement to sir R. Sheaffe, commander of the district. Hampton passed the boundary into Lower Canada on the 21st of October, and proceeded along both banks of the Chateaugay river against the British advanced posts. On the 26th he was engaged by a much inferior force of British and Canadians, and so effectually checked, that he recrossed the frontier, and retreated to his former position. The American general Wilkinson, in co-operation with this attempt, embarked ten thousand men on Lake Ontario, and proceeded in bateaux down the St. Lawrence, with the intention of reaching Montreal. Sir G. Prevost, however, had placed a corps of observation to watch the movements of the Americans whom they attacked and entirely defeated the assailants with considerable loss, after which they returned to their own shores. The final result of this combined expedition was, that both the provinces of Canada were freed from their invaders, who withdrew in December to winter-quarters within their own territories.

A successful attempt by the British against Fort Niagara, was the latest occurrence in these parts. On the 19th of December a body of about five hundred men, under colonel Murray, was landed early in the morning near the fort, which by escalade carried the works, with a trifling loss, killing or taking prisoners all the garrison, and making prize of a large quantity of arms and stores. The American general Hull, arriving soon after at the town of Buffalo to check the farther progress of the British, was attacked on the 30th by general Riall, at the head of one thousand regulars and militia, and four hundred Indians, and entirely routed. Buffalo, and the village of Black-rock, were afterwards committed to the flames, and the whole of the American frontier was left naked; sir George Prevost, in a proclamation, represented these severities as a measure of retaliation for the destruction practised by the Americans in their invasion of Upper Canada, particularly their conflagration of Newark, a place containing one hundred and fifty houses.

During the time that these transactions were going on in the northern part of America, a desultory warfare was maintained in the south by the British blockading squadrons, which sent their light vessels up the rivers at the head of Chesapeak Bay, and made occasional attacks on the small towns and repositories of stores on their banks. These were generally successful, though the objects were of inconsiderable value. A more important enterprise was undertaken against a post at Hampton, in Virginia, defended by a considerable corps of troops. On the 26th of June sir S. Beckwith, who had embarked with the troops under his command on board admiral Cockburn's light squadron, turned the flank of the Americans unobserved, and, after a brisk action, gained possession of their camp and batteries. In the following month, the islands of Ocrakoke and Portsmouth, on the coast of North Carolina, were captured by the squadron of admiral Cockburn.

The enterprising spirit of the British navy was displayed, not only in occasional attacks on the towns situate on the American coast, but also in some

contests with the enemy's vessels of war. His Majesty's frigate the *Shannon*, captain Broke, stationed off the port of Boston, had been brought to a state of the most perfect discipline by her commander, who assiduously exercised his men in the use of great and small arms. On the 1st of June captain Broke stood close in with the Boston light-house, by way of a challenge to the United States frigate the *Chesapeake*, a fine ship of forty-nine guns, full manned. The American accepted the proffered combat, and standing out of the harbour, confidently bore down on his foe. The ships were soon in close contact, when captain Broke, perceiving a favourable opportunity, gave orders to board the *Chesapeake*, himself setting the example. The conflict was severe, but short : in two minutes the American's decks were cleared, her colours were hauled down, and the British flag hoisted over them ; and she was led away in triumph, in the sight of a number of the inhabitants of Boston, who witnessed the action, and were expecting her victorious return.

The French navy was at this time so much reduced, that scarcely any opportunity was given during the year to the British seamen of displaying their superiority, in the combats of squadrons or single ships, against their accustomed foe ; and their spirit of enterprise was chiefly exercised in attacks upon harbours and batteries on the sea-coast. Several spirited and successful actions of this kind in the Mediterranean and its branches were reported, of which one of the most considerable was the capture of Fiume, in the Gulf of Venice. Admiral Freemantle, with a squadron under his command, on the 2d of July anchored opposite to this town, which was defended by four strong batteries. On the following day the ships weighed to attack the batteries, whilst a detachment of seamen and marines was sent to storm the mole-head. This party succeeding, they dashed into the town, drove before them the garrison, with the governor at its head, and with a very inconsiderable loss gained complete possession of the place. It was highly to the honour of the victors, that although the town was stormed in every part, not an individual was plundered, nor was any thing carried away except the goods afloat and the government stores. Of ninety vessels captured, more than half were restored to their owners.

Before we turn our attention to the continent of Europe, it may perhaps be as well to pursue the narrative of the war with America, during the year 1814, when happily it was brought to a termination. On the 7th of January, the president communicated to congress copies of letters which had passed between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Munroe, in which the former proposed the appointment of plenipotentiaries to treat on terms of peace, either at London or Gottenburg ; which proposal was accepted by the president, who made choice of Gottenburg as the place. Such a step was rendered the more expedient to the American government, by the open opposition to the war manifested in the northern States, of which a specimen was given in a very forcible speech delivered by governor Strong before the legislature of Massachusetts. That the discontents occasioned by the restrictions on commerce, and their effects on the revenue of America, had made a serious impression, appeared from an act passed by the congress, in consequence of a message from the president, for the repeal of the embargo and non-importation acts. The expectations of a consequent revival of trade were, however, in a great measure frustrated, by the extension of the British blockade along the whole coast of the United States, announced in April by admiral Cochrane.

Early in the month of February the American general Wilkinson abandoned his position on the frontier of Lower Canada, and moved his headquarters to Burlington and Plattsburg, after partially destroying block-houses and barracks erected at a great expense, the destruction of which, with a quantity of stores, was completed by a pursuing British detachment. Wilkinson afterwards made an attack on a British post commanded by major Hancock, but was repulsed with considerable loss.

The fort of Oswego, situate on Lake Ontario, was reduced by sir James Yeo and general Drummond early in May ; an achievement which was

chiefly serviceable as it retarded the equipment of the enemy's armament on that lake. The English commodore had blockaded Sackett's-harbour, in the vain hope of co-operation from the commander-in-chief, general Prevost; but on the return of Chauncey, his able opponent, with a superior force, he reluctantly retired to Kingston. On this the Americans became the assailants: a formidable force under general Brown crossed the Niagara river, and compelled the garrison of Fort Erie to surrender prisoners of war. He then attacked the British lines at Chippawa; and after a warm action, in which the American troops appeared to have improved much in courage and discipline, the British commander, general Riall, whose strength was greatly inferior, retreated upon Fort George. The latter officer, however, being joined by general Drummond on the 25th of July, the Americans were in their turn defeated, and compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Fort Erie.

Large reinforcements arriving from Europe about midsummer, sir George Prevost, after much consideration, determined upon an expedition to Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain. At the head of twelve thousand excellent troops the commander-in-chief ventured to enter the American territory; and, cautiously traversing the banks of the lake without seeing the face of an enemy, he arrived at his destination early in September. The defences of Plattsburg were no better than slight field-works, still unfinished, and the garrison consisted of about four thousand men, chiefly raw militia; but he was in vain urged to an immediate assault, alleging the necessity of naval co-operation. Captain Downie, who commanded the flotilla on the lake, reached Plattsburg on the 11th of September, and immediately commenced the attack, in full confidence that the land-works would be assailed at the same time; but his signals were not answered. That brave officer fell early in the action; but the squadron maintained the fight, till, completely overpowered by the naval force of the enemy, combined with the incessant fire from the works, the ships were either destroyed or compelled to strike.

The commander-in-chief at length commenced his reluctant and long protracted attack; but almost immediately withdrew his troops, and, amidst the loud reproaches of the soldiery, ordered a general retreat, leaving behind him a vast quantity of stores; but his whole loss in killed and wounded did not exceed two hundred men. This disaster closed the campaign, if such it could be called, in Lower Canada; and by the exertions of general Drummond, wholly unaided by the commander-in-chief, the Americans were finally compelled to evacuate Fort Erie, and the whole of the Niagara shore in Upper Canada. Sir James Yeo did not hesitate to prefer a direct accusation against sir George Prevost for neglect of duty and misconduct. That commander was consequently recalled, but did not live to await the issue of an inquiry into his behaviour.

The military operations on the coasts of the southern American states had hitherto been rather of a harassing and predatory kind, than directed to any important purpose; but it was now resolved to strike a blow in this quarter, which might exert an influence on the fate of the war. A large naval force under the command of vice-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a strong body of troops commanded by major-general Robert Ross, was in the Chesapeake the beginning of August, waiting for the arrival of rear-admiral Malcolm with an expedition from Bermuda. On their junction the admiral was informed by rear-admiral Cockburn, that the American commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent. Of this circumstance they determined to take advantage for ascending the river, with the declared purpose of an attack upon Barney, while their real object was the city of Washington, the American capital, not far distant from a port on the Patuxent.

On the 19th and 20th of August, the army being landed at that place, general Ross began his march to Washington, the force of the Americans for its protection having been ascertained to be such as would justify an attempt to take it by a *coup de main*. Arriving on the 24th within five miles of the capital, he found the Americans, to the number of eight or nine thou-

sand, strongly posted to dispute his advance. An attack on them was immediately directed; and it was made with so much impetuosity, that they were in a short time wholly dispersed, and the British army reached Washington in the evening of the same day. No time was lost in commencing the work of destruction, which was the main purpose of the expedition. The senate-house and house of representatives, the president's palace, the arsenal, the dock-yard, treasury, war office, rope-walk, and the great bridge across the Potomac. A frigate ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed in the dock-yard. Private property was respected, and strict discipline was observed among the troops. On the following night a retreat was commenced, and the army having met with no molestation on its return, was on the 30th re-embarked.

Connected with this enterprise was the destruction of Fort Washington on the Potomac, below the city. This was effected on the 27th by captain Gordon of the Seahorse, accompanied by other vessels; and by its fall the town of Alexandria, on the same river, was left without protection. Captain Gordon then advanced to Alexandria, and placed his ships so as to force compliance with any terms he chose to propose. The conditions at length agreed on were, that the town should be spared with the exception of its public works, and the inhabitants unmolested on giving up all the naval and ordnance stores, public and private, all the shipping and their furniture, and merchandise of every description. Twenty-one of the vessels were fitted for sea, and loaded on the 21st, when captain Gordon being informed that preparations were making to oppose his return, quitted Alexandria without waiting to destroy the stores which he could not carry away, and brought back all his squadron and prizes in safety to the Chesapeak.

The American president on this issued a proclamation, in which he spoke of the devastation at Washington as a measure of extreme and barbarous severity; and mentioned that the British naval commander on the station had avowed his purpose of destroying and laying waste such towns and districts on the coast as should be found assailable, under the pretext of retaliation for the ravages committed in Upper Canada, though none such occurred but what had been shewn to be unauthorized. He then called upon all officers to be alert and vigilant in providing the means of defence.

Admiral Cochrane and general Ross next concerted the plan of an attempt against the town of Baltimore, one of the most considerable ports in the United States. On the 12th of September the troops were landed about eighteen miles from the town, whence they advanced along a peninsula between two rivers. As the vanguard was engaged with the enemy's riflemen covered with woods, general Ross received a mortal wound in the breast. He instantly sent for colonel Brooke, the second in command, to whom he gave some instructions: Recommending his young children to the protection of his country, and exclaiming, "My dear wife!" he expired. Few men ever fell in battle more generally beloved in their private character, or admired in their professional capacity.

The van now pressed on, driving the enemy's light troops before them, till they arrived within five miles of Baltimore. A corps of six thousand men was there descried, posted behind a palisade across the road. They were immediately attacked and dispersed with great loss, and the army halted for the night. On the next day they advanced, and took a position a mile and a half from Baltimore. The hills surrounding the town were found occupied by a chain of palisaded redoubts and other works, defended, it was said, by fifteen thousand men. An attack was, however, planned by the British commander, when a message arrived from the admiral, acquainting him that the harbour was closed in such a manner by sunken vessels defended by batteries, that it was impossible to bring up his ships to co-operate as had been intended. It was therefore the opinion of both commanders, that the chance of success in further operations was not adequate to the hazard; and after the army in retreating had halted some time, to give the Americans an opportunity of following, which they declined doing, it was again

embarked. The principal loss in this expedition was that of the lamented commander.

The negotiations for peace, which had been removed from Gottenburg to Ghent, commenced in August, 1814; and in October an account of the proceedings was laid by the American president before the congress. From this it appeared that the British government had advanced certain demands respecting the integrity of the Indian territory, the military possession of the lakes, and the settlement of the boundaries, which the American plenipotentiaries did not hesitate absolutely to reject. The congress almost unanimously confirmed this rejection; and measures were determined on for defensive preparations, on the supposition of a continuance of the war adequate to the emergency. At the same time, the impossibility of negotiating loans in the existing state of public credit, occasioned the adoption of a system of taxation which could not fail of adding greatly to the unpopularity of the war. Happily, however, its inutilty to both countries was become sufficiently apparent; and the restoration of peace in Europe had removed most of the causes of difference. The commissioners at Ghent, therefore, came to an agreement before the year had expired and on the 24th of December a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States was signed, which afterwards received a ratification from both governments. The articles of this treaty chiefly related to the disputes respecting boundaries, for the determination of which it was agreed that commissioners should reciprocally be appointed. Each nation engaged to put an end to all hostilities that might be subsisting between them and the Indian tribes, and to restore to them all the possessions and privileges which appertained to them previous to such hostilities. Both parties likewise covenanted to continue their efforts for the abolition of the slave trade. No notice whatever was taken of the circumstances which occasioned the war. We now return to the affairs of France.

It was naturally to be expected that upon the abdication of Napoleon, the friends of the Bourbon family would be inspired with confident hopes of the elevation of Louis to the throne of France. They did not long conceal the sentiments, and an address was signed by a great number of the Parisians recommending the royal exile to the patronage of the allied sovereigns, and urging them to complete by his enthronment, the liberation of France. Talleyrand, who had been long disgusted with the government of Napoleon, and had particularly disapproved of his conduct towards Spain, promoted this object of the address by all the weight of his authority; and this wish soon became general. Some days of suspense intervened, and during that time tranquillity prevailed in Paris. On the 6th of April a new constitution was announced by the senate. The first article recognized the French government as monarchical and hereditary, and the second declared that the people freely called Louis Stanislaus Xavier to the throne. The count d'Artois came first into France in the quality of a lieutenant of the realm, and on the 23d of April signed the convention of Paris, which reduced the territory of France to its limits of the 1st of January, 1792, and by which Belgium, Savoy, Nice, Genoa, and an immense military *matériel* ceased to belong to it.

Louis XVIII, who had long lived in England in tranquil retirement, reposed himself from the indolence of a private life, and made all due preparation for undertaking the arduous task of governing a kingdom. He repaired forthwith to London, where, at the request of the prince regent, he made his public entry into Westminster with the pompous parade of a sovereign; and having received from the good citizens of London the most gratifying marks of respect, he proceeded to Dover, and on the 24th of April embarked in a royal yacht convoyed by the duke of Clarence. At Calais he was hailed with the loudest acclamations, and on the 2nd of May published a declaration from St. Ouen, a pleasant village about four miles from the capital, in which adverting to the constitutional act passed by the senate on the 6th of April and which the allied powers had solemnly engaged to guarantee, "he recognized that its basis were good: but that a great number of the articles bearing the marks of the precipitancy with which they were drawn 1

"could not, in their present form, become fundamental laws of the state; and he convoked for the 16th of June the senate and the legislative body, engaging to lay before them the result of his labours." This declaration was by no means calculated to excite the national confidence! On the following day, however, he entered Paris, where he was received with some tokens of applause, partly voluntary and partly extorted, but none from the military.

Napoleon, "fallen from his high estate," professed to be gratified with a treaty, by which it was agreed that he should not merely reside on the island of Elba, but that he should exercise supreme sway over a whole territory, comprising a district of sixty miles in circumference, and having a population of fourteen thousand inhabitants! That he should retain the imperial title, and annually receive from France, for the support of his rank, two millions of francs, a moiety of which should at his death be transferred to the empress Maria Louisa, to whom, and to her issue, the duchy of Parma and its dependencies would be immediately assigned in full sovereignty; that his mother, and his brothers and sisters, should be accommodated with a liberal allowance; that his private property in France should, to a certain extent, be reserved as a fund for the occasional gratification of such friends as he might recommend to the notice of the government; and that he might take four hundred men to Elba, and retain them as defenders of his person. With these concessions he pretended to be satisfied; and taking leave of the imperial guard at Fontainebleau, he was escorted to the south of France by a detachment of the military, attended by commissioners from the allied powers. His progress was marked by alternate applause and reproach. At Valence he had an interview with marshal Augereau, duke of Castiglione, not of the most flattering kind. The marshal, who was a high spirited officer, is reported to have reproached him severely as a traitor to the army and to France—as destitute of courage, and not daring to die the death of a soldier. But this was not the only mortification which he experienced during his journey. At Avignon he was in danger of personal violence, and he with difficulty escaped the effects of popular resentment. On the 28th of April, he embarked at St. Fréjus on board an English frigate for Porto Ferrajo, where he landed, in a few days, and where he had leisure to reflect on the extraordinary vicissitude which his fortunes had undergone.

Previous to the allies reaching Paris, the impossibility of preserving Spain had prompted Napoleon to release Ferdinand from his captivity, and to conclude a treaty with that prince for his restoration to the throne of Madrid. In announcing this convention to the regency, Ferdinand expressed his gratitude for the unalterable attachment of his countrymen to his interests, and also for the persevering courage and energy of his British allies. He at the same time acknowledged his obligations to the emperor of France for the comforts which he had enjoyed during his exile, and the spontaneous offer of an advantageous pacification. The answer which he received was respectful and polite; but it was accompanied by a former decree of the cortes tending to annul every convention which he might have been induced to sign while in a state of captivity. In reply to another communication, the regents, evading the solicited ratification of the late treaty, informed Ferdinand, that an ambassador had been deputed in his name to assist at the proposed congress of the chief European powers, the result of which would probably be a general peace. The council of state, moreover, declared that he ought not to be allowed to resume his authority without binding himself by an oath to an observance of the constitution; and the cortes confirmed this arrangement, adding, that no Spaniard who had obtained any employment, received any mark of honour, or enjoyed a pension by the grant of Napoleon, or of Joseph, or who had retired from the kingdom with the French retreating armies, should be allowed to accompany Ferdinand on his return. Trusting, however, to his authority and influence, he disregarded these attempts to control him, and resolved to pursue his own inclinations, or follow the advice of his favourites. He secretly entered Spain by a different route from that which the regency had recommended, and proceeded

to Valencia, where he issued two decrees intimating an intention of sacrificing the interests of the two parties which divided the nation, to the benefit of a third set of men, then beginning to take the form and consistence of a party. These advisers were the friends of the ancient system, the slaves of superstition and deeply rooted prejudices, who had temporized during the residence of the royal family at Bayonne, and opposed the constitution which was adjusted at Cadiz. Influenced by these unenlightened counsellors, the king stigmatized the existing cortes as illegally constituted, and having condemned the new constitution, dissolved the assembly with a promise of convoking a regular national council. By another decree, Ferdinand restrained the liberty of the press, declaring that the censors should be such individuals as were not attached to the cortes, neither had been in the service of Joseph Buonaparte. Forgetting or neglecting the protest against despotism, which was included in the former of these decrees, he ordered the commandant of Madrid to seize two of the members of the regency, several of the members of the cortes, and some editors of periodical journals, without stating their specific crimes or delinquency, and many other arbitrary arrests and imprisonments speedily followed. Intent on the restoration of monasteries, he ordained the restitution of the estates belonging to these foundations without making compensation for the purchase or for the subsequent improvement of the property. He concurred with the late assembly in withholding the confiscated or sequestered lands and goods of supposed traitors, and thus enforced a decree which he ought rather to have annulled. The restoration of the pope's authority was almost as agreeable to Ferdinand as the grant of his own return to power; and the former, like an incorrigible bigot, exhibited the same superstitious zeal which characterized the Spanish monarch, instead of displaying a proper regard for incorrupt religion and enlightened government.

In France matters proceeded with as much tranquillity as, under existing circumstances, could reasonably be expected. The senate and the representative body had connected the acceptance of the new constitution with the inauguration of Louis, ordering that he should not be proclaimed king until he had sworn to the observance of the code; but, though a mild and moderate prince he was unwilling to be fettered; and, trusting to his own judgment, and to the good sense and patriotism of his friends, he declared that he would present to the people such a constitution as they should have no reason to disapprove. Aware of the influence and power which Napoleon's companions in arms, the marshals, had obtained, Louis endeavoured to conciliate them by respectful attention; and by a general confirmation of their honours and emoluments; and to extend his own interest among the troops, he gave to his brother, his two nephews, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Condé and his son, the command of regiments, subjecting the former colonels to the authority of these princes, with the title of inspector-general. At the same time, he gratified both the army and the people by expediting the departure of the foreign troops, whose presence, notwithstanding their orderly and exemplary behaviour, unavoidably excited unwelcome sensations.

The negotiations between France and the combined powers were conducted without acrimony. Louis and Talleyrand were sensible of the necessity of abandoning Napoleon's conquests, and of restricting the kingdom to moderate limits. Great Britain agreed to yield all her conquests in the West Indies, except Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Spanish part of St. Domingo with the isle of France. Malta was confirmed to England: and France engaged to erect no fortifications in India; she also pledged herself to co-operate with Great Britain in the eventual abolition of the slave trade. This treaty which was signed at Paris on the 20th of May 1814, also contained an article, ordaining a convocation to be held at Vienna, consisting of plenipotentiaries of the contracting powers, for the adjustment of the balance of power and of a durable peace.

Having so far adjusted the new order of things in France, the allied sovereigns received a respectful invitation from the prince regent to visit England, of which several of them cheerfully availed themselves. In the

beginning of June, 1814, the emperor Alexander, of Russia, accompanied by his sister the duchess of Oldenburg, the king of Prussia and his two sons, prince Czernicheff; generals Blucher, Barclay-de-Tolly, Platoff the hatman of the Cossacks, &c. &c., were also among the number. The emperor of Russia acquired much popularity by his affability and condescension, as well as by the generosity and forbearance of his late conduct. The king of Prussia seemed to labour under considerable dejection of spirits, probably owing to the recent decease of his amiable queen, a most beautiful and accomplished woman, who had bitterly lamented the ill-advised and calamitous war, of 1806, against France. After a residence of some weeks, in the course of which the sovereigns were magnificently entertained by the city of London, these illustrious guests returned to the continent much gratified with their visit⁽¹⁾

LETTER XIX.

State of France consequent on the return of the Bourbons.—Conduct and pursuits of Napoleon in Elba.—Makes his escape and returns to France.—Marches into the heart of the country, and is received with eclat.—Dismay of the royal government.—Napoleon re-instated on the throne of France.—Proceedings of the Congress of Vienna.—The outlawed invader proclaims his grievances in justification of his conduct.—Attempts to conciliate the nation.—Preparations to renew the war, A. D. 1814—1815.

THE return of peace, after a period of more than twenty years almost incessant warfare, you, my son, will naturally conclude, would be hailed with transports of joy by the more respectable part of the French nation; yet there were circumstances attending the present which could not but prove extremely mortifying to a high-spirited nation in general, while the interests of many, who unhappily batten on the miseries of a country, must necessarily prompt them to murmur and complain. Louis XVIII. was restored to the crown with the general concurrence of the nation; and he had given his subjects a constitution which was calculated to satisfy the friends of rational freedom. But the year had not closed ere political differences began to shew themselves, in such form as to indicate that much discontent and suspicion existed among large classes of the community.

The terms of the peace had been studiously calculated to recommend it to the feelings of the French people. France was certainly stripped of that extended sway which rendered her dangerous to the independence of other European nations, and reduced, generally speaking, to the boundaries which she occupied on the 1st of January 1792. Nevertheless several small grants were made to her on the side of Germany and the Netherlands; while, on that of Savoy, she had ceded to her the considerable towns of Chamberri, Annecy, Avignon, with the Venaissin, and Mont Belliard. But these concessions availed little; and looking upon what they had lost, many of the French people, after the recollection had subsided of their escape from a dreadful war, were naturally disposed to murmur against the reduction of their territories, and to insist that Belgium, at least, should have remained with them. But this was only one of their many grievances; the sense of honour, as it was called, or rather the vanity of military ascendancy and of national aggrandizement, had been inspired by Napoleon into all classes of his subjects, though they were chiefly cherished by his companions in arms. According to their opinion, the glory of France had risen with their late emperor, and with him had sunk for ever; not, as they contended, through the superior force or prowess of the enemy; but by the treachery of Marmont,

(1) Parliamentary Debates.—Annual Register.—Campagne de Paris, par Giraud—Histoire de la Revolution Francaise, par A. F. Mignet.

and the other generals whom Napoleon trusted. This sentiment passed from the ranks of the soldiers into other classes of society, all of which were at the moment deeply enamoured of what was represented to them as national glory. All were forced to allow, that they had received back the family of the Bourbons from the hands of foreign conquerors; and that the reign of Louis XVIII. had only commenced, because France had been conquered and Paris surrendered. They could not forget that the allies had declared the restoration of the ancient family to be combined with the restriction of France within the ancient limits; and that, accordingly, the first act of Monsieur, as lieutenant of the kingdom, had been to order the surrender of more than fifty fortresses beyond the frontiers conquered by their arms under the skill and valour of Napoleon. The meanest follower of the camp affected to feel his share in the national disgrace of losing provinces, to which France had no title but that of military usurpation. The hope that the government would at least recover Belgium, so convenient for France, and which, as they contended, fell within her natural boundaries, served for a time to combat these feelings; but when it was plainly seen that the new government of France neither could nor would engage in external war, for this or any other object, the discontent of the army became universal, and they might be pronounced ripe for any desperate enterprise.

In addition to the sources of dissatisfaction and discontent now mentioned, whether real or supposed, there were many others which tended greatly to embarrass the government at this critical moment: Among these we might specify the restraints imposed on the liberty of the press, or freedom of discussion; the apprehensions which were naturally enough entertained lest the church and crown lands, which had been alienated during the revolution, should now be resumed; the claims of the emigrants which came to be mooted in the chamber of delegates; and the defalcation in the financial department amounting, only in two years, 1812 and 1813, to the sum of thirteen millions sterling, which had been well known to Napoleon, but by him studiously kept back from the public, and making the total deficiency of the debt of France in the course of the last thirteen years to amount to the enormous sum of sixty-eight millions and a half sterling money. Thus split into parties, oppressed with taxes, vexed with those nameless and mysterious jealousies and fears which form the most dangerous subjects of disagreements France was at this time full of inflammable materials, and there was not wanting a torch to light them into a flame; as the sequel will shew.

When Napoleon had taken up his residence at Elba, he professed to those around him to be perfectly resigned to his fate; spoke of himself as of a man politically dead; and declared that his intentions were henceforth to devote himself to the pursuits of science and literature. He traversed his new empire in every direction; planned improvements or alterations, which, had they been carried into effect, with the means which he possessed, would probably have occupied his whole life time to execute. He established his court upon an ambitious scale, considering his limited territory and slender income; the interior of his household, though reduced to thirty-five persons, still held the titles, and affected the rank proper to an imperial court; and his body guard, consisting of about seven hundred infantry and eighty cavalry, seemed to occupy as much of his attention as the grand army had formerly done. They were constantly exercised, and, in a short time, he was observed to be anxious about obtaining recruits for them.

As early as the month of July, 1814, there was observed to be a considerable degree of fermentation in Italy, to which the neighbourhood of Elba, the residence of several members of the Buonaparte family, and the sovereignty of Murat, occasioned a general resort of Napoleon's friends and admirers. This agitation increased daily, and various arts were resorted to for disseminating a prospect of Napoleon's future return to power. Parties of recruits passed over from Italy to Elba, to enlist in his guards; and two persons employed in this service were arrested at Leghorn, in whose possession were found written lists, containing the names of several hundred persons who were willing to serve Napoleon. About the middle of summer the latter

was visited by his mother and his sister, the princess Pauline. At this time, too, he seems to have expected to be joined by his wife, Maria Louisa, who, it was said, was coming to take possession of her Italian dominions. Their separation, with the incidents which had occurred before Paris, were the only topics on which he appeared to lose his temper. On these he used strong and violent language. He said that interdicting him intercourse with his wife and son, excited universal reprobation at Vienna; that no such instance of inhumanity and injustice could be pointed out in modern times; that the empress was detained a prisoner, an orderly officer constantly attending upon her; finally that she had given him to understand before she quitted Orleans, that she was to obtain permission to join him at the island of Elba, though it was now denied her.

Among those who accompanied the exiled emperor to his new residence was baron Kohler, an Austrian general of rank and reputation—a particular friend and old school-fellow of prince Schwartzberg. But this gentleman took his departure about the middle of May, leaving colonel sir Niel Campbell the only one of the four commissioners who continued to remain at Elba by order of the British cabinet. It is difficult to say what sir Niel's office really was or what were his instructions. He had neither power, title, nor means to interfere with Napoleon's movements. The emperor had been recognized by a treaty, as an independent sovereign. It was therefore only as an envoy that he could be permitted to reside at his court. When interrogated by the governor of Porto Ferrajo, as to the character he assumed and the length of his stay, he obliged the British officer to say, that his orders were to remain in Elba till the breaking up of the congress which was then settling the affairs of Europe. Napoleon did not oppose or murmur at the continued, though equivocal, residence of sir Niel Campbell at Elba—on the contrary he affected to be pleased with it. For a considerable time he even seemed to seek the society of the British envoy, held frequent intercourse with him, and conversed with apparent confidence on public affairs. On the 16th of September, he had an audience of three hours, during which Napoleon talked incessantly—made many declarations of his having ceased to concern himself about any thing but his retreat, his family, his house, cows and poultry, &c.—spoke in the highest terms of the English character, protesting it had always had his sincere admiration, and requested the British officer to lose no time in procuring him an English grammar! But as the close of the year approached, sir Niel Campbell became impressed with a notion that Napoleon studied to exclude him from his presence as much as possible, without absolute rudeness—a change was discernible in his manners and habits—the alterations which he had planned in the island no longer gave him the same interest—he renounced, from time to time, the severe exercise in which he at first indulged, using a carriage rather than his horse, and occasionally sunk into fits of deep contemplation, mingled with gloomy anxiety. He, also, became subject to some pecuniary inconveniences to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He had plunged into expenses with imprudent eagerness, and without weighing the amount of his resources against the cost of his proposed alterations; and this was greatly heightened by the culpable negligence of the French government in the payment of his yearly income. The sixth article of the treaty at Fontainebleau provided an annuity, or revenue of two millions five hundred thousand francs, to be registered on the Great Book of France, and paid without abatement or deduction to Napoleon. This annual provision was stipulated by the marshals Macdonald and Ney, as the price of Napoleon's resignation, and the French ministers could not refuse a declaration of payment without gross injustice to the ex-emperor, and at the same time a severe insult to the allied powers. Yet, far from this pension being paid with regularity, it does not appear that Napoleon ever received a single remittance on account of it. The British resident observing how much he was harassed by pecuniary straits, and hearing his complaints, repeatedly wrote home to his court on the subject, giving it as his opinion, "that, if these difficulties pressed on him much longer, so as to prevent him from continuing the external shew of a court, he was

“ perfectly capable of crossing over to Piombino with his troops, or committing any other extravagance.” This was sir Niel Campbell’s opinion on the 31st of October 1814, and lord Castlereagh remonstrated strongly with the French ministers on the subject, though England was the only power among the allies, who, not being a party to the treaty of Fontainebleau, might safely have left it to those states that were. The French were not ashamed to defend their conduct on the flimsy pretext that the pension was not due until the year of his exile was elapsed—a defence wholly evasive in as much as that such a pension, being of an alimentary nature, the quarterly or termly payments ought to have been paid in advance.

While Napoleon, harassed by pecuniary difficulties, and the other subjects of complaint, tormented too by the restlessness of a mind impatient of restraint, gave vent to expressions which excited suspicion and ought to have induced caution, his court began to assume a very singular appearance; it was like the court of a barrack, filled with military, *gens-d’armes*, police officers of all sorts, refugees of every nation, expectants and dependants upon the court, domestics and adventurers, all connected with Napoleon and holding or expecting some benefit at his hand. Rumours of every kind were buzzed about through this miscellaneous crowd as thick as motes in sunshine. Suspicious characters appeared, and disappeared again, without affording any trace of their journey or object. The port was filled with ships from all parts of Italy; the four armed vessels allotted to Napoleon for the protection of the island, and seventeen others belonging to the miners, were constantly engaged in voyages to Italy, and brought over or returned to the continent, Italians, Sicilians, Frenchmen, and Greeks, who seemed to be all upon the alert, yet gave no reason for their coming or departing.

The situation of sir Niel Campbell now became very embarrassing. Napoleon, affecting to be more tenacious than ever of his dignity, not only excluded the British envoy from his own presence, but even threw obstacles in the way of his visiting his mother and sister. It was, therefore, only from interviews with Napoleon himself that he could hope to get any information; and to avail himself of these, sir Niel was obliged to absent himself from the island occasionally, which gave him an opportunity of desiring an audience as he went away and returned. At such times as he remained on the island, he was discountenanced, and all attention withdrawn from him; yet in a manner so artful, as to render it impossible for him to make a formal complaint, especially as he had no avowed official character, and was something in the situation of a guest, whose intrusion had placed him at the favour of his host. Symptoms of some approaching catastrophe, however, could not escape the British resident. Napoleon had interviews with his mother, after which she appeared deeply distressed. She was also heard to speak of three deputations which he had received from France. It was, moreover, accounted a circumstance of strong suspicion, that discharges and furloughs were granted to two or three hundred of Napoleon’s old guard, by the medium of whom, as was too late discovered, the allegiance of the military in France was corrupted and seduced, and their minds prepared for what was to ensue. At length, Mariotti, the French consul at Leghorn, informed sir Niel Campbell that it was certainly determined at Elba, that Napoleon, with his guards should embark for the continent. Sir Niel was at Leghorn when he received this intelligence, and had left the Partridge sloop of war to cruise round Elba. It was naturally concluded that Italy was the object of Napoleon, to join with his brother-in-law Murat, who was at that time fatally for himself, raising his banner.

On the 25th of February 1815, the Partridge having come to Leghorn and fetched off sir Niel Campbell, the appearance, as the vessel approached Porto Ferrajo on her return, of the national guard on the batteries, instead of the crested grenadiers of the Imperial guard, at once apprized the British resident of what had taken place. When he landed, he found the mother and sister of the emperor in a well-assumed agony of anxiety about the fate of their relative, of whom they affected to know nothing more than that he had steered towards the coast of Barbary. They appeared extremely anxious to

detain sir Niel Campbell on shore : but, resisting their entreaties, and repelling the more pressing arguments of the governor, the British envoy regained his vessel and set sail in pursuit of the adventurer. It was, however, too late ; the Partridge only obtained a distant sight of the flotilla, after Napoleon and his forces had landed.

In his passage Napoleon encountered two great risks : the first was from meeting a royal French frigate, who hailed the Inconstant. The guards were ordered to put off their caps and go down below, or lie upon deck, while the captain of the Inconstant exchanged some civilities with the commander of the frigate, with whom he happened to be acquainted, and being well known in those seas, he was permitted to pass without farther inquiry. The second danger was from the pursuit of sir Niel Campbell, in the Partridge, English sloop of war, who pursued with a determination to capture or sink the whole flotilla.² Escaping these dangers, however, it was on the 1st of March, that Napoleon, causing his followers once more to assume the tri-coloured cockade, disembarked at Cannes, a small sea-port in the gulf of St. Juan, not far from Frejus, which had seen him land, a single individual returned from Egypt, to conquer a mighty empire ; had also beheld him set sail, a terrified exile, to occupy the place of his banishment ; and now again witnessed his return, a daring adventurer, once more to throw the dice for a throne or a grave. A small party of his guards presented themselves before Antibes, but were made prisoners by general Corsin, the governor of the place. Undismayed, however, by this inauspicious commencement, Napoleon instantly began his march at the head of scarcely a thousand men, towards the centre of a kingdom from which he had been expelled with execrations, and where his rival now occupied in peace an hereditary throne. For some time the inhabitants gazed on them with doubtful and astonished eyes, as if uncertain whether to assist them as friends, or oppose them as invaders. A few peasants cried *Vive l'Empereur* ! but the adventurers received neither countenance nor opposition from those of the higher ranks. On the evening of March the 2nd, a day and a half after landing, the little band of invaders reached Cremin, having left behind them their small train of artillery, the better to enable them to make forced marches. As Napoleon approached the province of Dauphiné, termed the cradle of the revolution, the peasants greeted him with more general welcome, but still no proprietors appeared, no clergy, no public functionaries. They were, however, now approximating to those by whom the success or ruin of the expedition must be decided.

Mareschal Soult, the minister at war, had ordered some large bodies of troops to be moved into the country betwixt Lyons and Chamberri, to support, as he afterwards alleged, the high language which Talleyrand had recently been holding at the congress, by showing that France was in readiness for war. If Soult acted in this instance with good faith, he was, to say the least, most unfortunate ; for, as he himself admitted in his attempt at exculpation, the troops were so placed as if they had been purposely thrown in Napoleon's way, and proved unhappily to consist of corps peculiarly devoted to the ex-emperor's person. On the 7th of March, the seventh regiment of the line, commanded by colonel Labedoyere, arrived at Grenoble. He was a young nobleman, of handsome person, and distinguished as a military man. His marriage having connected him with the noble and loyal family of Damas, he procured preferment and active employment under Louis XVIII., through their interest, and they were induced even to pledge themselves for his fidelity. Yet Labedoyere had been engaged by Cambrone deep in the conspiracy of Elba, and used the command thus obtained for the destruction of the monarch by whom he was trusted.

As Napoleon approached Grenoble, he came into contact with the out posts of the garrison, who drew out, but seemed irresolute. Napoleon halted his own little band, and advanced almost alone, exposing his breast, as he exclaimed, " He who will kill his emperor, let him now work his pleasure." The appeal was irresistible—the soldiers threw down their arms, crowded round the general who had so often led them to victory, and shouted *Vive l'Empereur* ! In the mean time Labedoyere at the head of two battalions,

was rallying from the gates of Grenoble. As they advanced he displayed a eagle, and began to distribute among his soldiers the tri-coloured cockades which he had concealed in the hollow of a drum. They were received with enthusiasm. It was at this moment the *mareschal des Camp des Villiers*, superior officer of *Labadoyers*, arrived on the spot, alarmed at what was going forward, and expostulated with the young military fanatic and the soldiers, but he was compelled to retire. General *Marchand*, the loyal commandant of Grenoble, had as little influence on the troops remaining in the place; they made him prisoner and delivered up the city to Napoleon, who thus found himself at the head of nearly three thousand soldiers, with a suitable train of artillery, and a corresponding quantity of ammunition.

When intelligence first reached Paris of Napoleon's arrival, it excited surprise rather than alarm; and when the information was communicated to the congress then sitting at Vienna, it is said the members looked at each other and burst out into a fit of laughter! But when this adventurer was found to traverse the country without opposition, some strange and combined treason began to be generally apprehended. That the Bourbons might not be wanting to their own cause, Monsieur, with the duke of Orleans, set out for Lyons, and the duke D'Angoulême repaired to Nismes. The legislative bodies, and many of the nobility declared for the royal cause. The ministers of foreign nations then resident at Paris hastened to assure Louis of the support of their sovereigns. Corps of volunteers were raised both among the royalists, and the constitutional or moderate party; and the most animating proclamations called the people to arms. An address by the celebrated Benjamin Constant, one of the most distinguished of the moderate party was remarkable for its eloquence. It placed in the most luminous point of view the difference between the lawful government of a constitutional monarch, and the usurpation of an Attila or Genghis, who governed only by the sword of his Mamalukes. It reminded France of the general detestation with which Napoleon had been expelled from the kingdom, and proclaimed Frenchmen to be the scorn of Europe, should they again stretch their hands voluntarily to the shackles which they had hurst and hurled from them. All were summoned to arms, more especially those to whom liberty was dear; since in the triumph of Napoleon it must find its grave for ever.

But notwithstanding all these demonstrations of zeal, the public mind had obviously been much influenced by the causes of discontent which had been so artfully enlarged upon for many months past; and it became every moment more likely, that, not the voice of the people, but the sword of the army, must decide the pending contest. Soult, whose conduct had given much cause for suspicion, resigned his office, and was succeeded by Clarke, duke of Feltre, less renowned as a warrior, but more trustworthy as a subject. A camp was established at Melun; troops were assembled there; and as much care as possible was used in selecting the troops to whom the royal cause was to be committed. In the mean time several circumstances took place which was favourable to the cause of the Bourbons. Several discoveries were made of a conspiracy which had been hatching for the overthrow of the existing government, and in which some of the military officers were deeply implicated. On the 10th of March, Lefebvre Desnouettes, marched forward his regiment to join Napoleon; but the officers having penetrated his design he was obliged to make his escape from the arrest with which he was threatened. The two generals Allemands put the garrison at Lialle, to the number of six thousand men, in motion, by means of forced orders, declaring there was an insurrection in Paris; but *mareschal Mortier*, meeting the troops on the march, detected and defeated the conspiracy, by which, had it taken effect, the king and royal family must have been made prisoners. The Allemands were taken, but the ministers of the king did not possess sufficient energy to make an example of them as traitors to their country.

The progress of the invading army, in the mean time, was uninterrupted. It was in vain that at Lyons, Monsieur and the duke of Orleans, with the advice and assistance of *mareschal Macdonald*, endeavoured to retain the

troops in their duty, and the inhabitants in their allegiance to the king. An experiment upon each was made, but the result was a most mortifying disappointment. Monsieur was obliged to escape from Lyons almost alone, and Macdonald nearly escaped from being made a prisoner. Napoleon entered Lyons, the ancient capital of the Gauls, at the head of seven thousand men, and was soon acknowledged by Maçon, Chalons, Dijon, and almost all Burgundy. Marseilles, and all Provence, declared against the invader, and the former city set a price on his head.

At Lyons Napoleon found it convenient to halt for the refreshment of his troops, and to organize his government and administration. Decrees upon decrees now issued forth, with a rapidity which shewed how the exiled monarch had employed those studious hours at Elba, which he was supposed to have devoted to the composition of his memoirs. Cambaceres was named his minister of justice; Fouché that of police; Davoust was made minister of war. The first decree abrogated all the changes that had taken place in the courts of justice and tribunals during his absence. The second displaced all officers belonging to the class of emigrants, and who had been introduced into the army by the king. The third suppressed the order of St. Louis, the white flag and cockade, and restored the tri-coloured banner and the imperial symbols of Napoleon's authority. A fourth sequestered the effects of the Bourbons. A fifth suppressed the ancient nobility and feudal titles, and formally confirmed the proprietors of national domains in their possessions. The sixth declared sentence of banishment against all emigrants not erased from the lists previous to the accession of the Bourbons, with confiscation of their property. The seventh restored the Legion of Honour, in every respect as it had existed under the emperor, uniting to its funds the confiscated revenues of the order of St. Louis. And the eighth and last decree was the most important of all. Under pretence that emigrants who had borne arms against France, had been introduced into the body of the peers, and that the chamber of deputies had already sat for the legal time, it dissolved both chambers, and convoked the electoral colleges of the empire, in order that they might hold, in the ensuing month of May, an extraordinary assembly of the *Champ-de-Mai*. This convocation, was to have two objects; first to make such alterations and reformatigns in the constitution of the empire as circumstances should render advisable; and secondly to assist at the coronation of the empress and of the king of Rome.

On the 13th, Napoleon recommenced his journey, and proceeding through Maçon, Chalons, and Dijon, he reached Auxerre on the 17th of March. The country through which he journeyed was favourable to his pretensions; it had been severely treated by the allies during the last campaign, and the dislike of the suffering inhabitants extended itself to the family who had been raised to the throne by the influence of those strangers. The revolutionary fever preceded the invaders like an epidemic disorder. The 14th regiment of lancers, quartered at Auxerre, trampled under foot the white cockade at the first signal. The sixth regiment of lancers also declared for Napoleon, and without waiting for orders, drove a few soldiers of the household troops from Montereau, and secured that important post, which commands the passage of the *Seine*.

The dismay of Louis XVIII. and his ministers on hearing the revolt at Lyons was extreme; but it was further increased by a false report which had been industriously circulated of a pretended victory obtained by the royalist party in the vicinity of Lyons. The conspiracy was so deeply laid, and it extended so widely through every branch of the government, that its agents contrived to convey this unfounded rumour to Paris in a demy official state, by means of the telegraph. It had the expected effect, first, in suspending the preparations of the royal party, and afterwards in deepening the anxiety which overwhelmed them, when Monsieur, returning almost unattended, brought the news of his bad success. In this hour of extremity Fouché tendered his assistance to the almost defenceless king, but he durst not be trusted; and in the hour of his distress Louis had recourse to mareschal Ney, who on the 9th of March had an audience of the king, when he accept-

ed the command of the army destined to attack Napoleon, accompanying his appointment with expressions of the most devoted faith to the king, and declaring his resolution to bring Napoleon to Paris like a wild beast in an iron cage. In these dispositions, Ney advanced to Loup le Saulnier, and arriving there during the night betwixt the 13th and 14th of March, he received a letter from Napoleon, summoning him to join his standard as "the bravest of the brave," a title which could not but awake a thousand recollections. Ney had already sounded both his officers and privates, and discovered their eager determination to join the standard of their late emperor. They were received by him with open arms; and this disaffection was ruinous to the cause of the monarch. After attending in person the sitting of the chamber of deputies, Louis reviewed the national guards, about twenty-five thousand men, who, as well as the deputies, made a display of loyalty. He also inspected the troops of the line, six thousand in number, but with them his reception was equivocal; they placed their caps on their bayonets in token of respect, but they raised no shout. As a last resource, Louis convoked a general council at the Tuileries on the 18th of March; when the marshals and other officers present gave it as their opinion that there could be no effectual opposition offered to Napoleon. They were contradicted by the royalist nobles, and the dispute grew so warm that Louis was obliged to break up the meeting, and prepare himself to abandon his capital, which the prevalence of his enemies and the disunion of his friends left him no longer any hope of successfully defending.

In the mean time the two armies approached each other at Melun; that of the king being under the command of mareschal Macdonald. On the 20th his troops were drawn up in three lines to receive the invaders, who were said to be advancing from Fontainebleau. There was a long pause of suspense—at length, about noon a galloping of horses was heard—an open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few hussars, and drawn by four horses. It came on at full speed; and Napoleon leaping from the vehicle, was in the midst of the ranks which had been formed to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses, mingled with their ancient comrades, and the effect of their exhortations was instantaneous on men whose minds were already half made up to the purpose which they now accomplished. There was a general shout of *Vive Napoleon!* Thus the last army of the Bourbons passed from their side, and no further obstruction existed betwixt Napoleon and the capital which he was once more, though only for a brief space, to inhabit as a sovereign.

The unhappy Louis had anticipated the defection which took place, and awaited not the consequence of its actual arrival. He departed from Paris, escorted by his household, at one in the morning of the 20th of March. Even at that untimely hour, the palace was surrounded by the national guards and a number of citizens who wept and entreated him to remain, offering to shed the last drop of blood in his defence. But the king prudently declined to accept of sacrifices which could now have availed nothing. He therefore proceeded on the way to Lille, passing through Abbeville and other garrison towns, where the soldiers received him with sullen respect; and though not obscurely intimating that they intended to join his rival they would neither injure his person nor insult his misfortunes. At Lille he had hoped to make a stand; but mareschal Mortier, aware of the dissatisfied and restless state of the garrison, urged him to proceed for the safety of his life; and compelled to a second exile, he departed to Ostend, and from thence to Ghent, where he established his exiled court. In the mean while the revolution had full play in the metropolis. Lavalette, one of Napoleon's most decided adherents, assumed the management of the post-office in the name of the latter, an office which he had enjoyed under his former reign. He was thus enabled to intercept the royal proclamations, and to announce to every department officially the restoration of the emperor. The white flag, which floated on the Tuileries was taken down, and replaced by the tri-coloured banner.

Napoleon arrived late in the evening, in the same open carriage which he

had used since his landing; and a singular contrast was exhibited between his entry and the departure of the king. The latter was accompanied by the tears and lamentations of such of the citizens as desired peace and tranquillity; by the wailing of the defenceless, and the anxious fears of the wise and prudent. The former entered amid the shouts of armed columns, who existing by war and desolation, welcomed with military acclamations the leader who was to restore them to their element. When Napoleon presented himself among them, they crowded around him so closely that he was compelled to exclaim, "my friends, you stifle me!" and his officers were obliged to support him in their arms up the grand staircase, and thence into the royal apartments, where he received the joyous acclamations of the multitude. And never, in the most ensanguined and triumphant field of battle, had the terrible ascendancy of Napoleon's genius appeared half so predominant as during his march from Cannes to Paris. He who left the same coast only a year before, disguised like a slave, and weeping like a woman for fear of assassination, returned in grandeur like that of the returning wave, which the farther it has retreated, is rolled back on the shore with the more terrific and overwhelming violence! The "bravest of the brave," who came determined to oppose him as he would a wild beast, recognized his superiority, when confronted with him, and sunk again into his satellite.

The congress at Vienna happened fortunately not to be dissolved, when the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba was laid before them by Talleyrand, on the 11th of March. The communication of this astounding event, which threatened to abolish all their labours, seemed at first so like a trick of pantomime, that laughter was the first emotion it excited in almost every one. The merry mood, however, did not last long—the event was too serious and too pregnant of mischief to be sported with. It was necessary for the congress, by an unequivocal declaration, to express their sentiments on this extraordinary occasion. Accordingly, on the 13th of March, the following declaration appeared: after reciting the fact, it thus proceeded—

"By thus breaking the convention, which had established him in the island of Elba, Napoleon Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and, that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declared at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of May the 30th, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to plunge the world into the disorders of revolution."

All Europe now rang with preparations for war. A treaty was formed between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in which the contracting parties agreed to maintain and enforce the treaty of Paris, which excluded Buonaparte from the throne, and to enforce the decree of outlawry issued against him—each of the contracting parties agreed to keep constantly in the field an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men—and not to lay down their arms but by common consent, with numerous other stipulations. In the mean time Napoleon did not hesitate to offer to the ministers of the allied powers his willingness to acquiesce in the treaty of Paris. He sent a letter to each of the sovereigns, expressing his desire to make peace on the same principles which had been arranged with the Bourbons. To these letters no answers were returned; the decision of the allies had been already adopted.

Napoleon, finding that nothing remained to be hoped for from negotiation

with the allies, soon became sensible that the grand point at issue could only be decided in the field of battle. He consequently set himself in good earnest to conciliate the French people and ingratiate himself with them. He published a list of his grievances in justification of the step he had taken; such as, his separation from his family—the non-payment of his pension, &c. &c., and especially insisted upon his having been recalled by the voice of the nation. Had he said the voice of the army, he might have obtained more credit; for certainly the army had sufficiently shewn themselves to be his own, upon grounds which are easily appreciated. On the 14th of May, a procession and solemn festival was held in favour of the Federates (or Parisian rabble) and the motley and ill-arranged ranks which assembled on this memorable occasion, exhibited, in the eyes of the disgusted and terrified spectators, scenes which had formerly characterized the revolution—and recalled an era unfortunately too famous. The emperor himself appeared to shrink from it with disgust and abhorrence. On the 1st of June the Champ de Mai was held—the object of which, however, was not to receive the empress Maria Louisa and her son, but to behold the eagles, the signals of instant and bloody war, distributed by the emperor to his officers. This piece of pageantry also went off coldly—in the language of the Royalists, it was a condemned farce, which was soon to be succeeded by a bloody tragedy. He then gave his subjects a new constitution which was extremely ill received by all parties. The chambers assembled and discussed it with freedom and acrimony; but his situation obliged him to leave it with them, and he took his farewell by an address to both chambers which was sensible, manly, and becoming his situation. He surrendered, in their presence, all his pretensions to absolute power, and professed himself a friend to liberty. There was little cause, he remarked, to provide against the intoxications of triumph, when they were about to contend for existence. He stated the crisis to be imminent, and cautioned the chamber to avoid the conduct of the Roman people in the latter ages of the empire, who could not resist the temptation of engaging fiercely in abstract discussions, even while the battering rams of the common enemy were shaking the gates of the capital. Thus parted Napoleon and his chamber of legislation; he to try his fortune in the field of battle; and they to their task of altering and modifying the new code of laws.

LETTER XX.

Preparations for the renewal of war.—Napoleon's plan of Campaign.—Resolves to measure himself with Wellington.—Reviews his grand army, 14th of June.—Battle of Ligny, 16th of June.—Retreat of the British on Waterloo, where Lord Wellington resolves to make a stand.—Description of this celebrated field.—The English army take up their ground on the 17th, and the French on the next morning.—Strength of the two armies.—Plans of their Generals.—Battle of Waterloo, commences on the forenoon of the 18th of June.—Ney's charge at the head of the guards.—His repulse.—Advance of the British army.—Napoleon's orders for a retreat.—Behaviour of Napoleon during the battle.—Blucher's pursuit of the French.—Loss of the British—of the French, June, 1815.

THE time had now arrived when the permanency of the new order of things was to be determined, not by votes and oaths, but by an appeal to the sword. The close of the year 1814 had left the whole fortified frontier of the Belgic provinces, on the side of France, occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly of British troops, or of such as were in British pay. From the commencement of the alarm excited by Napoleon's attempt to re-instate himself in the throne of the Bourbons, reinforcements had been unremittingly sent from England, and the duke of Wellington had arrived at Brussels from

Vienna to take the supreme command of the British and foreign troops in Belgium. In the latter part of May, 1815, the Prussian army, commanded by prince Blucher, arrived in the neighbourhood of Namur, and frequent conferences relative to a plan of co-operation were held by the two generals. The principal French army was at this period posted near Avesnes in Flanders, and preparations for defence against invasion had been made at Laon and the castle of Guise.

On the 12th of June, Napoleon quitted Paris, and, as he threw himself into his carriage to join his army, "I go," said he, "to measure myself with "Wellington." The army of the latter might contain about thirty thousand English troops; but they did not consist of those veteran soldiers who had served under him in Spain and Portugal, the flower of which had been dispatched upon the American expedition. The greater part of them were second battalions, or regiments which had been filled up with new recruits. The foreigners were fifteen thousand Hanoverians, with the celebrated German legion, eight thousand strong, which had so often distinguished itself in Spain; five thousand Brunswickers under the gallant duke; and about seventeen thousand Belgian, Dutch, and Nassau troops commanded by the prince of Orange. On the Germans the utmost reliance was deservedly placed: but some apprehensions were entertained for the steadiness of the Belgian troops. Discontents had prevailed among them, which, at one period, had broken out into open mutiny, and was not subdued without bloodshed. Most of them had served in the French ranks, and it was feared some of them might retain predilections and correspondencies dangerous to the general cause. Napoleon himself had anticipations of the same kind. He brought in his train several Belgian officers, expecting there would be a movement in his favour as soon as he entered the Netherlands. But the Flemings disappointed him; they dreaded the return of his tyranny. Some of these troops behaved with distinguished valour; and most of them supported the ancient military character of the Walloons. The Dutch troops were in general enthusiastically attached to the prince of Orange, and the cause of independence.

The Prussian army had been recruited to its highest war establishment within an incredibly short space of time after Napoleon's return had been announced, and was re-inforced in a manner surprising to those who do not reflect, how much the resources of a state depend on the zeal of the inhabitants. Their enthusiastic hatred to France, founded partly on the recollection of former injuries, partly on that of recent success, was animated at once by feelings of triumph and of revenge; and they marched to this new war, as to a national crusade against an inveterate enemy. Blucher was, however, deprived of a valuable part of his army by the discontent of the Saxon troops, among whom a mutiny had broke out when the congress announced their intention of transferring part of the Saxon dominions to Prussia. Blucher arrived at Liege, with the Prussian army, which was concentrated on the Sambre and Meuse rivers, occupying Charleroi, Namur, Givet, and Liege. The duke of Wellington covered Brussels where he had fixed his head quarters, communicating by his left wing with the right of the Prussians. There was a prevalent notion that Napoleon's threatened advance would take place on Namur, as he was likely to find least opposition at that dismantled city.

The duke of Wellington's first corps, under the prince of Orange, with two divisions of British troops, two of Hanoverians, and two of Belgians, occupied Enghein, Brain le Compte, and Nivelles, and served as a reserve to the Prussian division under Ziethen which was at Charleroi. The second division, commanded by lord Hill, included two British, two Hanoverian, and one Belgian divisions; it was centered at Halle, Oudenard, and Grammont. The reserve under general Picton, who at lord Wellington's special request, had accepted of the situation of second in command, consisted of the two remaining British divisions, with three of the Hanoverians, and was stationed at Brussels and Gheut. The cavalry occupied Grammont and Nieve.

Napoleon in person, accompanied by his guard, which had marched from

Paris, advanced to Vervins on the 12th of June. The other divisions of his selected grand army had been assembled on the frontier, and the whole consisting of five divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry, were combined at Beaumont on the 14th of the same month, with a degree of secrecy and expedition which shewed the usual genius of their commander. The emperor reviewed the troops in person, reminded them that the day was the anniversary of the great victories of Marengo and Friedland, and called on them to remember that the enemies whom they had then defeated were the same against whom they were now arrayed. "Are they and we," he asked, "no longer 'the same men?'" The address produced a powerful effect upon the minds of the French soldiers, always sensitively alive to military and national glory. On the 15th of June, the French army was in motion in every direction. Their advanced-guard of light troops swept the western bank of the Sambre clear of all the allied troops of observation. They then advanced upon Charleroi, which was well defended by the Prussians under general Ziethen, who was at length compelled to retire on the large village of Gosselies. Here his retreat was cut off by the second division of the French army, and Ziethen was compelled to take the route of Fleurus, whereby he united himself with the Prussian force, which lay about the villages of Ligny and St. Ormond. The Prussian general had, however, made such a protracted resistance as gave time for the alarm being taken.

By this movement the plan of Napoleon was made apparent: it was at once most scientific and adventurous. His numbers were not sufficient to sustain a conflict with the armies of Blucher and Wellington united; but by forcing his way so as to separate the one enemy from the other, he would gain the advantage of acting against either individually with the greater part of his forces, while he could spare enough of detached troops to keep the other in check. To accomplish this masterly manœuvre, it was necessary to push onwards upon a part of the British advance, which occupied the position of Quartre Bras, and the yet more advanced posts of Frasnes, where some of the Nassau troops were stationed. But the extreme rapidity of Napoleon's forced marches had in some measure prevented the execution of his plan, by dispersing his forces so much, that, at a time when every hour was of consequence, he was compelled to remain at Charleroi until his wearied and over-marched army had collected. In the mean time, Ney was detached against Frasnes and Quartre Bras, but the troops of Namur maintained their post on the evening of the 15th of June. It is possible the French marshal might have succeeded had he made the attack at Frasnes with his whole force; but hearing a cannonade in the direction of Fleurus, he detached a division to support the French in that quarter: a step for which, as he acted on the exercise of his own judgment, instead of yielding precise obedience to his master's orders, he was reprimanded—a circumstance rather curiously contrasted with the subsequent case of Grouchy, upon whom Napoleon threw the whole blame of the defeat of Waterloo, because he did follow his orders precisely, and press the Prussians at Wavre, instead of being diverted from that object by the cannonade on the left. The manœuvre of Napoleon thus failed, though it had nearly been successful. He, nevertheless, persisted in his effort of dividing, if possible, the British army from the Prussians.

At six o'clock on the evening of the 15th, lord Wellington, then at Brussels, received intelligence of the advance of the French army; but it was not sufficiently authenticated to induce him to put his army in motion, on an occasion when a false movement might have proved ruinous. About eleven of the same night, more certain accounts reached Brussels, that the advance of the French was upon the line of the Sambre. Re-inforcements were now hastily moved on to Quartre Bras, and the duke of Wellington arrived there in person at an early hour of the morning of the 16th, and instantly rode from that position to Bric, where he had an interview with Blucher. It appeared at this time that the whole French force was about to be directed against the Prussians; and Blucher was prepared to receive them. Three of his divisions to the number of eighty thousand men, had been got into position on a chain of gentle heights, running from Bric to the Sambre. In front

of their line lay the villages of the greater and lesser St. Amand, as also that of Ligny, all of which were strongly occupied. From the extremity of his right, Blucher could communicate with the British at Quatre Bras, upon which the British commander was, as fast as distance would permit, concentrating his army. The fourth Prussian division, being that of Bulow, stationed between Liege and Hainault, was at too great a distance to be brought up, though every effort was made for the purpose. Blucher, however, undertook notwithstanding the absence of Bulow, to receive a battle in this position, trusting to the support of the English army, who, by a flank movement to the left, were to march to his assistance.

Napoleon had, in the mean time, settled his own plan of battle. He determined to leave mareschal Ney with a division of forty-five thousand men, with instructions to drive the English from Quatre Bras, before their army was concentrated and re-inforced, and thus prevent their co-operating with Blucher, while he himself, with the main body of his army attacked the Prussian position at Ligny. Ney being thus on the French left wing at Fraanee and Quatre Bras, and Napoleon on the right at Ligny, a division under D'Erlon, amounting to ten thousand men, served as a centre of the army, and was placed near Marchiennes, from which it might march laterally either to support Ney or Napoleon, as circumstances might require. As two battles took place on the 16th of June, it is necessary to take distinct notice of both. That of Ligny was the principal action. The French emperor was unable to concentrate his forces, so as to commence the attack upon the Prussians, until three o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour it began with uncommon fury all along the Prussian line. After a continued attack of two hours, the French had only obtained possession of a part of the village of St. Amand. The position of the Prussians, however, was thus far defective, that the main part of their army being drawn up on the heights, and the remainder occupying villages which lay at their foot, the re-inforcements dispatched to the latter were necessarily exposed, during their descent, to the fire from the French artillery, placed on the meadows below. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, by which the Prussians suffered much, Napoleon thought the issue of the contest so doubtful, that he sent for D'Erlon's division, which, as already mentioned, was stationed near Marchiennes, half way between Quatre Bras and Ligny. In the mean while, observing that Blucher drew his reserve together on St. Amand, he changed his point of attack, and directed all his force against Ligny, of which, after a desperate resistance, he at length obtained possession. The French guards, supported by their heavy cavalry, ascended the heights, and attacked the Prussian position in the rear of Ligny, and the reserves of the Prussian infantry having been dispatched to St. Amand, Blucher had no means of repelling the attack, except by that of his cavalry. He therefore placed himself at their head, and charged in the most determined manner, but without success. The cavalry of Blucher were forced back in disorder. The veteran prince mareschal, as he directed the retreat, was involved in one of the charges of the cavalry, his horse struck down by a cannon shot, and he himself prostrated on the ground. His aide-de-camp threw himself beside the valiant Prussian, determined to share his fate, and had the precaution to fling his cloak over him, to prevent his being recognised by the French soldiers. The enemy's cuirassiers passed over him, and it was not until they were repulsed, and in their turn pursued by the Prussian cavalry, that Blucher was raised and remounted. His death, or captivity, at that eventful moment, might have proved highly detrimental to the issue of the campaign, as it may be reasonably questioned whether any thing short of personal influence and exertion could, after this hard fought and unfortunate day, have again brought the Prussian army into action on the eventful 18th of June. When relieved the Prussian army into action on the eventful 18th of June. When relieved and again mounted, Blucher directed the retreat upon Tilly and achieved it unmolested by the enemy, who did not continue their pursuit beyond the heights which the Prussians had been compelled to abandon. Such was the battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians, as Blucher truly said, lost the field but not their honour. The Prussians are said to have lost in this sanguinary

action, ten thousand men; those of the French were not much fewer. But the French emperor had struck an important blow: he had overpowered a stubborn and inveterate enemy, and opened the campaign with favourable auspices. The degree of advantage, however, which Napoleon might have derived from the Prussian retreat, was greatly limited by the indifferent success of Ney against lord Wellington. Of this second action I have now to give you some account.

On the morning of the 16th, Frasnes had been evacuated by the British who now took a position at Quatre Bras, a point of importance, as four roads diverge from it in different directions. On the left of the causeway, leading from Charleroi to Brussels, is a wood called Bois de Bossa, which during the early part of the day, was strongly contested by sharpshooters on both sides, but at length carried by the French and maintained for a time. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the main attack commenced but was repulsed. The British infantry, however, and particularly the 42nd regiment of highlanders, suffered severely from an unexpected charge of lancers, whose approach was hid from them by the character of the ground, intersected with hedges, and covered with heavy crops of rye. Two companies of the highlanders were cut off, not having time to form the square; the others succeeded in getting into order, and beating off the lancers. Ney then attempted a general charge of heavy cavalry; but they were received with such a galling fire from the British infantry, joined to a battery of two guns, that it could not be sustained; the whole causeway was strewn with men and horses, and the fugitives, who escaped to the rear, announced the loss of an action which was far from being decided, considering that the British had few infantry and artillery, though re-inforcements of both were coming fast forwards. The French, as already said, had, about three o'clock obtained possession of the Bois de Bossa, and driven out the Belgians; but they were in return themselves expelled by the British guards, who successfully resisted every attempt made by the French to penetrate into the wood during the day. As the English re-inforcements arrived in succession, mareschal Ney became desirous of an additional force, and sent to procure the assistance of Erlon's division; but those troops had been previously ordered to succour the emperor's own army. As the affair of Ligny was, however, over before they arrived, the division was sent towards Frasnes to assist Ney; but his battle was also by this time over, and thus D'Erlon's troops marched from one flank to the other, without firing a musket in the course of the day. The battle of Quatre Bras terminated with the light; the British retained possession of the field, which they had maintained with so much obstinacy, because the duke of Wellington conceived that Blucher would be able to make good his ground at Ligny, and was consequently desirous that the armies should retain the line of communication which they had occupied in the morning.

The Prussians having evacuated all the villages which they held in the neighbourhood of Ligny, had concentrated their forces to retreat upon the river Dyle, in the vicinity of Wavre. By this retrograde movement, they were placed about six leagues to the rear of their former position, and had united themselves to Bulow's division, which had not been engaged in the affair of Ligny. But of this retreat, lord Wellington was ignorant until about seven o'clock the next morning, when he himself deemed it necessary to commence a retrograde movement towards Waterloo, in order the better to recover his communication with the Prussians, and resume the execution of the plan of co-operation which had been previously arranged between him and Blucher, but which had been in some degree disconcerted by the sudden irruption of the French and the loss of the battle of Ligny by the Prussians. The retreat was conducted with the greatest regularity, though it was as usual unpleasant to the feelings of the soldier. The news of the battle of Ligny spread through the ranks, and even the most sanguine did not venture to hope that the Prussians would be so soon able to renew the engagement. The weather was tempestuous in the extreme; the rain fell in torrents. But this so far favoured the British, by rendering the plowed fields

of the French cavalry on the flanks, and the operations of those by whom they were pursued were confined to the causeway. At Genappe, however, a small town, where a narrow bridge over the river Dyle can only be approached by a confined street, there was an attack on the British rear, which the English light cavalry were unable to repel; but the heavy cavalry being brought up, repulsed the French, who gave the rear of the army no further disturbance for the day. In the evening, the duke of Wellington arrived on the memorable field of Waterloo, which he had previously fixed upon as the position in which he had, in certain events, determined to make a stand for covering Brussels.

The English army occupied a chain of heights, extending from a ravine and village, termed Marko-Braine, on the right, to a hamlet called Tor-la-Haye, on the left. Corresponding to this chain of heights, there runs one somewhat parallel to them, on which the French were posted. A small valley winds between them of various breadth at different points, but not generally exceeding half a mile. The declivity on either side into the valley has a varied, but on the whole a gentle slope, diversified by a number of undulating irregularities of ground. The field is crossed by two high roads, or causeways, both leading to Brussels—one from Charleroi through Quatre Bras and Genappe, by which the British army had just retreated, and another by Nivelles. These roads traverse the valley, and meet behind the village of Mont St. Jean, which lay in the rear of the British army. The farm house of Mont St. Jean, which must be carefully distinguished from the hamlet was much closer to the rear of the British army than the latter. On the Charleroi causeway, in front of the line, there is another farm house, called La Haye Sainte, situated nearly at the foot of the declivity leading into the valley. On the opposite chain of eminences, a village called La Belle Alliance gives name to the range of heights. It exactly fronts Mont St. Jean, and these two points formed the respective centres of the French and English position. An old fashioned Flemish villa, called Hougomont, stood in the midst of the valley, surrounded with gardens, offices, and a wood, about two acres in extent, of tall beech-trees. Behind the heights of Mont St. Jean, the ground again sinks into a hollow, which served to afford some sort of shelter to the second line of the British. In the rear of this second valley, is the great and extensive forest of Soignes, through which runs the causeway to Brussels. On the road, two miles in the rear of the British army, is placed the small town of Waterloo.

By the march from Quatre Bras to Waterloo, lord Wellington had restored his communication with Blucher, which had been dislocated by the retreat of the Prussians to Wavre. When established there, Blucher was once more upon the same line with the British, the distance between the Prussian right flank, and the British left, being about five leagues. The ground which lay between the two extreme points, called the heights of St. Lambert, was exceedingly rugged and wooded; and the cross roads which traversed it were dreadfully broken up by the late tempestuous weather. The duke dispatched intelligence of his position in front of Waterloo to prince Blucher, acquainting him at the same time with his resolution to give battle to the enemy, provided the prince would afford him the support of two divisions of the Prussian army. Blucher replied that he would move to the duke of Wellington's support, not with two divisions only, but with his whole army; and that he asked no longer time to prepare for his movement, than was necessary to supply food, and serve out cartridges to his soldiers.

It was three o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th, when the British came on the field, and took up their bivouac for the night in the order of battle in which they were to fight the next day. It was much later before Napoleon reached the heights of La Belle Alliance in person, and his army did not come up in full force till the morning of the 18th. Great part of the French had passed the night in the little village of Genappe; and Napoleon's own quarters had been at the farm house called Caillon, about a mile in the rear of La Belle Alliance. In the morning, when Napoleon had formed

line of battle, his brother Jerome Buonaparte, commanded on the left—Mouton, Reille and D'Erlon the centre—and count Lobau on the right. Soult and Ney acted as lieutenants-general to the emperor. The army on the field consisted probably of about seventy-five thousand men. The highest computation the British force did not exceed that number. Each army was commanded by the chief, under whom they had offered to defy the world. The British army was divided into two lines; the right of the first line consisted of the second and fourth English divisions; the third and sixth Hanoverians; and the first corps of Belgians, under lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the prince of Orange, with the Brunswickers, and troops of Nassau, having the guards, under general Cooke, on the right, and the division of general Alton on the left. The left wing consisted of the divisions of Picton, Lambert, and Kemp. The second line was in most instances formed of the troops best worthy of confidence, or which had suffered too severely in the action on the 16th, to be again exposed until extreme necessity called for it. The cavalry were stationed in the rear, distributed all along the line, but chiefly posted on the left of the centre, to the east of the Charleroi causeway. The whole British position formed a sort of curve, the centre of which was nearest the enemy, and the extremities, particularly on the right, drawn considerably backwards. The plans of these two commanders were extremely simple. The object of the duke of Wellington was to maintain his line of defence, until the Prussians coming up should give him a decided superiority of force. They were expected about eleven or twelve o'clock; but the extreme badness of the roads, owing to the violence of the storm, detained them several hours later. Napoleon's plan of operation was equally plain and decided. He trusted by means of his usual rapidity of attack, to break and destroy the British army before the Prussians should arrive on the field; after which, he calculated on having an opportunity of destroying the Prussians, by attacking them on their march through the broken ground interposed betwixt them and the British. In these expectations he was the more confident, in as much as he believed Grouchy's force, which had been detached the preceding day in pursuit of Blucher, was sufficient to retard, if not altogether to check, the march of the Prussians; this opinion, however, was too hastily adopted.

Commencing the action according to his usual system, Napoleon kept his guard in reserve, in order to take an opportunity of charging with them, when repeated attacks of column after column, and squadron after squadron, should induce his exhausted enemy to show some symptoms of irresolution. But Napoleon's movements in the present instance were not very rapid. His army had suffered by the storm even more than the English, who were in bivouac at three in the afternoon of the 17th of June; while the French were still under march and unable to get into line on the heights of La Belle Alliance until ten or eleven o'clock of the forenoon of the 18th. The English army had thus some leisure to take food, and to prepare their arms before the action commenced; while Napoleon lost several hours ere he could proceed. Time was indeed inestimably precious to both parties, and hours were of importance; but of this Napoleon was less aware than was his opponent. The tempest, which had raged with tropical violence all night, abated in the morning, but the weather continued gusty and stormy during the whole day. Between the hours of eleven and twelve of the forenoon, on the memorable 18th of June, this dreadful and decisive action commenced with a cannonade on the part of the French, instantly followed by an attack, commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, on the advanced post of Hougomont. The troops of Nassau, which occupied the wood around the chateau, were driven out by the French, but the utmost efforts of the assailants were unable to force the house, gardens, and farm offices which a party of the British guards sustained with the most dauntless resolution. The French redoubled their efforts, and precipitated themselves in numbers on the exterior hedge, which screens the garden wall, not aware probably of the internal defence afforded by the latter. They fell in great numbers on this point by the fire of the defenders, to which they were exposed in every direction. The

number of troops, however, enabled them by possession of the wood, to mask Hougomont for a time, and to push on with their cavalry and artillery against the British right, which formed in squares to receive them. ~~The attack~~ was incessant, but without apparent advantage on either side. The attack was at length repelled so far, that the British again opened their communication with Hougomont, and that important garrison was re-inforced by colonel Hepburn and a body of the guards.

The fire of the artillery now became general along the line, and the force of the French attack was transferred to the British centre. It was made with the most desperate fury, and received with the most stubborn resolution. The assault was here made upon the farm house of St. Jean by four columns of infantry, and a large body of cuirasseurs who took the advance. The latter advanced with the utmost intrepidity along the Genappe causeway, where they were encountered and charged by the English heavy cavalry; and a combat was maintained at the sword's point, till the French were driven back on their own position, where they were protected by their artillery. The four columns of French infantry, engaged in the same attack, forced their way forward beyond the farm of La Haye Sainte, and, dispersing a Belgian regiment, were in the act of establishing themselves in the centre of the British position, when they were attacked by the brigade of general Pack, brought up from the second line by general Picton, while, at the same time, a brigade of British heavy cavalry wheeled round their own infantry, and attacked the French charging columns in flank, at the moment when they were checked by the fire of the musketry. The result was decisive: the French columns were broken with great slaughter, and two eagles, with more than two thousand men were made prisoners. The latter were instantly sent off for Brussels. The British cavalry, however, pursued their success too far. They got involved among the French infantry, and some hostile cavalry which was detached to support them, and were obliged to retire with considerable loss. In this part of the action, the gallant general Picton, so distinguished for enterprise and bravery, met his death, as did also general Ponsonby who commanded the cavalry. About this time the French made themselves masters of the farm of La Haye Sainte, cutting to pieces about two hundred Hanoverian sharpshooters, by whom it was most gallantly defended. The French retained this post for some time, till they were at last driven out of it by shells.

The scene of conflict now shifted once more to the right, where a general attack of French cavalry was made on the squares, chiefly towards the centre of the British right, or between them and the causeway. They came up with the most dauntless resolution, in despite of the continued fire of thirty pieces of artillery, placed in front of the line; and compelled the artillerymen, by whom they were worked, to retreat within the squares. The enemy had no means, however, to secure the guns, or even to spike them, and at every favourable moment the British artillerymen sallied out from their place of refuge, again manned their pieces, and fired on the assailants—a manœuvre which seems peculiar to the British service. The cuirasseurs nevertheless, continued their dreadful onset, riding up to the squares in the full confidence, apparently, of sweeping them, before the impetuosity of their charge. Their onset and reception may be compared to a furious ocean dash—ing itself against a chain of insulated rocks. The British squares stood unmoved, and never gave fire until the cavalry were within ten yards, when men rolled one way, the horses galloped another, and the cuirasseurs were in every instance driven back.

Some French writers have presumed to assert, that squares were broken, and colours taken, but the assertion is contradicted by the united testimony of every British officer who was present. It was not however the fault of the cuirasseurs who displayed an almost frantic valour on the occasion. They rallied again and again, and returned to the onset, till the British could recognize even the faces of individuals among their enemies. Some rode close to the bayonets fired their pistols, and cut with their swords with

reckless and useless valour. Some stood gazing on the British and were destroyed by the musquetry and artillery. Some squadrons, passing through the intervals of the first line, charged the squares of Belgians posted there, with as little success. At length the cuirasseurs suffered so severely on every hand, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, which they had made with such intrepid and desperate courage. In this un-heard-of struggle, the greater part of the French heavy cavalry were absolutely destroyed. Napoleon intimates in his bulletins that this desperate attempt was made without orders and continued only through the determined courage of the soldiers and their officers. Be this as it may, it is certain that in the destruction of this noble body of cuirasseurs, he lost the corps which might have been most effectual in covering his retreat. After the broken remains of this fine cavalry were drawn off, the French confined themselves for a time to a heavy cannonade, from which the British sheltered themselves in part by lying on the ground, while the enemy prepared for an attack on another quarter, and to be conducted in a different manner.

It was now about six o'clock, and during this long succession of the most furious attacks, the French had gained no success, except occupying for a short time the wood around Hougomont, from which they had been expelled, and the farm house of La Haye Sainte, which also had been recovered. The British, on the other hand, had suffered very severely, but had not lost one inch of ground. Ten thousand men were however killed or wounded: some of the foreign regiments had given way, though others had shown the most determined bravery. The ranks were thinned, both by the actual fugitives, and by the absence of individuals, who left the ensanguined field for the purpose of carrying off the wounded, and some of whom would naturally be in no hurry to return to so fatal a scene. But the French, besides losing fifteen thousand men, independant of a column of two thousand prisoners, began now to be disturbed by the operations of the Prussians on their right flank; and the secret of the duke of Wellington was disclosing itself by its consequences. Blucher, faithful to his engagement, had, early in the morning, put in motion Bulow's division, which had not been engaged at Ligny, to communicate with the English army, and operate a division on the right flank and rear of the French. But though there were only twelve or fourteen miles from Wavre to the field of Waterloo, yet the march was, by unavoidable circumstances much delayed. The rugged face of the country, together with the state of the roads, offered the most serious obstacles to the progress of the Prussians, especially as they moved with an unusually large train of artillery. A fire also broke out in Wavre, on the morning of the 18th which prevented Bulow's corps from marching through that town, and obliged them to pursue a circuitous and inconvenient route. After traversing, with great difficulty, the cross roads by Chapelle Lambert, Bulow, with the 4th Prussian corps, who had been expected by the duke of Wellington about 11 o'clock, announced his arrival by a distant fire about half past four. The first Prussian corps, following the same route with Bulow, was yet later in coming up. The second division made a lateral movement in the same direction as the fourth and first, but by the hamlet of Ohain, nearer to the English flank. The emperor Napoleon instantly opposed to Bulow, who appeared long before the others, the 6th French corps, which he had kept in reserve for that service; and as only the advanced guard was yet come up, they succeeded in keeping the Prussians in check for the moment. The first and second Prussian corps appeared on the field still later than the fourth. The third corps had put themselves in motion to follow the same direction, when they were furiously attacked by the French under mareschal Grouchy, who, as I have already said, was detached to engage the attention of Blucher, whose whole force the mareschal took for granted he had before him. Instead of being surprised, however, as an ordinary general might have been, with this attack upon his rear, Blucher contented himself with sending back orders to Thielman who commanded the third corps, to defend himself as well as he could upon the line of the Dyle. In the mean time, without weakening the

army under his own command, by detaching any part of it to support Thielman, the Prussian veteran rather hastened than suspended his march towards the field of battle, where he was aware that the war was likely to be decided in a manner so complete, as would leave victory or defeat, on every other point, a matter of inferior moment.

About half past six, the second division of the Prussian army began to enter into communication with the British left wing, by the village of Ohain, while Bulow pressed forward from Chapelle Lambert on the French right and rear, by a valley called Frischemont; and now it became evident that the Prussians were to enter seriously into the contest, and to cast the die. Napoleon had still the means of opposing them, and of achieving a retreat, but it must have been at the certainty of being attacked on the ensuing day by the combined armies of England and Prussia. His celebrated guard had not yet taken any part in the conflict; and would now have been capable of affording him protection after a battle, which hitherto he had fought disadvantageously, but without being defeated. But the peculiar difficulty of his situation with all its attendant circumstances must have pressed on his mind at once. He had no succours to look for: a re-union with Grouchy was the only resource which could strengthen his forces: the Russians were advancing upon the Rhine by forced marches: the Republicans at Paris were agitating schemes against his authority. It seemed as if every thing must be decided on this memorable day, and on that ensanguined field. Surrounded by these ill-omened circumstances, a desperate effort for victory, before the Prussians could act effectually, might possibly yet drive the English from their position; and he determined to venture on this daring experiment.

About seven o'clock, Napoleon's guard were formed in two columns, under his own eye, near the bottom of the declivity of La Belle Alliance. They were placed under the command of the dauntless Ney, "the bravest of the brave!" Napoleon told the soldiers, and indeed he made Ney also believe it, that the Prussians whom they saw on the right were retreating before Grouchy—possibly he himself believed this to be the case. The guard responded for the last time, with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, and moved resolutely forward, having for their support four battalions of the old guard in reserve, who stood prepared to protect the advance of their comrades. A gradual change had taken place in the British line of battle, in consequence of the repeated repulse of the French. Advancing by slow degrees, the right, which, at the beginning of the conflict presented a segment of a convex circle, now resembled one that was concave—the extreme right, which had been thrown back, being now rather brought forward; so that their fire both of artillery and infantry fell upon the flank of the French, who had also to sustain that which was poured on their fronts from the heights. The British were arranged in a line of four men deep, to meet the advancing columns of the French guard, and poured upon them a storm of musketry which never ceased an instant. The soldiers fired independently, as it is termed; each man loading and discharging his piece as fast as he could. At length the British moved forward, as if to close round the heads of the columns, and at the same time continued to pour their shot upon the enemy's flanks. The French gallantly attempted to deploy, for the purpose of returning the discharge. But in their effort to do so, under so dreadful a fire, they stooped, staggered, were thrown into disorder, became blended in one mass, and at length gave way, retiring, or rather flying, in the utmost confusion. This was the last effort of the enemy, and Napoleon gave orders for the retreat; but to protect them he had now no troops left, except the last four battalions of the old guard, which had been stationed in the rear of the attacking columns. These threw themselves into squares and stood firm. At this moment, however, the duke of Wellington commanded the whole British line to advance, so that, whatever the bravery and skill of these gallant veterans, they also were thrown into disorder, and swept away in the general route, in defiance of the efforts of Ney, who, having had his horse killed, fought sword in hand, and on foot, in the front of the battle, till the very last.

Whilst this decisive moment was taking place, Bulow, who had concentrated his troops, and was at length qualified to act in force, carried the village of Planchenoit in the French rear, and was now firing so close on their right wing, that the cannonade annoyed the British who were in pursuit, and was consequently suspended. Moving in oblique lines, the British and Prussian armies came into contact with each other on the heights so lately occupied by the French, where they celebrated the victory with loud cheers of mutual congratulation.

The French army was now in total and inextricable confusion and route; and when the victorious generals met at the farm house of La Belle Alliance, it was agreed that the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh, should follow up the chase; a duty for which, the British, exhausted by the fatigues of a battle of eight hours, were totally inadequate.

During the whole action, Napoleon maintained the utmost serenity. He remained on the heights of La Belle Alliance, keeping pretty near the centre, from which he had a full view of the field, which does not exceed a mile and half in length. For a considerable part of the day he expressed no solicitude about the issue of the dreadful contest; he noticed the behaviour of particular regiments; and several times praised the English, always, however, talking of them as an assured prey! When forming his guard for the last effort, he descended near them, half down the causeway from La Belle Alliance, to bestow upon them what proved to be his parting exhortation. He watched intently their progress with a spy-glass, and refused to listen to one or two of his aides-de-camp, who at that moment came from the right to inform him of the appearance of the Prussians. At length, perceiving the attacking columns to stagger and become confused, his countenance (to use the expression of one of his attendants) became as pale as that of a corpse; and muttering to himself, "They are mingled together," he said to those around him, "All is lost for the present," and instantly rode off the field, not stopping or taking refreshment till he reached Charleroi, where he paused for a moment in a meadow, and occupied a tent which had been pitched for his accommodation.

In the mean time the pursuit of his discomfited army was followed up by Blucher, with the most determined perseverance. He accelerated the march of the Prussian advanced-guard and dispatched every man and horse of his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. At Genappe they attempted to rally and make a stand, by barricading the bridge and streets; but the Prussians forced them in a moment; and although the French were sufficiently numerous for resistance, their disorder was so irremediable, and their spirits so broken and disheartened, that in numerous instances they were slaughtered like sheep. They were driven from bivouac to bivouac, without exhibiting even the shadow of their usual courage. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were left in the hands of the English, and an equal number were taken by the Prussians in the course of the pursuit. The latter also obtained possession of Napoleon's baggage, and of his carriage, where, among many curious articles, was found a proclamation intended to be made public at Brussels on the following day.

The loss on the part of the British during this dreadful battle was, as the duke of Wellington truly termed it *immense*! One hundred officers slain, five hundred wounded, many of them mortally, fifteen thousand men killed and wounded, (independent of the Prussian loss at Wavre) threw half Britain into mourning. Many officers of distinction fell; and it required all the glory, and all the solid advantages of this immortal day to reconcile the mind to the high price at which it was purchased. The duke of Wellington himself, compelled to be on every point of danger, was repeatedly in extreme jeopardy. Only the duke and one other gentleman of his numerous staff escaped unwounded either in horse or person. It would be difficult to estimate with any tolerable accuracy the extent of the French loss.—Independent of those who fell during the engagement and pursuit, great numbers deserted; and it may be fairly questioned whether, out of the

seventy-five thousand men, whom Napoleon commanded on the morning of the 18th of June, one half of them were ever again collected under arms. (1)

LETTER XXI.

Affairs of Europe from the battle of Waterloo continued.—Abdication of Napoleon and his banishment to St. Helena.—His death and character.—Surrender of Paris.—Re-instatement of Louis XVIII.—The Holy Alliance.—Peace of Paris, November 1815.—Death of Murat—and Mareschal Ney.—The United Netherlands.—Disturbances in England.—Embassy to China.—Bombardment of Algiers.—Riots in London—and various parts of England.—Death of the Princess Charlotte.—Accession of Bernadotte to the throne of Sweden.—Congress of Aix la Chapelle.—Evacuation of France. A. D. 1815—1819.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE arrived at Paris on the second evening after the battle of Waterloo; at which time the inhabitants were unacquainted with the particulars of the sanguinary contest which had taken place. Some unfavourable reports had reached them concerning the previous contest at Ligny; but it was not generally believed that any great misfortune had occurred until the emperor's return was known. The truth, however, could not be long concealed, and in a little time the whole was disclosed in its full extent. The first step now taken was to assemble the council of state, when it was suggested by one of the members, that, under existing circumstances, the primary remedy which presented itself was the assumption of a dictatorship, and the suspension or dissolution of the two legislative chambers, a proposition which was supported by Lucien Buonaparte. But these bodies being hastily convoked, and probably aware of what was projected, La Fayette proposed that all attempts to dissolve the assembly of representatives of the people at this terrible crisis, should be considered as high treason. The motion was readily adopted by both chambers; and it was also voted that four of the ministers should be summoned to the hall to explain the emperor's views and intentions. After a short interval of vacillation, produced by the last expiring struggles of ambition, Napoleon perceived that he was no longer the object of public confidence; and, accordingly on the 22nd of June, he issued a declaration, in which, professing to offer himself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France, he affirmed that his political life was terminated, and that he resigned the crown in favour of his son Napoleon II. This abdication was accepted by the chambers; but the nomination of his son for a successor, was passed over unnoticed. Fouché, the minister of police, having laid this declaration before the legislative body, that assembly voted an address of thanks for the sacrifice he had made, and a provisional government was then appointed by the two chambers, consisting of Carnot, Fouché, Caulincourt, Grenier, and Quinette; and a commission was also nominated to repair to the allied armies with proposals for peace. As the last act of his public life, Napoleon issued a farewell address to the army; and, retiring to Malmaison, he employed himself in making preparations for a voyage to the United States of America, which he had fixed on as his future asylum. On the 29th of June he set out for Rochefort, where a small squadron awaited his orders.

On the 3rd of July the ex-emperor arrived at Rochefort, attended by an escort of honour, and took up his residence at the house of the prefect, with

(1) Histoire de la Campagne de l'Armée Anglaise &c. sur les ordres du Duc de Wellington, et de l'Armée Prussienne sous les ordres du Prince Blücher de Wahlstadt, 1815, Par. 6 de 10. Stutgard et Tubingue, 1817.—See also Captain Pringle's account of the action of Waterloo—and Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.

the view of immediate embarkation. The port, however, was closely blockaded by English cruisers; and after some ineffectual attempts to elude their vigilance, he determined ultimately to cast himself upon the generosity of the British nation, claiming its protection. On the 15th, having previously sent a flag of truce to the Bellerophon, an English man of war, commanded by captain Maitland, he went off with his suit and baggage, in a brig, which conveyed him to that ship, and he was put on board. He now addressed a letter to the prince regent of England, in the following terms: "Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers in Europe, I have closed my political career. I come, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." Of this letter, however, not the slightest notice was taken; nor was he permitted to land on the British coast. His property was sequestered, and no title beyond that of "general," was to be given him. After due deliberation in the British cabinet, and consulting with the allied powers, it was announced that his future residence was unalterably determined to be the island of St. Helena, there to be detained as a state prisoner, under the inspection of commissioners appointed by the allied powers. Against this terrific sentence of banishment to a rock in the Southern Atlantic, he entered an energetic protest, denying that he was a captive, having surrendered himself to the protection of the British laws, which he had never violated, and of the British government, to whose jurisdiction he was not amenable.

From the Bellerophon, Napoleon was, after the lapse of a month, transferred to the Northumberland, bearing the flag of admiral sir George Cockburn, attended by a few faithful friends who determined to share his fortunes; and, on the 8th of August, that ship proceeded on her voyage for St. Helena, where, in a few weeks, she arrived safely. Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, and in so dark a cloud did the splendid career of Napoleon terminate! In this state of exile he had abundant leisure for calm reflection; but he expressed neither contrition for his past errors, nor resignation to his present fate. On the contrary, his days were spent in quarrelling with sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island, and in venting his bitterest reproaches against him to all who were admitted into his presence. Setting his resentment at open defiance, his language was, "You have power over my body, but you have none over my soul. That soul is as proud, fierce, and determined at the present moment, as when it commanded Europe." And his whole deportment was governed by the same unseasonable haughtiness. Applications were repeatedly made to ascertain his wants and wishes, but to little purpose. To captain Hamilton, of the frigate Havannah, at an audience previous to the departure of that officer from St. Helena, he said, "They wish to know what I desire: I demand my liberty, or my death. Report these words to your prince regent. I was not your prisoner. Savages, would have had more respect for my situation. Your ministers have basely violated in my person, the sacred rights of hospitality: they have for ever dishonoured England. I have been cruelly deceived, but heaven will avenge my wrongs."

That the last scenes of his life should have been embittered by every species of vexation and chagrin, must therefore be rather the subject of regret than of wonder. After twice abdicating the imperial dignity, he still affected to maintain the state of an emperor. His remonstrances were ineffective tending only to irritation. Weighed down by mental suffering, and labouring under the terrible malady of cancer in the stomach, which had been growing upon him since the year 1817, he expired at St. Helena on the 5th of May 1821.

It is difficult to form a true estimate of his character, or present you my son with any thing like a correct delineation of it. Looking to the dark side of the portrait, his early conduct at Venice, his barbarities at Jaffa, his warfare against St. Domingo, his treatment of Touissant, captain Wright,

the duc d'Enghein, &c. &c. his treachery to Spain, his sacrifices of the Tyrolese, his insidious protestations to Poland, his boundless usurpations and vices of his character? But if we reverse the picture, and compare him with his more immediate predecessors in the career of fame, such as Louis XIV. Peter the Great, or Frederick of Prussia, the moral and political conduct of Napoleon will appear to no disadvantage. The first effort of his government was to restore peace to the world—an effort answered only by contumely and insult. His subsequent attempts of 1805 and 1807 were equally ineffectual. Compelled, therefore, to press forward in the path of victory, he no longer sought for peace; and intoxicated with success, he finally fell the victim of his own presumption. In splendour of genius, in patronage of the arts and sciences, in national works of utility and magnificence, and in calling forth merit of every kind, he far excelled all the sovereigns of his time. And from the peculiar situation in which he stood, his political aggrandizement was closely connected with the civil and religious interests of humanity. France, Italy, and the Netherlands, felt and acknowledged the equity of his internal government. He was a beneficent legislator; and the code which he promulgated will transmit his name with honour to succeeding generations. We now return to the great theatre of European politics.

After the battle of Waterloo, the allies came to the determination of treating with the French only under the walls of Paris; and on the 21st of June, the duke of Wellington and prince Blucher, at the head of their respective armies, entered the French territory. From Malpaquet, the duke of Wellington addressed a proclamation to the people of France, announcing that he had entered the country, not as an enemy, except of the usurper, the foe of the human race, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce—but to enable them to throw off the yoke by which they were oppressed. He also enforced through his march the strictest military discipline. On the 23d, he sent a detachment against Cambray, which was taken by escalade without much loss; and Louis XVIII. soon after removed from Ghent to that city. The march of the allied army was now one continued triumph. Avesnes, Peronne, and other towns either opened their gates, or were reduced after a slight resistance. They continued their march to the capital; and on the 28th, the Prussian advanced guard was attacked at Villars Coteret, but, on the approach of the main body, the assailants were repulsed with loss. The duke of Wellington crossed the Oise on the 29th, and 30th, at which time marshal Blucher passed the Seine at St. Germain, their plan being to invest Paris on two sides. The heights about the city were strongly fortified, and it was defended by forty or fifty thousand troops of the line and guards, besides the national guards, *travailleurs*, and Parisian volunteers.

Blucher met with considerable opposition in establishing himself on the left of the Seine, but he ultimately succeeded; and Paris being now exposed on its most vulnerable side, with a communication opened between the two blockading armies, a proposal was made for the cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of entering into a convention. This was concluded on the 3rd of July, between prince Blucher and the duke of Wellington on the one part, and Davoust (prince of Eckmuhl) on the other; the convention having a reference merely to military points, without touching any that were political. By its stipulations, the French army was on the following day to complete its march for the Loire, and was moreover to evacuate Paris completely in three days. All the fortified posts around the city, and finally its barriers were to be given up: the duty of Paris was to be performed by the national guards and the municipal gendarmerie; public property was to be respected, with the exception of what related to war; private persons and property were also to be respected, and all individuals continuing in the capital were to enjoy their rights and liberties “without being called to account, either for the situations they may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.” This last clause is worthy of observation, because it was afterwards adduced on the trial of an eminent state criminal as a

promise of a general amnesty. The chambers continued their sittings after the signing of the convention, but this shew of authority was soon terminated. In 1814 Louis XVIII. had been placed on the throne in conformity to the will of the nation; he was now to be re-instated solely by a foreign force. The chambers were closed by order of the military: and, on the 8th of July, that monarch once more made his entry into the capital under the most gloomy and unpropitious omens. Its military positions were all occupied by the allied troops, and it was under their safeguard that the regal government was restored, and the white cockade resumed its honours.

On the 26th of September (1815) the three allied sovereigns, namely, those of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, entered into a treaty at Paris, and which treaty received the sign of those potentates. By the tenor of this singular document, which received the name of "the Holy Alliance," being couched in the most devout and solemn language, the high contracting parties declared their resolution to take for their sole guide, both in their domestic administration and foreign relations, the precepts of the holy religion of Christ their Saviour. In consequence, they bound themselves to the observance of three articles:—the first of these united them in a fraternity of mutual assistance, and in the common protection of religion, peace and justice; which in the second article was explained to mean, that they regarded themselves as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same Christian nation, of which the Divine Being, under his three characters, was the sole real sovereign. The third article declared a readiness to receive into the holy alliance all the powers who should solemnly avow the sacred principles which had dictated it. Politicians were greatly perplexed to comprehend the import of an engagement at once so vague and so serious, which appeared to bind the contracting parties to nothing more than, as Christian princes, they stood already pledged to observe; and it was stated to have originated in a fit of enthusiasm which seized the mind of the emperor Alexander. Mr. Brougham brought the subject before the British house of commons during the following year, when it appeared from the confession of ministers, that the prince regent had been solicited by a joint letter of the three sovereigns to accede to it, and that he had in reply expressed his satisfaction with the nature of the treaty, and given an assurance that the British government would not be one of the least disposed to act up to its principles, but that nevertheless he had declined to become a party to the treaty. Subsequent events seem to indicate, that a resolution to support the authority of each other against any revolutionary movement among their own subjects, was the real object of this mystical combination of princes, veiled by so thick a mantle of religion. But to proceed with the affairs of France.

Louis XVIII. had resumed the crown under circumstances which rendered it truly a crown of thorns. Finding himself entirely in the hands of foreign troops as his guardians, and only the nominal sovereign of a country distracted by party, and in a state of perpetual irritation from a sense of fallen greatness and of present subjugation, it is no wonder that his measures were at first fluctuating, and that his council underwent frequent change. Some of the principal towns in France, which had held out under their military commanders, were at length brought to submit; and the French army itself, that dangerous organ of power, in any hand, was finally dissolved, to be replaced by a new one collected on national principles. The public discontent was, however, greatly aggravated by an act of resumption exercised by the allies; it was that of entirely stripping the museum of the Louvre of all those fruits of conquest which had rendered it the repository of the most famous works of art in Europe, and returning them to their original proprietors. It had been the pride and boast of Napoleon to collect those pieces of ancient and modern art, and to send them to the French capital as trophies of his victories. These spoiliations were now reclaimed, and restored to Germany, to Flanders, and to Italy. Venice received back the famous Corinthian Horses; Florence, the Venus de Medicis; Rome, the Apollo Belvidere; and chef d'œuvres of Raffael and Michael Angelo. Thus the

humiliations of France may be said to have commenced with the second *entrée* of Louis XVIII. into Paris.

After a long and anxious suspense, the congress held at Vienna announced the conditions on which France was permitted to retain her station among the powers of Europe. This, however, was definitively settled at Paris, by a treaty signed, November the 20th, which stipulated that Louis should cede to the allies the important fortresses of Landau, Saar-Louis, Phillipville, and Marienburg, with the duchy of Bouillon, Versoix, and part of the territory of Gex, were yielded to the Helvetic confederacy; the works of Huningen were dismantled; and France engaged not to erect others within the distance of three leagues from Basle, thus leaving a free passage into the heart of France. Seventeen of the principal towns on the frontiers of French Flanders, Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace, among which were Condé, Valenciennes, Cambrai, &c., the bulwarks of the Flemish and Germanic frontier, were to be delivered up to the allies, to be held in trust for five years by an army of occupation consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand men maintained solely at the expense of France. An assessment was also levied on the latter of seven hundred millions of francs, to be divided among the allies, and defrayed by modes and at periods specified in a separate convention. Conditions so degrading, Marlborough and Eugene had never attempted to impose after ten victorious campaigns. Such, however, was the mode adopted by the allies to maintain the imbecile monarch on his inglorious and improvident throne. Such the bitter cup of humiliation to be drank by that country, after so many triumphs over her neighbours, enjoyed with so little moderation.

Louis XVIII. under the influence of terror inspired by recent events, seemed disposed in this new state of things to adopt a popular system of government. Talleyrand received the appointment of minister of foreign affairs, baron Louis of Finance, Fouché of police, and St. Cyr of war. On the 27th of July, Talleyrand addressed a letter to lord Castlereagh, then at Paris, in reply to the urgent solicitation of the British government, announcing "that his most Christian majesty had issued directions, on the part of France, that the traffic in slaves, should, from that moment, cease every where and for ever." A change of policy, however, soon took place; and an ordonnance was issued, declaring that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted seats in the chamber summoned by Napoleon Buonaparte, had forfeited their dignity. Another ordonnance contained a long list of generals and officers who had taken part in what was called the hundred days reign of Napoleon, and they were ordered to be arrested and brought to trial before courts-martial. In a second list were inserted the names of very many persons in Paris, who were ordered to withdraw into the interior till their fate could be determined on. The duke de Richelieu now superseded Talleyrand as first minister, Des Cazes was appointed to the department of the police, and Barbe-Marbois of justice. Labedoyere, the first officer of rank who had joined Napoleon after his return from Elba, was tried, condemned, and executed under the royal ordonnance. After a short interval it was determined to proceed with the same rigour against mareschal Ney, who had fought the battles of his country with so much glory; and who, being a resident in Paris at the moment of the last capitulation, was supposed to be included in the convention by which that capital, then very capable of defence, was surrendered without bloodshed.

The arrest and trial of Ney gave rise to much animated discussion in the political circles, both in France and other countries. On the one side it was argued, that the words of the convention were so full and explicit, as to amount to a general amnesty: the words were—"and all individuals, now resident in the capital shall enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account, either for the situations they may have held, or as to their conduct, or political opinions." A different view, however, was taken of the question by others, proceeding upon a distinction between military and political points; and the appeal being by mutual agreement submitted to the decision of the duke of Wellington, his grace gave

his sanction to this last view of the case, and thus signed the death warrant of "the bravest of the brave." Ney was accordingly executed as a soldier, on the 7th of December, 1815, meeting his fate with heroic firmness. Marschal Soult, who had been placed by Napoleon at the head of the war department, was present in the battles of Ligny and Waterloo, and involved in the same danger with Ney; but he made so noble a defence, that the proceedings against him were abandoned. A different fate, however, awaited Murat, an officer distinguished for personal valour, and who had once held a pre-eminent rank among the mareschals of France. In an unsuccessful attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, he was taken prisoner, tried by a court martial, which pronounced sentence of death upon him, and sentenced to be shot, which was carried into effect on the very same day. He behaved on the occasion with his wonted courage; placed on his breast a picture of his wife; refused to have his eyes bandaged, and receiving six balls through his head, died without a groan. His military talents, in his own line of a cavalry officer, were confessedly great; and Napoleon probably incurred no slight injury by not availing himself of them at the battle of Waterloo. Under his government, Naples emerging from its barbarism, rose to a respectable rank among the nations of Europe. He conferred many benefits on his subjects, and was generous and hospitable in his intercourse with strangers.

Since the assumption of the regal dignity by the prince of Orange, his prudence and moderation had been eminently conspicuous. In the affair of Waterloo he displayed all the heroism of the house of Orange, and was wounded in the conflict. Desirous of giving his subjects the advantage of a government founded on liberal principles and corresponding with the new order of things in Europe, a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the seventeen provinces over which he was now to sway the sceptre. Their report was transmitted to the king, and afterwards laid before an extraordinary assembly of the States of the United Netherlands, by whom it was unanimously accepted. The principal objection to this union had arisen from the strong attachment of the people of Holland to the reformed and that of the Flemings to the Catholic religion. This was strikingly manifested in an address from certain prelates to the king of the Netherlands, dated the 29th of July, 1815, in which it was affirmed "that the equal favour and protection to all religious denominations promised by the constitution, was inconsistent with the assurances of his majesty that the establishment and privileges of the Catholic church should be preserved, and incompatible with the fundamental principle of that church." The king was further admonished, that such a regulation must sooner or later alienate the hearts of his subjects in those provinces, "with whom attachment to the Catholic faith is stronger and more lively than in any other country in Europe." It does not, however, appear that this remonstrance produced any change in the system of toleration which had been provided for by the new constitution; and a subsequent royal ordonnance professed to provide only for the security and freedom of the Catholic church, without investing it with any exclusive authority. In the month of September the ceremonial of the king's inauguration took place at Brussels, with every mark of general satisfaction. On this occasion the principal ecclesiastics of the cathedral of St. Gedeule addressed a discourse to the king, replete with sentiments of Christian benevolence; at the same time claiming for the Catholic religion nothing more than the protection guaranteed by the constitution. Soon after the promulgation of this constitution, a matrimonial alliance took place between the prince of Orange, and the grand-duchess Anna, sister of the emperor Alexander. We shall now return to the affairs of our own country.

Although the peace which had now happily been brought about upon the continent of Europe, drew security in its train, yet it did not diminish the burdens of the nation in that degree which was too fondly expected. It left the people of England under the pressure of an enormous taxation, one of the many and never failing results of a long continued war. A large standing army was still to be kept up; and it was the intention of the ministry to

continue the obnoxious tax on property, reducing it however to five per cent. This measure excited a general alarm, and the wantonness of ministerial profusion was loudly censured. Petitions against its continuance were poured into parliament in abundance, in despite of which the chancellor of the exchequer ventured to propose its continuance. The spirit of the house, however, revolted from it, and when it was exploded by a majority of thirty seven votes, the shouts which arose from the unexpected popular triumph resounded over the whole neighbourhood. The debates respecting a new settlement of the civil list were warm and acrimonious. Useless places and sinecures were pertinaciously retained; and the aggregate allowance was even augmented, though the payment of a considerable part of it out of a different fund, afforded a pretext for the minister for asserting that it was diminished. Lord Castlereagh soon after made a motion, which was acceded to, for the erection of a naval monument in honour of the battle of Trafalgar, of lord Nelson, and of the officers and seamen who lost their lives on that glorious occasion. This was a counterpart to the resolution lately carried for a monument to perpetuate the victory of Waterloo, dedicated to the duke of Wellington and the army.

During the session of parliament in 1816, a message from the prince regent, announced the approaching marriage, with his own consent, of his daughter, the princess Charlotte Augusta, with his serene highness Leopold George Frederick, prince of Saxe Cobourg-Saalfeld, who had visited England in the train of the confederate sovereigns. His royal highness expressed his persuasion of the concurrence of the house in enabling him to make such a provision on the occasion, as might correspond with the dignity and honour of the country. It was consequently proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and unanimously agreed to by the house, that an income of sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled on the illustrious pair; of which sum, ten thousand pounds were to form a privy purse for her royal highness, and the remainder was to defray the domestic expenses of the prince of Cobourg—that amount to be settled on them for their joint lives. A further sum of sixty thousand pounds was granted by way of outfit. The marriage accordingly took place on the 2nd of May, 1816, and appeared to give general satisfaction to the country. About the same time was married his royal highness the duke of Gloucester to the princess Mary, sister to the prince regent, and fourth daughter of his majesty George III.

The distresses of the agricultural interest occasioned a number of petitions to parliament for relief. The manufacturers at the same time complained of that want of employment which was consequent on the general impoverishment of their countrymen. Riotous proceedings took place in several counties of England, the natural consequence of the discontent which this state of affairs produced. In Suffolk, large parties marched from one village to another, destroying or injuring the houses of individuals who were considered as unfriendly to the poor. In the county of Cambridge, a body of provincials extorted money from the inhabitants of Ely and Littleport, pillaged many of the shops, and continued their outrages until a party of dragoons and yeomanry appeared. A contest ensued; the riot was quelled, and five of the delinquents being tried and condemned were punished with death. A riot at Norwich was more easily suppressed; and other commotions were insignificant and transitory. In the neighbourhood of the metropolis a popular meeting took place towards the end of the year 1816, which threatened alarming consequences. This assemblage took place in the Spa-Fields, Islington, and resolutions of reform, suggested by Mr. Henry Hunt were voted by acclamation. An apothecary of the name of Watson also harangued the rabble in the same neighbourhood; and the subsequent operations of those who listened to his oratory excited a momentary alarm in the metropolis. The mob paraded the streets, carried off fire-arms from the shops of gunsmiths, marched to the Royal Exchange, where they had a short contest with the lord mayor and some of the police; but they at length dispersed from the fear of a military attack. These disturbances did not, however, seriously encroach on the general tranquillity of the country. The

greater part of the inhabitants looked forward to a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, and patiently waited for the removal of the prevailing distress.

While these things were in progress, a very unexpected occurrence took place on the Barbary coast, which gave occasion for a display of the undaunted bravery and intrepidity of the British navy, too honourable to the country, and triumphant in its results to be omitted in this narrative. The predatory practices and horrible cruelties of the Algerines had long excited general indignation; and it was the ardent wish of every commercial state, that signal chastisement should be inflicted on that nest of pirates. As even British vessels were occasionally attacked by them, lord Exmouth sailed to Algiers with a squadron of ships under his command, instructed by his government to try, in the first instance, the effects of a temperate expostulation with the Dey, to whose consideration he submitted three points. The first was that the Ionian islands, lately formed into a republic, should be treated as British colonies; the next was the propriety of concluding peace with Naples and Sardinia; and the last related to the abolition of Christian slavery in his dominions. On the first and second points, explicit promises of compliance were given; but regarding the other, the reply was that it was too important to be hastily settled or readily conceded. The rulers of Tunis and Tripoli, who were also visited by the admiral, were more compliant than their brother of Algiers; they promised not to consign prisoners of war to the miseries or disgrace of slavery, but to treat them according to the practice of Christian nations. Having settled matters with these two inferior powers, his lordship returned to Algiers, and renewed his remonstrances, but without effect. And while he was thus employed a savage massacre was perpetrated at Bona upon a number of coral-fishers, who were acting under the supposed security of the British flag. A fresh squadron calculated for a bold enterprise, was accordingly placed under lord Exmouth's command; and he was also joined by vice-admiral Capellon, whom the king of the Netherlands had sent with a small fleet to further the success of the expedition.

In the mean time such preparations had been made for the defence of Algiers, as rendered the attack extremely dangerous; but nothing could deter or discourage the two commanders and their gallant associates. Lord Exmouth, in the Queen Charlotte, cast anchor so near the mole and the batteries, that the enemy appeared confounded at this mark of intrepidity. The other ships followed, and took the stations which his lordship prescribed, with a promptness and precision that even exceeded his hopes. This was on the 27th of August, and a tremendous fire was now poured from the walls, the batteries, and the ships in the harbour: but it was answered with corresponding spirit. The bomb-vessels, and the boats which had guns and rockets, ably seconded the operations of the larger ships; and it was "by their fire," as the admiral says in his dispatches, "that all the ships in the port, except one, were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest which no pen can describe." The contest raged for six hours without intermission; and as sufficient havoc had then been made, the assailants slowly retired, waiting the effect of that defeat and disgrace which the barbarians had sustained. Dreading a renewal of the attack, the Dey listened to the offer of terms; and a treaty was concluded, by which he bound himself to the abolition of Christian slavery in his dominions, and to the immediate surrender of all his slaves. More than a thousand of these unhappy exiles were instantly liberated, and placed under the protection of the allies; and a sum of money, amounting to four hundred thousand dollars, was transmitted by the captors to the courts of Naples and Sardinia. This gallant enterprise, which England performed for the general good of Christendom, without stipulation and without re-imburement, cost her, however, a number of valuable lives—about a hundred and thirty men being killed, and seven hundred wounded.

It is truly painful to record the tumultuous proceedings which took place

at this period in various parts of England, but the pressure of distress was great upon the lower classes of society, and they were goaded by it to pursue measures which were little calculated to ameliorate their condition. At the opening of the session of parliament, on the 28th of January, 1817, the prince regent, in his speech from the throne, stated the anxious desire of the government to make every reduction, which the safety of the empire and "true policy" would allow. The deficiency in the revenue was acknowledged, but ascribed to temporary causes; and the whole concluded with a pointed allusion to the disturbances which had taken place in various parts of the country; and intimating a determination to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace. On the return of the prince regent from the house of peers, after opening the session, an immense crowd had assembled in the park, by whom he was received with marked demonstrations of popular resentment; and on passing Carleton house, the glass of the state carriage was broken by a stone; nor was it without difficulty, that he at length reached the palace. This flagrant outrage being on the same day reported to parliament by lord Sidmouth, the two houses joined in an address suitable to the occasion. A proclamation was also issued offering a reward of a thousand pounds for the discovery of the offender, but it proved in vain. When the usual address was brought forward in reply to the speech from the throne, earl Grey moved an amendment, importing an opinion, "that the pressure on the resources of the country was much more extensive in its operation, more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more difficult of removal, than had ever before been experienced; and that the house would immediately enter on an enquiry into the state of the nation." The marquis Wellesley affirmed "that the distress of the country had grown to a magnitude which no art or colour of language could disguise; that a speech so inadequate to the exigencies of the times, as that which the regent had delivered, he had never heard."

It would be tedious to detail to you the various measures to which ministers had recourse, in order to remedy this disastrous state of public affairs. Let it suffice to say, that the motion of Earl Grey in the lords, and a similar one by Mr. Ponsonby in the commons were overruled by a large majority—that secret committees were appointed in both houses to examine certain papers laid before them by the government; and these committees on the 18th and 19th of February, reported "that a traitorous conspiracy had been formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of an insurrection, the established government, laws, and constitution of the realm: and of effecting a general plunder and division of property: that traces appeared of a central committee in London, which communicated with clubs and associations in various parts of the country, but chiefly in the manufacturing districts; some of which associations were bound together by secret and unlawful oaths: that the late popular assemblages in Spa-Fields were intended to subvert the purposes of the conspirators: that the riotous attack on the gunsmiths' shops in the city, for the purpose of procuring arms, was the commencement of an insurrection, which, if successful, was to have been followed by desperate attempts upon the Tower, the Bank, and the barracks at Knightsbridge, and other points." It appeared, however, that no adequate preparations of any kind had been made for the execution of these designs; and that no person in the higher, and scarcely any in the middle classes of life, had taken part with them. Much was also said of the dangerous notions disseminated by a political sect called Spenceans respecting a community of lands, and of the seditious and blasphemous writings industriously dispersed among the lower classes. Both reports concluded by invoking the interference of parliament to obviate dangers, which the utmost vigilance of government under the existing laws, had been found inadequate to avert.

To counteract these pernicious attempts, the Habeas Corpus act was suspended until the 1st of June ensuing, and several acts of parliament were passed, having for their object the security of his majesty's person and go-

vernment—the suppression of tumultuous meetings and debating societies—the taking of secret and illegal oaths—and the punishing with rigour any attempt to gain over soldiers or sailors to act with any association, or set of men, or to withdraw them from their allegiance. Secured by these bills, the ministers boldly prosecuted their career, and judging that some condemnations for treason would still further strengthen the throne, they ordered an indictment to be prepared against Watson, the apothecary, and three of his associates, but the former being acquitted by the jury, the attorney-general then declared, in a tone of gracious condescension, that he would abandon the proceedings which he had instituted against the rest!

A vigorous attempt was made at this time in the county of Nottingham, to organize an insurrection, but it failed; and the prime agents in the plot, viz. Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam, were apprehended, tried, found guilty, and executed. As the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act expired on the 1st of June, another message was brought down from the prince regent two days afterwards, accompanied by fresh documents relating to the proceedings of the disaffected. These were also entrusted to a secret committee, who reported on them, and on this occasion it was fairly admitted, that the evidence laid before the committee had been chiefly derived from the depositions and communications of persons who were either themselves more or less implicated in the criminal transactions, or who had ostensibly engaged in them with the view of giving information to government: that the evidence of both those classes of persons must be regarded with suspicion; and that there was reason to apprehend, that the language and conduct of some of the latter, might, in certain instances, have had the effect of encouraging designs which it was intended that they should only be the instruments of detecting! This employment of spies, which was openly avowed and defended by the ministers, exposed them to severe reproach both within the house and without—but on the new alarm which was excited by means of this second report, they obtained a fresh suspension of the Habeas Corpus, to extend to the 1st of March, 1818. Towards the close of the session, Mr. Abbot, who had held the office of speaker to the house of commons in five successive parliaments with distinguished reputation, intimated his intention of resigning, on account of ill health; and was soon after called to the house of lords, by the title of lord Colchester, an annuity of four thousand pounds being also granted him for his meritorious services. The right honourable Charles Manners Sutton was elected in his place.

In the month of August 1817, lord Amherst, who, in the preceding year, had left England on an embassy to China, arrived at Portsmouth on his return. Whatever were the advantages anticipated from this expensive equipment, of which indeed the prospect, after the total failure of a former embassy by lord Macartney, must have been very faint, they were totally frustrated by the refusal of lord Amherst to submit to the degrading ceremonial of prostration now required by the court of Peking, though dispensed with in the person of his predecessor. The emperor, however, in his “imperial mandate to the king of England,” (for such was the language of the court of Peking) expressed his satisfaction “at the disposition of profound respect, and due obedience, which were visible in sending this embassy. I therefore,” says the emperor of China, “thought proper to take from the articles of tribute a few maps, with some prints and portraits. In return I ordered to be given unto you, O king, a Jouée [a string of imperial beads] two silk purses, and eight small ones, as a proof of our tender and indulgent conduct. Your country is too remote from the central and flourishing empire. Besides, your ambassador, it would seem, does not know how to practise the rights and ceremonies of the central empire. There will be no occasion hereafter for you to send an ambassador from so great a distance, and to give him the trouble of passing over mountains and crossing the ocean. If you do but pour out the heart in dutiful obedience, it is by no means necessary, at any stated time, to come to the celestial presence.” Such was the haughty tone of rebuke in which the em-

peror of China thought proper to address the sovereign of England after which, it can hardly be expected that a third embassy to China will speedily take place.

The 6th of November, 1817, was rendered fatally memorable by the sudden and affecting death of the princess Charlotte of Wales, presumptive heiress of the Crown, immediately after she had given birth to a still-born infant. Her marriage, in the preceding year, to prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, has been already mentioned as an event which gave high satisfaction to the nation, and this was greatly strengthened by the announcement, that she was in a situation likely to afford an eventual heir to the British throne; and rarely had the hopes and wishes of a whole people been so deeply interested in any similar event. This double calamity, so sudden and so irreparable, filled the whole land with mourning. Indeed her death caused an unfeigned sensation of sorrow in every court and every country throughout Europe, and even in the distant regions of Asia and America. The youth of the royal sufferer—the state of conjugal felicity which she was understood to enjoy with the partner of her choice—the domestic virtues which adorned her character—and, finally, the consideration that she was the sole progeny in the second degree from the royal stock, all conspired to embitter her loss, and to render the public grief not only acute but lasting. Her remains were conveyed to the royal vault at Windsor on the 19th of November, with every solemnity suited to the melancholy occasion, prince Leopold himself sustaining the afflicting office of chief mourner. The character of her royal highness appears to have been both amiable and exemplary. She was affable and condescending to her inferiors; humane, friendly and beneficent. Her good sense had corrected that vivacity which, in her earlier years, bordered upon petulance: and though still lively, after her marriage she appeared in general to resemble the steady and prudent mother of a family. She did not, like some of the members of the royal household, delight in pomp and pageantry, the “baubles of little minds;” but preferred the calm privacy of domestic life, and the friendliness of select and social parties, to the unmeaning compliments and frivolous ostentation of a crowded and courtly drawing room. She had cultivated her mind with care and assiduity; to a taste for literature she added the elegant and ornamental accomplishments suited to her sex and station, and her moral purity was refined by the influence of religion. In short, her virtues, her accomplishments, her principles, her prudence and discretion in a situation of peculiar difficulty were fully appreciated; and the hope, enthusiastically cherished, of future felicity under her government, had no parallel since the days of Elizabeth, whose name she had often on her lips, and whom, in all that was great and excellent, she was ambitious to resemble. Thus untimely faded “the expectancy and rose of the fair state.”

In the year 1818, a new dynasty commenced in Sweden. On the 5th of February the king died after a tedious illness, and was succeeded by Charles John Bernadotte, formerly one of Napoleon's marshals, who assumed the royal functions with all the confidence of an hereditary sovereign, but not without the acquiescence of the nobility and people at large. On accepting the reins of government he pledged himself to imitate the princely virtues and exemplary conduct of his lamented predecessor. A session of the diet was conducted under his auspices with decorum and tranquillity; and some useful enactments and regulations evinced his desire of continuing in a state of harmony with his subjects.

The apparent tranquillity which prevailed in France, and the probability of its continuance, induced the allied sovereigns in whose hands were now placed the destinies of Europe, to gratify the French people by recalling the whole army of occupation, two years before the stipulated time. A congress was convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle; and as the affair had been already settled in their respective cabinets, the proposition of recall received the sanction of the two emperors and the king of Prussia, October the 9th, and the assent of lord Castlereagh, also, in the name of the prince regent of England. In a note which announced this determination, it was declared to be a proof of the confidence which the sovereigns reposed in the wisdom of his most Chris-

tian majesty, and the fidelity of the French nation; and the duke de Richelieu, in answer to the pleasing communication, expressed the fervent gratitude of his royal master for this mark of friendly respect, promising at the same time that France would cordially join the high and august association, with a view of securing the future peace and happiness of Europe.(1)



LETTER XXII.

History of Europe continued.—Revolution in Spain.—Proclamation of the Cortes.—Ferdinand swears to maintain the new constitution.—Singular mortality in the royal family of England.—Death and character of George III.—George IV. proclaimed.—His alarming illness.—Detection of the Cato street plot.—Return of queen Caroline from Italy.—Proceedings against her in the house of lords.—Bill of pains and penalties abandoned.—Glance at the affairs of France,—Portugal,—the Netherlands,—States of the Germanic empire,—Prussia,—Naples,—and Austria, &c. &c.—A. D. 1820—1821

THE allied armies having withdrawn from the territories of France, the inhabitants had, in consequence, got exempt from one continual source of mortification and chagrin; but there remained many other grievances to be redressed ere a state of perfect tranquillity could be restored. The dissensions of party were, in fact, as acrimonious in France as those which agitated the British nation. A proposed alteration in the law of popular election excited a strong sensation among the Parisians. This change was not suggested by the ministers but by the ultra-royalists, who had sufficient influence in the chamber of peers to procure a majority of votes on this question. To counteract their object, however, the king added fifty-four peers to the assembly by a new creation; and this act of prerogative secured his influence. The other chamber supported the existing law, which was therefore retained. Both assemblies agreed to a removal of the censorship, while they imposed such restrictions as were deemed unreasonable by the advocates of a free press. At Nîmes in the department of the Gard, and other places in the south of France serious commotions arose between the Catholics and Protestants, instigated it would appear by the intrigues of the ultra-royal faction, with a view of embarrassing the court, and many lives were lost in the affrays which took place. The elections which ensued in the autumn of 1819 were neither favourable to that party nor to the ministry, as about two thirds of the new members affected a great liberality of political sentiment.

Neither were matters much improved in the sister kingdom Spain, by an experience of the past. Ferdinand, instead of selecting able ministers, and adopting a regular system of government, disgusted his subjects by various acts of cruelty and oppression, while he totally neglected the exercise of that vigour which would have secured the persons and property of his subjects from the outrages of the numerous banditti, which every where infested the country. This relaxation of his authority naturally encouraged the disaffected, and the state of the country became increasingly critical. The liberal notions which had been propagated during the contest with Napoleon had not yet lost their effect. They were kept alive by the continued tyranny of the court, and an opportunity of bringing them into exercise was anxiously expected. The discontent of many officers of the army, whom the king had not thought of conciliating, diffused itself among the troops in Andalusia, and colonel Riego lighted the match which produced an explosion.

(1) Dr. Bissett's History of the Reign of George III.—Dr. Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George III.—Annual Registers, *sub ann.*—Parliamentary Debates—and London Gazette.

Marching with a battalion to Acros, he surprised the commander-in-chief, procured an accession of force, and joined Quiroga, who had escaped from a place of confinement. The lines near Cadiz were twice assaulted but without effect; and Riego was then detached with fifteen hundred men, to excite a general insurrection. He was so harassed by the troops that were in the king's interest, that he with difficulty escaped destruction: and Quiroga, in the isle of Leon, seemed to be in equal danger. Yet the malecontents were not discouraged; and, in the province of Galicia, by the efforts of some spirited officers, the royal authority was quickly annihilated; while Mina, erecting the popular standard in Navarre, proclaimed the constitution of the year 1812. The flame now spread through other provinces; and Ferdinand was so intimidated by the progress of disaffection, that he promised to convoke the Cortes, and bound himself by an oath, March the 10th, 1820, to the observance of the constitution. The public joy, however, arising from this source, was allayed by the brutal treachery of the troops at Cadiz. General Freyre had assured the inhabitants, that the constitution should be proclaimed in form; but when a large concourse of people appeared in the principal square to witness the ceremony, the military made a sudden attack upon the spectators, and put to death more than four hundred of them, before it was known that the king had acceded to the popular claims. It is not understood that general Freyre either authorised or countenanced this atrocity. Some of the wretches who perpetrated it, after a long delay, were punished; but the outrage was never investigated in a regular or satisfactory manner.

Ferdinand, who had long domineered over the nobility and the people, was now a slave to the leaders of the revolution. His cabinet was composed of strenuous constitutionalists, who, justly doubting his sincerity, resolved to hold him in trammels, until the liberties of the country should be permanently established. On the 9th of July, after an interval marked with occasional commotions, the Cortes assembled, and set themselves in good earnest to promote the regeneration of the kingdom. The exclusive privileges of the nobles were suppressed or diminished; the administration of justice was purified; abuses in the various departments of state were corrected; the lands of the church were partly appropriated to the public service; arrangements were made for the reduction of the national debt, which amounted to one hundred and sixty millions, sterling; and they paid due attention also to the measures necessary to ensure the revival of commerce and the encouragement of general industry. When the session terminated, in the autumn, it was not deemed prudent to suspend the authority of so useful a body of men; three-fourths of them were ordered to form a permanent committee, for the purpose of controlling the executive power. The king occasionally evinced tokens of jealousy and displeasure, and secret advisers did not fail to recommend it to him to shake off the yoke; but no opportunity of a counter-revolution presented itself to his anxious wishes. It might have been expected that the Cortes would make a vigorous effort to reclaim the Trans-Atlantic colonies to submission; since, however attached to liberty they might pretend to be, they might be of opinion that the glory of Old Spain was involved in the retention of the New World; but the weighty affairs of internal policy engrossed their whole attention. In the mean time, the revolt of those provinces became more general both in North and South America. The royalists of Mexico found the greatest difficulty in preserving their power; and the capital of Peru was nearly reduced to extremity by a continued blockade: their declaration of independence, however, did not take place until the following year.

In our own country, an unprecedented series of mortality, at this period, befell the reigning family. I mentioned to you, in my last letter, the death of the princess Charlotte of Wales, which took place in 1817; others now rapidly followed. On the 7th of November, 1818, her majesty, queen Charlotte expired at Kew palace, in the 75th year of her age, after a lingering decline, attended with much personal suffering, which she was reported to have sustained with great fortitude and resignation. She merited the respect

of the nation by her conjugal virtues and her maternal character: by the uniform propriety of her conduct; and by the strict decorum which she maintained in her court. Her ruling passion, in the decline of life was believed to be the accumulation of riches; and the political influence which she acquired during the illness of the king in 1788, she maintained to the last; but it was thought to be invariably employed in favour of the aristocratical branch of the constitution.—On the 23d of January 1820, the public mind received a much severer shock by the decease of his royal highness the duke of Kent, their majesties fourth son, who expired at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, after a very short illness, arising from an inflammation of the chest. He was truly an illustrious prince, of noble mien, of manners the most accomplished, and of superior intellectual attainments—in all respects fit to grace a throne. He was consequently much esteemed, and died deservedly lamented, leaving an infant daughter, the princess Alexandrina Victoria, then only eight months old, to the care of an accomplished, but disconsolate mother.—But the regrets excited by the loss of the duke of Kent were speedily absorbed in the greater grief occasioned by the demise of his venerable father, king George III. which took place at Windsor, on the 29th of the same month—only six days afterwards. He had attained the 82nd year of his age; and had sway'd the royal sceptre, nominally, for nearly fifty-nine years, having been crowned in 1761, though the last nine years of his eventful career, had been a melancholy blank in his mental existence.

As the character of George III. has been placed in very different lights by contemporary writers; and as we ourselves are too near the scene of action, probably, to form a strictly impartial judgment of his merits and defects, I shall present to you, my son, the different aspects in which it has been exhibited by two different classes of political writers, leaving it to time to decide which of them is nearest allied to truth.

According to his admirers, “his majesty possessed an excellent understanding, and was a very competent judge both of men and things. His talents for government, they assure us, were respectable, and he exercised them with the happiest effect, even in perturbed and critical times. Having traced in his mind the outlines of the duties which devolved upon him as the sovereign of a great empire, he filled up the intervening space with the skill of a political artist. In deciding upon the American war, he was actuated solely by a sense of justice; he thought himself bound to correct the refractory spirit of the colonists, and to use force when persuasion and remonstrance had failed. Into the war with revolutionary France he was impelled by an idea of imperious necessity, in as much as the career of the democratic opposers of Louis XVI. menaced with subversion the best institutions of other countries; and such was his firmness, that he was not deterred from his object, even by the long continued success of the enemy. With equal resolution he checked the effervescence of zeal among the votaries of reform in Great Britain, and preserved the state from that mischief which would have been produced by the schemes of profligate and violent Jacobins. He also displayed his spirit to advantage, when the Whigs at different times endeavoured to subject him to their sway. On the other hand, when conciliation was expedient, and when the voice of the senate corresponded with that of the people, he could yield with a good grace and with dignified complacency. His private character was so exemplary, that it may be quoted as a model of virtue: He was attentive to religious observances, both public and private: correct in his own morals, and studious of the morality of others; mild and unassuming in his demeanour, courteous, gracious, and affable; humane, beneficent, and liberal, while he was temperate and economical in his personal habits. In short, his conduct, both as a king and as a man, deserves the highest praise, and entitles his memory to our esteem and veneration.”

Such is the favourable side of the picture, as viewed through the medium of political partiality: the following is a somewhat different estimate of royal merit.

“ This monarch was not highly favoured by nature ; for his understanding was narrow, and his capacity did not soar above mediocrity. If he had moved in the ranks of private life and of ordinary society, he would not have been considered as any other than a man of very limited powers. His acquirements from education were also scanty and imperfect. Deprived of his father when a youth, he was committed to the care of his mother, in whose opinion book-learning was of little consequence ; and it does not appear that his studies were well directed, or pointed to pursuits worthy of a prince. He was not properly tutored in either history or politics ; nor was he guided to an intelligent survey of the affairs of the world or the characters of mankind. He could manufacture a button, or draw the model of a house, but could not write a tolerable letter. He could comprehend a plain statement, but could not unravel the web of sophistry or manage a complicated argument, or enter into the *rationale* of the English constitution. In his youth he fell into the hands of bigotted Tories, who having no expansion of intellect themselves, only inspired him with high notions of royal supremacy. Thus instructed, he had no leaning to those principles which placed his family upon the throne. He had imbibed as unfavourable an opinion of the advocates of freedom as Charles II. entertained of all mankind :—he fancied that they were base and unprincipled, and deemed his power unsafe in the hands of such statesmen. He did not possess that comprehensiveness of mind which could fathom the depths of policy, or qualify him to govern like an enlightened prince ; yet, by the aid of common sense, unperverted, he might have governed much better than he did. The American war is a foul blot upon his fame ; not only for its original injustice, but for the mischievous consequences to which it led, as the parent of the French revolution. Many will think, nor is it easy to disprove the inference, that no prince who had a due sense of religion or equity, could have rushed into such a war, or have prosecuted it with such unfeeling obstinacy. To ravage a country with fire and sword, and send savages, like blood-hounds, to hunt down his colonial subjects, because they were desirous of being governed by the constitutional maxims of the mother-country, were not the acts of a pious, just, or benevolent prince. Nor can the war with France, which he carried on with equal zeal and pertinacity, be defended upon equitable principles. He had no right to violate the independence of another state, or to dictate terms of accommodation at the point of the bayonet. Nor can the outrageous attack upon the Danes, in resentment of the armed neutrality, or the bombardment of their capital for wishing to retain their fleet, be fairly or honourably vindicated. Other acts of arbitrary violence, the effects of which no courtly sophistry can elude, rise up in appalling array against the memory of the late monarch, though he was styled “ the best of kings.”

These delineations of the character of the late sovereign of this country are certainly at variance ; but, *utrum horum mavis accipe*—to which of them the praise of greater fidelity belongs, it is not for us to decide. The venerable age, the protracted sufferings, the private and personal virtues of George III. with his still recent demise, render it both a difficult and an invidious task to attempt to sketch the political features of his reign with historic fidelity. It has been said of him on high authority, and, as we believe, with equal truth, that “ he would never do wrong except when he mistook “ wrong for right.” The notions of government, originally infused into his mind by lord Bute, probably differed little from those which Charles I. learned from archbishop Laud, however modified in practice by the necessity of circumstances.

As the prince regent had now conducted the machine of government for nearly ten years, his assumption of the regal character and office was made less account of than would otherwise have been the case. But scarcely had he been proclaimed king, when he was attacked with an inflammation of the lungs, the very disorder which had recently sent his brother, the duke of Kent, to the grave ; and its violence occasioned the greatest alarm among all

his friends. However, by the skill and attention of his physicians, he recovered his health, and was enabled to perform the functions of his high station.

It was now intended, according to established custom, to dissolve the parliament, but at the moment that this was about to be carried into effect, a "flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy" was detected and denounced. A person of the name of Thistlewood, who had once moved in a respectable sphere of life and known better days, had been tried for high treason along with the apothecary Watson, and with him acquitted. His escape however, in that instance, did not reconcile him to the government, and he brooded over fresh schemes of turbulence and sedition. He now became associated with some disaffected persons of profligate habits; and when it was proposed at their private meetings, which were held in a kind of hay-loft, in Cato street, Marylebone, that all the members of the cabinet should be put to death, as determined enemies and oppressors of their country, the horrid scheme was adopted as an act of public virtue. A spy, however, who had watched their motions under a pretence of forwarding their views, disclosed their machinations to the ministry; and with some difficulty several of them were apprehended, after Thistlewood had killed one of the police officers. They were tried by a special commission, and five of their number being declared guilty of high treason, were executed at the Old Bailey.

When the new parliament assembled, the business of the two houses proceeded for some time currently, attended with but few indications of party animosity. But an incident at length arose which disturbed the tranquillity of the court and threw the whole empire into an extraordinary ferment. This was the arrival of the queen—the discarded wife of George IV. who had been long absent from the scene of her ill treatment. While residing in Italy, she had received the melancholy news of her daughter's lamented death; and now intelligence had reached her of the demise of her royal uncle, to whose kindness and patronage she had formerly owed much. It was the wish of the new king that she should indefinitely prolong her absence from England; but her high spirit emboldened her to defy his menaces and his resentment, both of which she had experienced. In consequence of reports unfavourable to her character, two gentlemen of the law had been sent to the continent in 1818 to collect evidence on the subject, with a view to a divorce; but their discoveries were not then communicated to the public. In the mean time she was treated with insolence or contempt, by the British ambassadors at the different courts of Europe, and by such travellers as wished to ingratiate themselves with the British court: she consequently abandoned all idea of returning to England, until she became *de jure*, queen of the United Kingdom. While at Rome she addressed a letter to the earl of Liverpool, complaining of the omission of her name in the liturgy, as "an act of cruel tyranny;" but to that letter no answer was returned. After a long interval, however, she shaped her course towards England, and arriving at St. Omer's she was there met by Mr. Brougham, her legal adviser; and by lord Hutchinson also who had been commissioned by her husband to wait upon her and offer her an annual allowance of fifty thousand pounds, on provision that she should neither assume the title of queen, nor reside in any part of Great Britain. The proposal roused her indignation; she declared it was impossible for her to listen to it for a moment; and apprehending that means might be resorted to in order to prevent her landing in England, she instantly set off for Calais whither she proceeded with all possible speed, and crossed the channel in the first vessel that she found ready for sailing, accompanied by her confidential friends, lady Anne Hamilton and alderman Wood. On landing at Dover she was received with every mark of respect which she could desire; and her progress to London had an air of triumph. The consternation of the court at finding her already in the midst of them was extreme: and the king instantly determined to convert her joy into sorrow. He sent down a message to both houses of parliament, accompanied by a multitude of papers which were laid upon the table of the honourable house by lord Castlereagh, tending to fix upon her the imputation of adul-

terous guilt. Alarming as her situation now became, she did not remain silent, but addressed a letter to the commons, protesting against the formation of a secret tribunal, and reprobating that series of ill-treatment which could only be justified by trial and conviction. Mr. Brougham, in the strongest terms, opposed the intended inquiry, as the most impolitic that could be devised, and hoped that it would be superseded by a private and amicable adjustment. Mr. Canning acknowledged that he had advised the illustrious lady, six years before, to fix her residence on the continent, being aware of the existence of determined alienation on the part of her husband, and apprehensive, as he was, that if she should remain in England "faction would mark her for its own." He was her avowed friend; had been her frequent and favoured guest; and from an intimate acquaintance with her manners, had pronounced her "the life, grace, and ornament of every society she chose to ennobel with her presence." He did not object to the enquiry, as it appeared to him to be forced upon the ministers; but he declared that he never would act as an accuser or prosecutor of her majesty.

To pursue in detail the narrative of this unhappy state of matters between the royal pair, and the proceedings in parliament to which it gave rise, would carry me far beyond the limits to which we can now go. Let it suffice to remark that after numerous projects and propositions had been discussed and disposed of, a bill of "pains and penalties" was introduced into the house of peers, having for its object to annul the prerogatives and privileges of Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, and to procure a dissolution of the marriage between his majesty and that princess, on account of an alleged adulterous connection between her and Bartolomeo Bergami, an Italian, of low extraction, on whom she had bestowed extraordinary marks of favour and distinction. The court at first entertained the idea of proceeding capitally against the unfortunate princess; but her kind friends (for even the ministers had formerly been her friends) finding that this would be an illegal process, the alleged acts of criminality having been committed on the continent, with one who was not a subject of this realm, condescended to relinquish their primary intention, and to be content with the degradation of the object of their master's animosity. No measure upon record in the annals of the country, met with more strenuous opposition from the public than this arbitrary and impolitic bill. It was declared to be the fruit of a vile conspiracy for the ruin of an amiable princess, who had never enjoyed her husband's favour. Her guilt, it was said, was at least problematical; and even were it certain and undoubted, there were mitigating circumstances which pleaded strongly in her favour, arising from the tyrannical harshness which had driven her from her home, without any alleged reason; for the statement of a dislike conceived by one party is no reason for such conduct either in law or in equity.

In the course of the investigation, all the principal servants of her household were attracted by liberal offers to depose freely against her; but the utmost their united testimony amounted to was, that of eliciting suspicious circumstances; while the points of imputation were considerably invalidated by the ordeal of cross examination to which her learned and able counsel subjected the witnesses, and by the adduction of more disinterested evidence. After a tedious judicial process, a motion for the second reading of the bill produced a very animated debate. The lords Grey, Erskine, and Lansdown denied that the proofs of guilt were such as could justify a penal bill, while the lord chancellor Eldon and lord Liverpool affected to consider the case as triumphantly proved. When the division upon the bill took place, the numbers were found to be one hundred and twenty-three in favour of it, against it ninety-five. On the commitment of the bill, the clause which provided for a divorce was strongly opposed by the archbishops of York and Tuam, as well as other prelates, who considered it in the light of a mere political expedient, rather than an act of impartial justice; and maintained that it was repugnant both to divine and human laws. The clause was consequently abandoned by ministers—and on a subsequent division, the majority on the bill became reduced to nine, whereupon the earl of Liverpool, referring to the warmth of feeling, and the agitated state of the country, on the 10th of November, declared that he

would not persist in the measure, and consequently moved that the third reading of the bill be postponed to that day six months.

The abandonment of this obnoxious bill was regarded as a triumph by her majesty, and the numerous supporters of her cause. An illumination took place in the metropolis, for three nights, during which the populace behaved with greater forbearance than could reasonably have been expected. Ministers, from a sense of common decency now proposed to parliament that the queen should be allowed the same income which they had promised her before she returned to England; but the honour of being mentioned in the liturgy was still denied her—thus affixing, by implication, a stigma upon her character, which, being entailed by the hand of power, made a visible impression upon her majesty's mind.

Before I close this letter, it will be proper to glance at the aspect of affairs on the continent during the interval that the interesting events now mentioned were taking place in our own country. Of Spain I have already spoken in the beginning of my letter, where I have detailed the proceedings of the Cortes, and the conduct of king Ferdinand in swearing to the new constitution. The example of Spain was soon followed by the people of Portugal; who disgusted at the continuance of their grievances resolved to attempt a general reform. The first symptoms of discontent manifested themselves at Oporto, on the 24th of August, 1820. Don Bernardo de Supulveda, a young nobleman who commanded a regiment, exhorted his troops to serve their king and country by the establishment of a constitutional government; and the patriotic appeal was answered by loud acclamations. A provisional junta was appointed by general consent, not only for the administration of that city, but of the whole kingdom. This was unquestionably a bold step, and count Amarante, who had the chief command of the troops in *Tras-os-Montes* pointedly condemned it, but his denunciations were disregarded, as were those also of the council of state at Lisbon, where their menaces were treated with derision and contempt. Sepulveda marched against the count, and drove him into Galicia; and the members of the new junta began their march towards the capital, with an intention of expediting the convocation of the Cortes; but, before their arrival, a resolution to that effect had been adopted by the terrified council, to the inexpressible joy of the people. Field marshal Beresford, soon after this, returned from Rio-de-Janeiro, and being prevented from landing in Portugal, he prudently left that country to its fate, while the British officers, who had served under him in the Portuguese army, were dismissed without molestation. Dissensions arose between the republican party and the friends of moderate reform; but the latter gained the ascendancy, and the public tranquillity was not greatly interrupted or disturbed. In the following year, the king returned from Brazil; and, making a virtue of necessity, he acquiesced with a good grace in the constitutional regulations of those who had curtailed his authority.

The court of St. Cloud, influenced by the well-known sentiments of "the holy alliance," viewed with disgust these revolutionary proceedings in Spain and Portugal, but did not interfere with the concerns of those nations with a tone of authority. The affairs of France herself, indeed, were found quite sufficient to occupy their undivided attention. The king and royal family received a great shock by the death of the duke of Berri, who was suddenly assassinated by a political fanatic, from no other motive than a dread of his being the father of a prince who might continue the race of the Bourbons! This flagitious act, which did not appear to have been the effect of combination or concert, inflamed the zeal of the ultra-royalists, who accused M. de Cazes of having promoted the murder by encouraging democratic principles. The charge was both groundless and absurd; but it occasioned the resignation of that minister, who was succeeded in the direction of the cabinet by the duke de Richlieu.

In the Netherlands and Germany, tranquillity generally prevailed, though in the former country, the king found it expedient to check the freedom of the press and of political discussion, inspired probably with the jealousy of his allies. Among the German states, some considerable progress was made to-

wards the establishment of representative governments. The grand duke of Hesse consented to the formation of two legislative assemblies, and as his first scheme was too aristocratic to please his subjects, he modified it in such a manner as to secure their acquiescence. The king of Saxony, even while his subjects did not seem eagerly bent upon reform, made such concessions as rendered his government still more popular. But none of the improvements which at this period took place among the German states were more remarkable than the new constitutions which were granted by the kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria. In the former, the states of the realm were transformed into a regular parliament, to the great joy of the citizens of Stutgard, who hailed the king with loud acclamations as the brave defender of his country, and the beneficent father of his people. In the latter, the system of despotism was repealed, and the king who assembled the new legislature with apparent satisfaction, expressed his hope that the new constitution would prove a support to his throne and a blessing to his people.

The conduct of the king of Prussia, however, formed an affecting contrast to the improved state of affairs that was introduced in other countries. His majesty studiously repressed the growing spirit of liberty, more especially after the assassination of Augustus von Kotzebue, the celebrated dramatist, by a student of Jena, who, regarding him as the friend of despotism, considered that, by taking away his life, he should be doing his country a service. His Prussian majesty ordered the arrest of many obnoxious individuals; subjected all publications to a rigid censorship; and, as the majority of the students at the universities were supposed to be influenced by uncourtly sentiments, he commissioned servile agents to superintend and correct the lectures of the professors, and to introduce that discipline which would insure political forbearance and moderation.

While the great potentates, leagued in "the holy alliance" were brooding over their schemes of artful policy, their attention was called to the affairs of Italy by the effect of that spirit which the intrigues of the Carbonari had aroused. The king of Naples had declared, that he would grant to his subjects such a constitution as should establish their rights and their security: but the sinister influence of Austria was so powerfully exercised over him, that he neglected the performance of his promise, and even violated that engagement by which he had guaranteed the constitutional code framed for the Sicilians by the wisdom of their British allies. General Papo and many other friends of their country, incensed at this breach of faith, resolved to support the just demands of an insulted nation; and when a great part of the army had been drawn into the combination, the Spanish constitution was proclaimed in every province of the realm. The king assumed an air of intrepidity, and menaced the friends of liberty with an attack from those regiments which remained loyal and faithful to the throne; but he soon revoked his hostile orders, changed his ministry, and made plausible and patriotic promises. Pretending indisposition, he authorized his son to act in his name; and, on the 7th of July, a proclamation announced to the gratified people the royal intention of following the example of his Catholic majesty.

This change of system at Naples alarmed the emperor of Austria who dreaded the propagation of those revolutionary principles which threatened to undermine the stability of his power in Italy: but, before he determined upon actual hostilities, he was desirous of consulting the other members of the "holy alliance;" he therefore obtained an interview with the emperor of Russia, and the prince-royal of Prussia at Troppau. These confederates, inflamed with the arrogance of power, summoned the king of Naples to meet them at Laybach, as if he had been one of their vassals or subjects; and the latter having announced this invitation to the revolutionary parliament, with a promise that he would exert all his influence to procure from the great powers a confirmation of the new order of things, he undertook, in the midst of winter, the prescribed journey. The result was easily foreseen. Ferdinand submitted to the dictates of the allied princes, and consented to permit an invasion of his kingdom by the Austrian troops. On the 23d of March, the invading army took possession of the capital, dissolved the par-

liament, and restored the old government. The king, more degraded by his late abject meanness than he would have been if he had governed a free people, returned to Naples, and began to execute the orders of the emperor of Austria, who had no lawful authority over him. He did not even testify any reluctance when he was desired to institute legal proceedings against many of the Carbonari, who had been active in the late revolutionary movements, and who were now punished in various modes, to gratify the vindictive spirit of a haughty conqueror. A new parliament was convoked; but it was so constituted as to be under the control of one who was a mere vassal to an arbitrary foreign potentate (1).

LETTER XXIII.

History of Europe continued.—Coronation of George IV.—Death of queen Caroline.—The king visits Dublin,—Hanover,—and Scotland.—Distress in Ireland, and the efforts in England for their relief.—Death of lord Castlereagh, and reflections on his administration.—Is succeeded by Mr. Canning,—liberal tone of his politics,—his short but brilliant career in office,—his premature decease.—Review of the affairs of Greece and Turkey.—Struggles of the Greeks for independence.—Ravages of the Morea by the Turkish armies.—Treaty of London, 1826.—Battle of Navarino, and destruction of the Turkish fleet, October 1827.

WHEN the question regarding the divorce of queen Caroline had been put to rest, by the abandonment of the bill of pains and penalties, the public agitation throughout the British empire gradually subsided. The denial, to the queen, of those public prayers which had been imperiously demanded from his subjects, during the king's short illness, for the preservation of his sacred person and valuable life, excited occasional murmurs; but as the parliament sanctioned the invidious refusal, the contest, on the part of her friends, seemed to be hopeless, and was consequently relinquished.

In the session of parliament, 1821, his majesty sent down a message to the commons requesting that a regular provision should be made for the queen; in compliance with which, it was proposed that the sum of fifty thousand pounds should be settled upon her as an annuity; which was agreed to by the house. Her majesty at first declared that she would not accept any allowance so long as her name was omitted in the liturgy; but upon more mature reflection her high-spirited reluctance yielded to the pressure of necessity. A proposition was indeed made by one member of the house that only thirty thousand pounds should be granted to her; but the illiberal motion was instantly rejected.

Of the other proceedings in parliament during this session, few demand any particular notice. Petitions for a parliamentary reform—for relief to the agricultural interest—for a diminution of the public burthens, and other objects, were treated with disregard, if not contempt. In adjusting the financial accounts of the year, it was affirmed by the chancellor of the exchequer, that the expenditure had been so far reduced, as to allow an annual saving, nearly amounting to one million eight hundred thousand pounds; yet this professed instance of economy was not productive of any benefit which the public could really feel. The question concerning Catholic emancipation was renewed at this time, and a bill of relief passed through the commons by a majority of nineteen; but the peers refused to sanction the measure.

The prorogation of parliament was followed by the coronation of his majesty George IV. which took place in Westminster Abbey on the 19th of

(1) Bissett's History of the reign of George III.—Annual Register, 1820, 1821.—Aikin's Annals of George III.—Parliamentary Debates,—and London Gazette.

July, 1821. On this occasion an extraordinary piece of pomp and pageantry was exhibited, to the great amusement of the citizens but the detail would carry me into a prolixity incompatible with my prescribed limits. The queen had previously demanded a participation in the solemnity; but her claim was rejected by the privy council; and when she attempted to gain admission into the abbey to be a spectator of the proceedings, she was repulsed by the police who were stationed to preserve due decorum. This insult, however, did not discourage her from appearing occasionally in public. She was amusing herself one evening with a theatrical entertainment, when indisposition obliged her to retire. An internal disease had assailed her frame which resisted all the powers of medicine; and, after a few days illness, proved fatal to the unfortunate princess. On the removal of her remains to the coast, a tumultuous proceeding arose from the wish of the populace that the procession from Kensington might be directed through the metropolis, in which her friends were numerous. They eventually, but with much difficulty, succeeded in their object, though some lives were sacrificed in the fray. Her funeral was solemnized at Brunswick, with little pomp, but with a regret that was apparently sincere.

The recent proceedings relating to the queen, which, during the months they were pending, kept the country in a flame, certainly, had no tendency to increase the popularity of the monarch; and her death was of course a matter of little regret to the court. But that event having taken place, some measures were evidently found expedient for doing away the unfavourable impression which the public mind had imbibed; and, in the month of August, the king paid a visit to Dublin, where he was received with every token of respect and deference due from a loyal people to their rightful sovereign. Having spent some time in Ireland, he then proceeded to Hanover, into which he made his public entry on the 1st of October, and was received with great éclat. In the autumn of the following year he paid a visit to the metropolis of Scotland; but wherever he went his presence diffused universal festivity, and his ingratiating manners rendered him the object of general admiration and applause.

When parliament met in 1822, the king congratulated the two houses on the improvement that had taken place in the commerce and manufactures, and consequently the revenue of the united kingdom—yet, at the same time, deeply regretting the depressed state of the agricultural interest—but he was shocked at the revival of a spirit of outrage in various parts of Ireland, notwithstanding the supposed conciliatory effect of his late visit to that country. The ministers denied that excessive taxation had any share in producing the distress of the farmers, and asserted that a similar pressure upon agriculture existed in almost every other country in Europe. For the settlement of the disordered affairs of Ireland, the rigour of coercion was preferred to the gentler methods of conciliation. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended, and the act against insurrections revived; but no attempts were made to grant the Irish the full advantages of a good government. Some very salutary advice was given to the court by Mr. Charles Grant in an able speech on the affairs of Ireland; but though it seemed to make some impression even upon illiberal and prejudiced minds, its effect was transient and nugatory. In consequence of an unfavourable state of the seasons, the crops of potatoes and other vegetables greatly failed, and a famine harassed the general population, in the southern parts of the country; to relieve which government evinced symptoms of benevolence by advancing money and finding employment for the poor. A call was also made upon the people of Great Britain, to contribute to the relief of their suffering brethren, and, as might be expected, the call was answered with a promptness and alacrity, which at once produced so liberal a subscription as filled the Irish with joy and gratitude, while it reflected great honour upon the benevolence of the English character.

The parliament had not been long prorogued, when the minister who had so long and so miserably mis-governed this great empire, removed himself from the world in a fit of derangement. For several years lord Castlereagh

had acted as manager of the house of commons, and had found that assembly generally very obsequious to his dictates. To say that he had no talent, would be to do him injustice; he was a ready speaker and a tolerably skilful debater. But he wanted a strong and comprehensive mind, such as could grasp the destinies of the nation and wield its energies with the hand of a master. He was far from being an expert and able orator, nor could he argue with force or perspicuity. In short, he was a very unfit person to become the successor of Chatham, Fox, or Pitt; and his public conduct can only be viewed as one continued crime against the constitution and liberties of his country. His decease is consequently dated as the commencement of a new epoch in the British government. As a member of the cabinet he had so entirely renounced those liberal sentiments which he once held, and which are still fondly cherished by the great body of the Whigs, that he was ready to support and vindicate every act of ministerial tyranny and rapacity; and every encroachment on the rights of the people. His death made room for Mr. George Canning, who, though second in office, (for lord Liverpool continued premier) nevertheless, became first in public opinion and in real efficiency. No sooner had he stepped into the shoes of lord Londonderry, than he set himself in good earnest, to heal the intestine wounds of his country, and to pour balm where aristocratical mismanagement had been invidiously lacerating. He availed himself of the advantages resulting from late experience, and the advancement of political knowledge, which the recent convulsion of empires afforded him, together with the operations of the great innovator, time. He knew that to stem the tide of public opinion, and keep the nation flourishing, was as impracticable as to drain the ocean; that he could not retreat, arrest improvement, and chain down the intellect of the age; for he could see the inevitable reaction that would ensue, while he could not measure its limits. It soon became evident that under the hands of Mr. Canning, there was a change in the domestic and foreign policy of the country. On questions of domestic policy he was no longer trammelled by antiquated precedents, or depressed by the frown which forbade the slightest approach to innovation. And, with respect to his foreign policy, its most striking feature was a studious dissent from the "holy alliance," a fearless frankness in declaring the truth, to both the governments and nations of the continent, and pointing out to them their true policy. His counsels infused new energies into the nation, and one might almost fancy that in him the spirit of lord Chatham had once more taken up its abode in the senate. Surrounded with difficulties, occasioned by a long course of misrule, he appeared to rise superior to them all. The agricultural distress, and the incessant applications for a reduction in the national expenditure, kept him in perpetual action, on his entrance into office; he was constantly answering questions, soothing irritation, or conciliating enmity; while, on his temper and talents, as was observed by one of his colleagues, devolved the task of guiding and repelling the elements of strife from the country, and, if possible, from Europe. But brief and brilliant was the career of this eminently gifted statesman—and in him was truly verified the pathetic exclamation of Burke, "What shadows we are; and what shadows we pursue!" He ascended to the pinnacle of all earthly ambition only to die! (August the 8th, 1827.) Let us return to the state of foreign affairs.

The shocking tyranny which the Turkish government exercised for ages over the Greeks, had long been borne with remarkable patience; but none of the powers of Europe had lately found themselves at liberty to do more for them than look on with an eye of pity and compassion. Thus circumstanced the Greeks continued passive under the galling yoke of Turkish despotism, until the congress of Vienna had settled the affairs of Europe; and then finding that no arrangements had been made to secure for them a respite from slavery, some of their most patriotic leaders entered into concert with the view of promoting the attainment of independence, though they for a time disguised their real object under the pretext of diffusing the means of education among the people. In 1817 they began to disclose their views; but an attempt at insurrection proving abortive, the plan was for the

time abandoned. A rupture, however, taking place between the grand Signior, and Ali Pacha, who had long acted as sovereign of Albania, and, though a cruel tyrant, was, from motives of policy, a friend to the Greeks, appeared at length to afford an opportunity of revolt; and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, in which the Russians exercised a domineering influence, were selected as the first scenes of action. Alexander Ypsilanti, son of a former hospodar, endeavoured, in 1821, to rouse the Moldavians to arms; and having levied a small force, declared himself, in an energetic manifesto, a determined opposer of Turkish tyranny. When he had scarcely augmented the number of his followers to about nine thousand men, he was attacked by a Turkish army which threatened him with ruin. He faced the storm with spirit, and was bravely supported by a corps of young men, called the Sacred Band; but, the rest of his force being thrown into a panic by the treachery of a body of cavalry, he retired from the field, was arrested by Austrian emissaries, and imprisoned.

This insurrection inflamed the rage of Mahmoud, who, pretending that all the Greeks were alike implicated in the revolt, ordered his provincial governors to disarm the Christian population, and check the progress of treason by the rigours of punishment. Horrible massacres consequently ensued; the patriarch of Constantinople and other prelates were hung up at the church doors: and thousands of unoffending families were wantonly murdered in various parts of the empire. But these outrages did not quash the spirit of revolt. The insurgents, taking Tripolizzi by storm after a long siege, gratified their resentment by a cruel massacre, and extended their sway over the greater part of the Morea. They also brought some fleets into action; and they obtained considerable advantages over the largest vessels in the Turkish service. Demetrius Ypsilanti, who now succeeded to his brother's authority, was very desirous of establishing a general government of Greece, without which, he was well aware, the operations of the friends of freedom would be feeble, irregular, and desultory. He proposed the appointment of national deputies, who, meeting at Epidaurus, early in the year 1822, framed a constitutional code, providing for the election of a legislative body, with the nomination of a senate and an executive council. Mavrocordato a man of talent, though not a profound politician, was chosen president of the council; and he took an early opportunity of seizing Corinth, which then became the seat of government.

As the ruin of Ali Pacha enabled the Turks to employ a greater force against the Greeks, the prospects of the friends of freedom became more discouraging, and the acts of atrocious cruelty committed in the island of Scio tended to alarm them with the dread of extermination. A fleet anchored in the bay, a descent was made, and almost all who were found in the chief town were brutally murdered. The scene was terrific; in all parts of the island, pillage, murder, and conflagration, raged for several days; and it was computed that twenty five thousand individuals of both sexes were put to death, and thirty thousand women and children were carried off as slaves. It is also said that many merchants belonging to the island of Scio, who were resident at Constantinople, without the least evidence of delinquency, were impaled by the particular orders of the sultan. In the progress of the war, both parties were occasionally successful; but towards the close of the second campaign, the affairs of the Greeks assumed a more encouraging aspect. They lost Corinth by negligence; but under the conduct of Colocotroni, they harassed the grand army of the Turks with destructive effect between that city and Argos, and captured the important station of Napoli di Romania. In the arduous struggle in which they were now engaged they appealed to the congress of Verona for assistance, but their application was treated with contempt. Nevertheless they were resolved not to succumb; though unassisted they found that more vigorous exertions were necessary to save them from ruin; and, with a view to more mature deliberation on their state and circumstances, they convoked a general council at Astros. On this occasion, three hundred deputies met in a grove, in 1823, and having rendered their constitution more conducive to national unity and strength,

they issued a declaration that they would never renounce their claim to independence. The third campaign was less important in its operations and results than either party expected. After some conflicts of no great moment, Marco Bossaris, with a force amounting to little more than two thousand five hundred men, attacked the enemy whose army exceeded eleven thousand, and defeated them, though he nobly fell in the contest, to the great regret of his countrymen, who admired his heroic spirit and other estimable qualities. Corinth was afterwards recovered; Missolonghi, a town rising into importance, was secured from an attack; and the island of Candia was ably defended.

The cause of this long oppressed people at length began to attract the attention of all Europe; and the inhabitants of England more particularly. The dissensions which unhappily prevailed among them, occasioned in great measure by the ambition, selfishness, and jealousy of some of their leaders greatly impeded the success of their arms. Lord Byron, the celebrated English poet, then residing in Italy, and colonel Leicester Stanhope, who zealously espoused their cause at this critical time, flew to their assistance, and laboured to reconcile their contending chiefs. The enterprising peer, granted the Greek committee a loan of about ten thousand pounds, besides taking five hundred men into his pay, and was invested with the command of three thousand. But, with all the influence of his name and talents, he could effect but little in the way of securing their obedience, or promoting the success of the war. By exposing himself to a climate to which he was not accustomed, he brought on a rheumatic fever, of which he died, at Missolonghi, on the 19th of April 1824.

The fourth campaign was not remarkable for any operations of extraordinary importance; but if it did not display the vigour of the Turks, it afforded ample proof of their execrable barbarity. The principal town of the island of Ipsara being taken, rather by treachery than force, the besiegers rushed into the place with furious eagerness, and put to instant death the greater part of the inhabitants, not sparing even the women and children. These outrages provoked the Greeks to inflict on the enemy a severe retaliation. A fleet sailed from Hydra to Ipsara, where the Turks had left about fifteen hundred men, of whom not more than three hundred were allowed to escape. All the Greeks who were found were then carried off by their countrymen to various places of refuge, and desolation has since marked the island. In some naval engagements which took place at this time, the Greeks were so far successful that the capitan-pacha was glad to make his retreat to the Dardanelles, and Ibrahim, who commanded a fleet sent from Egypt, was content to act merely on the defensive. On the continent of Greece, little was done on either side. The pacha Omer failed in an attempt on Athens, and the Greeks in vain endeavoured to gain possession of Modon and Patras, two sea-ports in the Morea. This was the chief seat of the war in 1825. The pacha Ibrahim, with fourteen thousand men advanced against the Greeks flushed with the hope of putting down the insurgents. He attacked both the old and the new Navarino, and succeeded in both enterprises. He then prosecuted a course of devastation, threatening that he would desolate the whole peninsula; yet, at the end of the year, the Greeks retained the ascendancy in that province.

But a state of things, such as that now adverted to, was not likely long to continue disregarded by the powers of Europe, in the present age of civilisation and refinement. Accordingly, it became the subject of diplomatic correspondence between some of the leading powers, particularly Great Britain, France, and Russia, who offered their services to mediate between the belligerent parties, though, for some time, without effect. The cause of the Greeks was taken up in England, by several public-spirited individuals, and a loan was negotiated for the purpose of assisting them with the means of defence. But, finding the Turkish government deaf to all the language of expostulation, of remonstrances, and the offers of mediation, a treaty was eventually entered into, and signed, under the title of "the Treaty of London, of 1826," in which the three high contracting parties, namely,

Great Britain, France, and Russia, engaged to furnish, each its contingent of ships and vessels of war, to be sent simultaneously into the Archipelago, for the purpose of staying the further progress of hostilities, and of mediating between the belligerent parties. Down to the middle of the year 1827, the Turkish government persisted in refusing the mediation of the allies; the result of which was, that a fleet of ten sail of the line, with a corresponding number of frigates and fire ships, proceeded to the Mediterranean, with the view of enforcing a compliance with the terms of the treaty.

In the mean time the Egyptian fleet, which had been for some time cruising in the Dardanelles, weighed anchor on the night of the 30th of September, 1827, from the port of Navarino, in order to make the attempt to get to Patras, to second the movements of Ibrahim Pacha, in his sanguinary excursions against the Greeks, and ravaging the Morea. Admiral sir Edward Codrington, who was vested with the command of the allied squadron, received notice of this, while anchoring at Zante, from whence he was about to proceed on the 2nd of October, when the Egyptian fleet unexpectedly came to anchor off the coast of Zante; to the great alarm of the inhabitants, who hastened to the beach to prevent any attempt at landing. At this time the European squadron enclosed the Egyptian fleet, by forming a semi-circle. A parley took place, and the Egyptians departed, for Navarino, whither sir Edward Codrington had directed them to shape their course. After remaining himself a few days at Zante, he sailed for Navarino, where he was to be joined on the 13th by admiral the chevalier de Rigby, having under his command the French ships; and on the 15th by the Russian squadron, under the command of admiral count Heyden. The combined fleet arrived in the port of Navarino, on the 21st of October, where they found the Turkish ships moored in the form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, the larger ones presenting their broad-sides towards the centre, the smaller ones in succession within them, filling up the intervals. The respective force of the two hostile fleets was as follows:—of the allies, twenty-six sail, including ships of the line, frigates, corvettes, and schooners:—the Turkish armament comprised seventy sail of various sizes.

Admiral Codrington having received express orders from his government to use every exertion in his power to prevent the effusion of blood, on mooring his fleet along side that of the enemy, gave strict orders that not a gun should be fired unless hostilities first commenced on the part of the Turks; and those orders were strictly observed. To carry into effect the articles of the treaty, the British admiral now dispatched one of his pilots to the commandant of the enemy's squadron to express to him his earnest desire to avoid the effusion of blood; but when his boat came along side the Turkish admiral's ship, he was fired upon and wantonly put to death. Soon afterwards the same ship fired into the *Asia*, one of the English ships of the line, which promptly returned the salutation, and in a little time the action became general. The bloody and destructive battle raged for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has rarely been witnessed. Of the Turkish fleet, which at the commencement of the action consisted of seventy sail, no less than sixty-two were burnt, sunk, or driven on shore complete wrecks; and, from a statement of the Turkish admiral, it appears that on board of two line of battle ships, each with a crew of eight hundred and fifty men, there were killed, in one ship six hundred and fifty, and in the other four hundred. The total loss on the part of the British consisted of seventy-five killed, and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded. On the part of the French forty-three were killed and one hundred and forty-four wounded—the return of the Russian loss was not made, when sir Edward Codrington sent off his dispatches.

The entrance of the allied squadrons into the port of Navarino was resolved on, in concert by the three admirals, in consequence of an official representation from captain Hamilton, of the exterminating system which Ibrahim Pacha had been pursuing in the Morea, after returning from his unsuccessful attempt to reach Patras, indulging in the slaughter of the inhabitants

without distinction of age or sex, and in the commission of irreparable and wanton devastation, by destroying the olive trees and vineyards and other productions of the soil. To assume an imposing attitude, in a situation convenient for immediate action, and the better to carry into effect the treaty of London; and by such a demonstration to enforce the seriousness of the instances made to Ibrahim to discontinue his ravages, determined the allies to take up their position within the port of Navarino; and a protocol of their conference on the subject which led to this resolution was drawn up, and signed by the three admirals, on the 18th of October.

After the action and subsided, a note was addressed to the Turkish and Egyptian commanders, declaring that as the squadrons of the allied powers did not enter Navarino with a hostile intention, but only to renew to the commanders of the Turkish fleet propositions which were advantageous to the grand seignor himself, it was not their intention to destroy what ships of the Ottoman navy remained; but that if one single musket or cannon shot should be again fired on a ship or boat belonging to the allied powers, they would immediately destroy all the remaining vessels, as well as the forts of Navarino, and would consider such new act of hostility as a formal declaration of the Porte against the three allied powers. The Turkish chiefs, as a token of their desire to resume the terms of good understanding which their conduct had interrupted, were required to have the white flag hoisted on all the forts before the end of the day, and to give a categorical answer before sun-set, and that without evasion. On this memorable occasion, the most perfect cordiality prevailed among the allies. The French and Russian squadrons actively co-operated; and after the action, mutual official compliments passed between the respective admirals, and acknowledgments of reciprocal assistance between the officers of the different nations.

In taking leave of this memorable engagement, I shall merely say, that, taking into account all the circumstances of the case, the victory at Navarino, was inferior to no other in the annals of the British navy, in respect of seamanship and gallantry, and will yield to none, except those of the Nile and Copenhagen. In these latter places the enemy's ships were at anchor, as at Navarino, but so anchored, particularly at the Nile, that the British commanders could take their choice of the side for attack; and hence Nelson immortalized himself by getting the in-shore position. At the battle of Navarino, however, the case was quite different. A regular oval harbour of five miles by one mile and one mile and three quarters, did not allow the British commander to attempt to get the in-shore of the enemy. The batteries on shore, too, which there is reason to believe were effective, rendered such a proceeding utterly impracticable. The whole of the Turkish and Turco-Egyptian fleets were to be attacked in the formidable order of battle, viz. the crescent; with the batteries of the forts and of the island at the entrance of the harbour; that of the fort on the left, from which Ibrahim battered the town previous to its surrender to him; the island at the bottom of the harbour, and the forts of the town, all doubtless well served—taking all these circumstances into account, the results will show that the talents and courage displayed in this instance are fully equal to the brightest periods of the naval history of Great Britain. (1)

(1) Annual Register.—Parliamentary Debates.—Life and Trial of Queen Caroline.—Blaquiere's account of the Greek Revolution.—De L'Intervention armée pour la Pacification de la Grèce, par M. de Pradt.—London Gazette Extraordinary, November the 10th 1827.

LETTER XXIV.

Conclusion of the history of European affairs.—The English defeated by the Ashantees in Western Africa.—State of affairs in France,—Spain,—and Portugal,—Prussia,—Italy,—Austria, &c.—Death of Louis XVIII.—Accession of Charles X.—Hurricane on the coast of Great Britain.—Inundation of St. Petersburg,—and of Cronstadt.—Death of the Emperor Alexander, of Russia.—His brother the archduke Constantine, renounces his succession to the throne.—Accession of Nicholas I. A. D. 1821—1825.

HAVING NOW, my dear Philip, brought the narrative of the affairs of our own country nearly to the times that are passing over us, it is necessary I should draw this series of letters to a close. There are, however, a few remaining incidents which have taken place, both here and on the continent, during the last three or four years, which I have yet to relate, and to this object I devote the pages of this my concluding epistle. I found that it was not in my power to incorporate them in chronological order with the events relating more especially to our own country, as detailed in my last letter, without distracting your attention, a point which I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to guard against in this history.

In the early part of the year 1824, the British government, were not a little surprised at receiving intelligence that war had broke out at one of their colonies in Western Africa. The Fantees, who occupied the country near Cape-Coast Castle, were involved in hostilities through the ambitious and restless spirit of the Ashantees, a people possessing an extensive range of country immediately behind the gold coast. Unable to withstand this powerful nation, the Fantees had for some time past become vassals and tributaries to them; a treaty was concluded on that basis; and they acknowledged themselves the tenants of the victorious king. The governor of the colony, however, was not inclined to adhere to this treaty, and sir Charles M'Carthy, who was sent out from England to take the command upon the gold-coast, promised to support the Fantees in a revolt from their new masters. The consequence was a war, in which the Ashantees manifested both courage and cruelty. The colonial force gained the advantage in some slight conflicts; but the Ashantees having mustered an army of ten thousand men came down upon the garrison of Fettue, which did not consist of one thousand, under the command of sir Charles, when they completely surrounded his battalions, most of whom they put to the sword, and among the rest the commander himself. Major Chisholm revenged in some measure this outrage, by inflicting a severe chastisement on the Ashantees; but he was precluded, by the retreat of his African auxiliaries from converting the repulse into a defeat. In a subsequent contest, the Ashantees with a force of fifteen thousand men, were met by colonel Sutherland with about four hundred regulars and militia, to whom he was enabled to add four thousand six hundred and fifty unorganized volunteers, all of whom fought with such zeal and alacrity, that the engagement was so discouraging to the enemy, that a great desertion ensued, and the Ashantees were glad to discontinue their hostile operations.

Reverting to the European continent, we shall now take a cursory survey of the actual state of some of the leading powers, from the time at which we last quitted the subject to the present period. In France the population in general, both in the metropolis and principal towns, were far from reconciled to the new order of things under the Bourbons. The murmurs of the nation were loud against the court whom they thought culpably inattentive to the affairs of Europe. Their vanity was not a little mortified at the apparent decline of that influence which formerly rendered France a first-rate power, but which was now neutralized by the domineering spirit of the high contracting parties to the "holy alliance,"—Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

The liberal party and the ultra-royalists were agreed in this; and intimations of disgust marked an address which was voted by the chamber of deputies. On one point, indeed, they differed *to toto calce*, namely, on the regard which the king bestowed on the new constitution. The liberal party complained that he did not fully adhere to its various stipulations; while the other would have been better pleased had he attended less to its injunctions. This dissatisfied state of affairs induced the king to make new ministerial arrangements in which the royalists predominated. Viscount Montmorenci became minister for the foreign department, and he resolved to retrieve the honour of France by an officious interference in the affairs of Spain. Discontent shewed itself by occasional insurrections, which broke out in various places, the most important of which were those at Saumur, Rochelle, and Toulon, but they were quelled with the loss of a few lives.

In the peninsula, matters were in a much more distracted state than in France. The Spanish Cortes who were in possession of the reins of government, did all they could to keep the imbecile Ferdinand in check; and his attempts to shake off the trammels to which he was subject, concurred with the efforts of his adherents to create disorder and confusion. Riego presided in a session of the ordinary Cortes, and that assembly pursued such a course as by no means suited the views or feelings of his majesty. At the close of the session a military riot ensued, which after some loss of lives, terminated in favour of the constitutional party. Ello, an active royalist, was tried and put to death; but this act of rigour did not deter the king's friends from pursuing their unconstitutional measures. In Navarre they were routed in several contests; in Catalonia they suffered greatly from the adroitness of general Mina; and in Arragon they were unsuccessful; yet they were not wholly subdued.

In Portugal, the revolution proceeded with singular success. The Cortes completed the new constitution, though with much apparent labour; and on its promulgation it was found to bear a great resemblance to the new code of Spain. But these proceedings in Spain and Portugal could not be viewed by the three despotic powers who originated the holy alliance without poignant regret; and the emperor of Russia, in particular, beholding them with disgust and indignation, convened a congress at Verona, in which it was resolved that their ministers at the court of Madrid should remonstrate with the rulers of that country, on their late proceedings, and insist on such arrangements as might preclude the necessity of the interference of other powers. They also tutored king Ferdinand to address the Cortes in a high tone, and to insist upon the relinquishment of those revolutionary measures *which menaced France with serious danger!* The British minister at Madrid protested against the right of foreign states to control an independent nation, or of dictating the system which it ought to adopt. The crowned despots, however, persisted in their unjustifiable course, and found no difficulty in prevailing on Louis XVIII. to become the instrument of carrying their determinations into effect.

In 1823, under the flimsy pretext of forming a *cordon sanitaire*, an army of seventy thousand men was put in a state of requisition by the French government, and marched to the foot of the Pyrenees. The duke of Angoulême was selected by his royal uncle to take the command of this body of troops; but, before they began to march, it was thought necessary to apply to the legislature for its sanction. The king opened the session with a speech, in which he told them that unless Ferdinand were allowed to possess the discretionary power of giving to the Spanish people, institutions which they could hold only from him, war was inevitable—which was just telling them, in other words, that no public reform ought to take place in any country, and no system of tyranny to be annihilated without the free consent of a despot! a proposition so monstrously extravagant and absurd that it requires only to be fairly stated to expose its fallacy and excite contempt. In this light it was viewed by some of the liberal party of both chambers; and Manuel, an eminent professor of jurisprudence, in delivering his sentiments, made no hesitation in denouncing Ferdinand as an atrocious tyrant, for which he was expelled the assembly of deputies, sixty of whom

nevertheless, protested against this unjustifiable proceeding. A riot was excited in Paris in favour of Manuel, but it had no very serious result. The British court remonstrated against the invasion of Spain, but the majority in both chambers supported the monarch and sanctioned his measure.

Notwithstanding the disgust which the Spanish people in general entertained for the conduct of Ferdinand, there was no very general rising to oppose the invasion of their country by the armies of France. The duke of Angouleme marched forward with all the confidence of success; and the few parties that made any effort to dispute his progress were readily put to flight. Advancing to the Ebro, the main body of the invaders passed it with little difficulty, while a strong division kept Mina in check, and the duke proceeded to Madrid with little molestation. He immediately called upon the supreme councils of Castile and the Indies to nominate five persons to act as regents of the kingdom, who readily assumed the exercise of power. In the mean time the Cortes exhibited a firm and resolute spirit. Having coolly replied to the menacing notes of the members of the holy alliance, and dismissed the ambassadors of those potentates, they declared their intention of resisting aggression with all the power which they could call into action. When informed of the seizure of Madrid, they moved the place of their sittings from Seville to Cadiz. Ferdinand at first expressed an unwillingness to accompany the deputies in their flight: but, flushed with an expectation of a speedy rescue, he acquiesced in the measure.

The French army, though in possession of the capital, had not subdued the kingdom; but the supineness of the constitutionalists was such as to occasion them little disturbance. The operations of the latter were paralyzed by the defection of Morillo and other distinguished officers who fell martyrs to French intrigue, and were seduced from the patriotic cause. Corunna and other towns were so feebly defended that they were easily reduced; Ballasteros was so harassed that he was glad to submit; Riego was pursued and taken; and Mina was driven into exile. The French now formed the siege of Cadiz; stormed an outwork called the Trocadero; successfully assaulted San Pedro, and bombarded the city until confusion and terror prevailed within its precincts. The Cortes now restored the king to his liberty; and the latter having obtained an interview with the duke of Angouleme, gave orders for the surrender of the city and its dependencies to the French. Before he regained his liberty, he pledged himself to consign to oblivion the whole conduct of the constitutionalists, and pardon every offence of which the courtiers might accuse them, but he basely violated his promise; and, not content with annulling all their acts and proceedings, he threw many of them into prison, and put the brave Riego to death. He tamely permitted the French to garrison all his principal fortresses, and, virtually, became a vassal of the holy alliance.

Alarmed at the rumour of what was going forward in the sister kingdom, the patriots of Portugal, applied to the English government for assistance, in case of need, and they received a favourable answer. But the danger of a counter-revolution in that country arose more from internal machinations than from external hostility. The count d'Amarante, disgusted at the new system, roused to arms the inhabitants of the northern provinces; but his early operations were attended by so little success that he was himself compelled to seek an asylum in Spain. His retreat, however, did not wholly put down the insurgents; for one of the regiments of the line revolted, and Don Miguel, the king's second son, joined the disaffected, who were presently countenanced by the greater part of the army. His majesty declared that, as a father, he would abandon the prince, and, as a king, he would punish him—but all this was mere pretence; for when the municipality of Lisbon requested to know his royal will and pleasure respecting public affairs, he replied that he was ready to change the existing government. In consequence, he appointed new ministers—the Cortes on this indignantly retired: and the people acquiesced in the counter-revolution. Thus restored to the plenitude of power, the king anxiously directed his attention to the affairs of Brazil, which colony had, by this time, thrown off its dependence on the

mother-country. The new sovereign, the prince royal, whom they had chosen, and who had assumed the title of constitutional protector of Brazil, offered to the Portuguese the alternative of friendship upon terms of complete equality, or a sanguinary contest. The king, his father, however, earnestly wished to reclaim the colony. Negotiations, consequently, took place, between the father and the son; and the power of the latter remained in an unsettled state. He was harassed by the divisions which arose in his cabinet; the transactions of a congress which he had convoked gave him disgust, and he dissolved the assembly; and symptoms of a civil war, though transient, appeared in various parts of the empire.

The state of Italy was more tranquil at this time than that of either Spain or Portugal. In Naples and Piedmont, indeed, the system of prosecution was continued against the friends of constitutional freedom. In the territories of the church, a change of government arose, in consequence of the demise of pope Pius VII. which took place on the 20th of August, 1823. He was succeeded by the cardinal della Gonga, who assumed the title of Leo XII. and who commenced his pontificate in the style of a high-church bigot. His subsequent career has proved that he is an advocate for every practice that is old, whether right or wrong, and that he is a thorough-paced slave to prejudice, and a determined foe to reform.

The king of Prussia had now been amusing his subjects for several years with promises of a regular representative government; and to fulfil his engagements, he issued a decree that assemblies should be convoked, not only for the purpose of discussing the concerns of each province, but for the investigation of the affairs of the whole nation collectively: they were to consist of representatives of the nobility, deputies for the boroughs, and yeomanry. But their discussions were little better than an unmeaning form; for, so long as his Prussian majesty retained all power in his own hands, their deliberations ended in the mere tendering of advice, which he was at perfect liberty to accept or reject—rather than in allowing the just claims of his subjects. The emperor of Austria, not only continued to neglect the performance of his promise respecting popular freedom, but under the pretence of some late resolutions in the German diet, he, in various instances checked the liberal spirit which actuated the kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, and concurred with the emperor of Russia and king of France in recommending restrictions on the liberty of the press in Switzerland, and the suppression of reading societies, in the haughty tone which enforced compliance. The king of the Netherlands, however, manifested a greater regard to the interests of his subjects, by the adoption of prudent measures of internal improvement, and the regulation of commerce. He disapproved of the interference of France in the affairs of Spain; and was disgusted with the prohibitory system pursued by the French government with regard to commerce, the illiberality of which he retaliated by imitating their own example.

In France, during the year 1824, the most important of the matters which occupied the chambers and the public was a plan introduced by M. de Villele for reducing the interest of the national debt, which, though it passed the chamber of deputies was rejected by the peers. Another important topic, though properly between the ministry and the public, that created a considerable ferment at the time, regarded the freedom of the press, which was powerfully advocated by the viscount de Chateaubriand, in a spirited pamphlet—and the law officers of the crown were defeated in their attempts to prosecute the editors of several journals of the liberal cast. In these contests, however, the king himself took little interest; his health had been for some time in a declining state, and he fell a victim to the gout, erysipelas, and other disorders. The complication of maladies which afflicted the monarch, had for some time, been gradually exhausting the powers of nature, and for several months previous to his dissolution, his existence had been little else than a protracted agony, which he sustained with manly fortitude. The first public declaration of his danger was contained in a document signed by four physicians and the count de Damas, first gentleman of the chamber, dated at the Tuileries, September the 12th, at six in the morning. "The

"old and permanent infirmities of the king," said this bulletin, "having sensibly increased for some days past, his health has appeared exceedingly impaired, and has been the subject of more frequent consultations. The constitution of his majesty, and the attention which is paid him, have maintained for some days the hope of seeing his health restored to its usual state; but it cannot now be dissembled that his strength has considerably declined and that the hope that was entertained must be also weakened." On the following day the danger became so imminent, that the king had the rites of the Catholic church administered to him; and at four o'clock of the morning of the 15th, he expired.

Louis XVIII was succeeded in the throne by his brother, the comte d'Artois, under the title of Charles X. who accompanied by the dauphin, the dauphiness, and the duchess of Berri, immediately on receiving intelligence of the king's death set out for St. Cloud; and there on the following day received numerous addresses. The members of the chambers of peers and of the deputies were presented to him, and in reply to their testimonies of condolence he made a suitable return. Four days after the funeral of his brother, the late king, the new monarch, Charles X. entered Paris in state. The prefect of the city presented him with the keys of the city of Paris; on which the monarch replied—"I leave the keys in your care, because I know that I cannot commit them to more faithful hands. Keep them, then, gentlemen, keep them. It is with sentiments of deep sorrow, and sincere joy, that I enter within these walls, in the midst of my good people—of joy, because I know well that I wish to occupy myself in consecrating my life, to my last hour, in securing and consolidating their happiness." And the first act of the reign of Charles X. was certainly of a popular description. On the 29th of September he published a decree in which he declared that he did not judge it necessary to maintain any longer, the measure which was adopted under different circumstances against the abuses of the liberty of the journals, and thus the censorship once more ceased in France.

As to the late king, it may suffice to say, that Louis was born on the 17th of November, 1755, and had been a widower since the year 1810, when he lost his wife, who was a princess of the house of Saxony. He possessed most of the qualities, which in private life, constitute an accomplished gentleman—an amiable temper—considerable powers of conversation—much acquired knowledge—and a keen relish of social enjoyments. In public life, he may be said to have somewhat justified the character which Napoleon passed upon the whole race of princes of the house of Bourbon, namely, that of "imbeciles"—for he can scarcely be said to have possessed the energy and talents which are required in situations of great and imminent danger; nevertheless, where prudence and management could avail, he was qualified to play his part with no mean dexterity. His situation on the throne of France "was certainly not a bed of roses," for he was encompassed with perplexing circumstances; and it must be allowed that he steered through the difficulties with no small skill. The day before his decease, he said to the present king who stood beside his bed: "Judgment will soon be passed upon my reign; but whatever may be the prevailing opinion, I assure you, my brother, that every thing I have done has been the result of long deliberation. I may have been mistaken; but I have not been the sport, the slave of events; every thing has been conducted and argued by me."

Protected by the French armies, the king of Spain prosecuted a career of misgovernment which could not but disgust every friend to freedom and the rights of man. Adverting to this subject, in the British house of commons at the opening of the session of 1824, Mr. Brougham, indignantly held him up, as an active agent for all the purposes of the holy alliance, insisting—and he defied any man to deny it—that he was more the object of contempt, disgust, and abhorrence of civilized Europe, than any other individual now living. "There he is," continued the learned gentleman, "a fit companion for the unholy band of kings who have restored him to the power which he has so often abused, in order to give him an opportunity of abusing it." "once more:—there he is, with the blood of Riego yet dripping on his head, seeking fresh victims for the scaffold, and ready to proceed on the first

“summons to the torture of the helpless women, and unoffending children whom fortune may have placed in his power.” It is needless to specify the particulars of his impolitic course; let it suffice to say, that having submitted to the occupation of his fortresses by French troops, he was content to reign under the imposing authority of a foreign cabinet. His treasury was completely drained, insomuch that he was obliged to borrow money to defray the expenses of his journey from Madrid to Aranjuez. He affected to be placable and forgiving; but, when he published an act of amnesty, it was clogged with so many exceptions that it was almost as much an edict of punishment as of pardon. If he made an ostensible change in his cabinet, and appointed men of moderate principles and upright intentions, he counteracted their measures by adopting the sinister advice of bigoted ecclesiastics, or of blind and obstinate royalists. He still wished to reclaim his colonial subjects in America; but they derided his offer, proclaimed their independence, and promulgated a constitution evidently borrowed from that of the United States; and every prospect of his ever again recovering them vanished into thin air.

The close of the year, November 19th, 1824, was signalized by a hurricane that was almost unprecedented. It appeared to have originated on the coasts of England and Holland, from whence it swept along the North Sea which was every where furiously agitated. There were dreadful shipwrecks on the coast of Jutland. It traversed Sweden, prostrating whole forests in its course. Gottenburg and Stockholm suffered much. The hurricane forced the waters of the Baltic into the gulf of Finland. At St. Petersburg there was an inundation of the Neva, such as was never before remembered. In some parts of the city, the waters rose to such a height and with so great rapidity, that the inhabitants had no time to save themselves, but men, women, and children indiscriminately perished. The storm was so violent as to roll up the sheet iron which covered the roofs of many houses; broke in doors and windows every where, and combining its force with that of the current, swept away some of the slightest habitations. The magazines of wine, sugar, and other merchandize, being principally in cellars underground, and in the lower parts of the city, damage to the amount of several millions was sustained by the merchants. On the following day the streets were crowded with the bodies of animals that had been drowned—with fire-wood the stores of which had been broken up, and drifted away in all directions—with ships that had burst from their moorings. Whole villages in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg were swept away! No food could be had in any quarter for several days after the deluge had subsided: no payments were made; no money demanded; the ordinary transactions and affairs of men were altogether forgotten amidst the scene of desolation and misery. The inundation appears to have subsided almost as suddenly as it came on,—in one day it began and ended. Cronstadt was completely under water, and many vessels were lost. The imperial navy suffered greatly. A ship of the line of one hundred guns, was found standing in the great square when the waters subsided, and two steam boats stood in the middle of the town not far from the theatre. A large ship was dashed against a house with such force that it knocked it down. By order of the governor, four hundred soldiers were employed in burying those who lost their lives on this melancholy occasion.

But to trace its ravages nearer home: at Portsmouth ships foundered in every direction. All the houses fronting the sea at Seaford, had their foundations sapped, and many cottages were washed away. At Dover the tempest was more severe than any that had been experienced for many years.—Off Margate, a brig went down, and all on board perished. The Blandon, an outward-bound West Indiaman, lying in the Downs, went down.—Off Weymouth, a large ship, the Colville, was wrecked, and all on board perished. The breakwater, and nearly the whole of the esplanade were washed away.—At Plymouth, some of the shipping in the Sound, parted, cut their cables, and becoming unmanageable, drove foul of other vessels, carrying away their masts, bowsprits, &c., and altogether drifting upon the rocks.—Along the Devonshire coast, nothing but wrecks were to be seen; and within the small compass of three hundred yards, were to be seen the wrecks of no less than

sixteen fine merchantmen. Similar calamities, such as the unroofing of houses and the falling of chimneys occurred in various other parts of the kingdom. This hurricane, the most extraordinary phenomenon of its kind upon record, traversed in a double curve of about four hundred leagues, in a very few minutes, the north of Europe.

During the year 1825, the northern powers; Sweden, Denmark, and Germany, remained in their usual state, without undergoing any alteration of circumstances worthy of being recorded. An order of the king of Prussia, directed to the authorities of his Rhenish provinces, prohibited the priests of the Catholic church from exacting, previous to the celebration of marriage between parents of different sects, a promise that the offspring should be brought up in the Roman-catholic system. Some of the members of the holy alliance, who had nearly renounced all intercourse with Wurtemberg, as not being sufficiently friendly to their principles, now renewed their diplomatic relations with that power. Both Russia and Austria again sent ambassadors to Stutgard, and professed to have forgiven the constitutional tendency of the feelings and maxims of the king. Maximilian Joseph, the king of Bavaria, was attacked by apoplexy, and died at Munich on the 13th of October, 1825. He was succeeded by the prince royal, Charles Louis Augustus, who was thirty-nine years of age. The late king was exceedingly popular among his subjects, and he merited their esteem. He was exempt from bigotry and prejudice; a friend to improvement, but not hasty or incautious; shrewd, sagacious and good-tempered; not over fond of power, and mild and temperate in the exercise of it; simple and unassuming in his manners, and very economical in his expenditure.

In the month of February of this year, the emperor Alexander of Russia issued a proclamation, convoking the estates of the kingdom of Poland, for the third general diet, to open on the 13th of May, and to close on the 13th of June. The diet met at Warsaw, according to appointment, and the emperor opened their sittings with a speech, directing their attention to such measures as he considered to be most imperative and conducive to their interests. During the greater part of the year, Alexander spent his time chiefly in traversing the various provinces of his dominions. Towards the end of autumn he visited the Crimea. His health had been for some time on the decline; but in consequence of his activity in moving from place to place, and partly also by reason of the little communication of the districts, in which he then was, with the rest of Europe, the state of his health was little known, and the reports concerning it did not attract much notice in Europe. On the 10th of November, he quitted the port of Sebastopol, after having minutely inspected it, and every thing connected with the fleet in the Black Sea. On his way to Bachtchiserai, he found himself slightly affected with a pain in his head, which he attributed to his having taken cold. On his return, however, he made one of a party on horseback to travel along the shore of the sea of Azof. He halted at Taganrog, a town situate on the cliff of a very lofty promontory, commanding an extensive prospect of the sea, and of all the European coast, to the mouths of the Don. On his arrival there, he felt himself too much indisposed to proceed, and he wrote to the empress mother announcing his illness, yet, at the same time, intimating that he did not apprehend any thing serious, and that he should take all possible care of himself. His wife, the empress Elizabeth, was along with him. He had febrile symptoms about him, and was affected in the leg by a species of erysipelas. This latter disorder, disappeared very suddenly, and the fever instantaneously assumed an alarming appearance. The emperor then exclaimed, "I shall share the fate of my sister, who died of an erysipelas driven in." His medical attendants, however, were of opinion, that this symptom was but subordinate, and that the disease of the emperor was a gastric bilious fever, common to those countries. On the 18th he appeared a little better, but soon relapsed. He became delirious on the 27th, and though the medical means which were used produced a marked improvement on the 28th and 29th, the change was only momentary, and death rapidly approached. He expired on the 1st of December, 1825. A few hours before his death, he ordered the blinds of his window to be thrown open; and while

he surveyed the cloudless sky of the Crimea, he exclaimed, "What a lovely day." The empress Elizabeth had been with her husband during the whole of his illness, and seldom quitted his pillow. When he had breathed his last, she washed the countenance and the hands of him whom she had loved so well: she closed his eyes, crossed his hands on his bosom: and then fainted.

Thus died in the 48th year of his age, a sovereign who must ever rank, both for public and private virtues, among the best of princes. Endowed with many accomplishments which would have distinguished an individual in common life, and blessed with great equanimity of temper, he was beloved in social intercourse. To his mother he was a most dutiful and affectionate son; and though the lax morality of the Russian court seduced him into some connections not quite consistent with his conjugal duties, the empress Elizabeth possessed much of his confidence, and was always treated with kindness and respect. In his attention to business he was indefatigable; he was honestly and assiduously zealous for the improvement of his subjects; and though frequently placed in the most trying situations, he always conducted himself with prudence, firmness, and moderation. He was entrusted with power more vast in its extent, and more uncontrolled in its nature, than has fallen to the lot of any other man in modern times; and yet there never was any monarch by whom power was less abused. His truckling conduct towards Napoleon, at one period of his reign, and his zeal in behalf of the "holy alliance," will no doubt, be pleaded in abatement of the perfection of the picture now drawn of him; but even against these we must set the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, and the condition of the subjects of a great proportion of his mighty empire, whose rude and uncultivated state renders them ill qualified for the enjoyment of rational liberty.

The intelligence of the decease of Alexander produced a general inquietude throughout Europe; for it was an event which put in hazard the internal tranquillity of his vast empire, and might possibly change the course of his foreign policy. This painful apprehension was at first increased by some absurd rumours, which attributed his death to violent means; and by the opinions which were entertained concerning the character of his expected successor, his brother Constantine. In Russia itself, the death of an emperor, at once so beloved and so revered, was followed by great anxiety.

It was not until the 7th of December, that reports of Alexander's indisposition began to be spread abroad in St. Petersburg. On the 9th, notice was given that prayers for his recovery would be offered up in all the churches. In the church of Alexander Novsky, the principal nobility, ministers, generals, officers of the guards, and a great crowd of people assembled. Suddenly, before divine service was ended, major-general Niedhart, chief of the staff of the guards, entered the church, and going up to general Wanow, commander of the guards, communicated to him the sad event. It was immediately made known to all present, and the church was filled with lamentation. This intelligence had been sent from the palace, where, at the moment when prayers were in the act of being offered up in the church in presence of the imperial family, an express had arrived from Taganrog. The governor-general had communicated the fatal news to the grand duke Nicholas. The latter having announced it to the empress mother, called together the guard of the palace, and took before them the oath of allegiance to the emperor Constantine I. The guard immediately followed his example and took the same oath; all the commanders of corps, together with the general staff, likewise took the oath and signed it, and then proceeded to receive the oath of the troops of the garrison. During the whole of this proceeding, the grand duke Constantine was at Warsaw.

It was generally understood that Constantine, at, or shortly after the time of his marriage with a Polish lady, of no very elevated rank, had renounced his right of succession to the imperial dignity. The senate now announced to Nicholas, that the late emperor had deposited with them, in October 1823, a sealed packet, which they were directed, by the superscription, to open in case of his death, before they proceeded to any other act. This command they had obeyed: and they had found that the packet contained a letter of

Constantine, dated the 14th of January 1822, renouncing the succession to the throne, with a manifesto of Alexander, dated the 16th of August, 1823, ratifying Constantine's act of renunciation, and declaring Nicholas heir to the crown. It further appeared, that documents of the same tenour had been deposited with the directing senate, with the holy synod, and in the cathedral church of the Ascension at Moscow. Nicholas, however, refused to act upon these instruments: and the directing senate, after having taken in general assembly the oath of fidelity to Constantine, issued orders that the event should be made known every where by printed ukases; that there should be sent to all the authorities, military and civil, the form of the oath which they were to take as faithful subjects of his imperial majesty, with the exception of the peasants of the crown, and of the seigniorial domains, and the serfs; and that they should send to the senate the *process verbaux* of this taking of the oath, with the signatures of the individuals appended, by whom it had been taken.

In the mean time the news of Alexander's decease had reached Warsaw on the 7th of December, two days before the event was made known in St. Petersburg. Constantine, however, continued to live as a private individual; and, far from assuming any of the titles or emblems of royalty dispatched, on the following day, his brother, the grand duke Michael, to the capital with two letters, addressed, the one to the empress mother, the other to Nicholas; in both of which he adhered to his abdication, and refused to mount the throne. After receiving formal intelligence that the oath of fidelity had been taken to him, he still persisted solemnly in his purpose; and refused to accept the official documents which were transmitted to him as emperor. Nicholas then consented to accept the imperial dignity; and by a manifesto, dated the 24th of December, announced his own accession, and communicated to the empire the instruments under which his right to the throne arose. These were, the letter from Constantine to the late emperor, expressive of his desire to abdicate the right of succession, stating that he "does not lay claim to the spirit, the abilities, or the strength, which would be required to exercise the high dignity," attaching eventually to his right of primogeniture, and declaring himself satisfied with private life—Alexander's answer, accepting the renunciation—a manifesto by Alexander, in conformity to the preceding arrangement, settling the crown on Nicholas—and the letters, dated the 26th of November, O. S. from Constantine to Nicholas and the empress mother, referring to his former abdication, and confirming it. At the same time, the new emperor transmitted to Constantine a rescript announcing his accession; to which that prince immediately returned an answer, displaying the affection of a brother and the duty of a subject.

Though the manifesto was dated on the 24th of December, it was not till the 25th, that Nicholas read, in the senate, the formal renunciation of the crown by his brother, and declared that he accepted the throne. He was immediately proclaimed emperor of Russia. On the 26th, the manifesto of Nicholas I. was published; and on the morning of that day, all the regiments of the guards were to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign. At noon, the general of the guards proceeded to the palace to announce that the oath had been taken by the regiment of horse guards, as well as by several other regiments then at St. Petersburg. No accounts had been received from other regiments, but this circumstance was attributed to their barracks being at a greater distance; until it was announced that four officers of artillery had shown some opposition; that they had been put under arrest; and that the remainder of the artillery had taken the oath unanimously. Immediately afterwards news was brought that three or four hundred men of the regiment of Moscow had quitted their barracks with colours flying, and had proclaimed Constantine I. These men proceeded to the square of Isaac, where they were soon joined by great numbers of the people, and by many soldiers of the body grenadier regiment, and of the marines of the guard. No other corps took part in the sedition, and the number of the factious did not exceed two thousand.

When general Miloradovitch was informed of these disorders, he hastened to the square to address the insurgents; but at that moment a man in