MAP of FRANCE,

Divided into Departments:

as decreed by the National Assembly.

Jan.y 15.1790.

ENGLAND

THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

BAY OF BISCAY

PART OF GERMANY

SWITZERLAND

ITALY

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

PART OF SPAIN

Pyrenees Mountains

Brussels

Bruges

Gand

Liege

Namur

Mons

Dunkerque

Calais

Dover

Amiens

Rouen

Caen

Cherbourg

Alderney I.

Jersey I.

Guernsey I.

Paris

Orleans

Tours

Bourges

Nevers

Moulins

Dijon

Lyon

Grenoble

Chambery

Geneve

Mont Blanc

Mt Blanc

Grand St Bernard

Turin

Mt Viso

Nancy

Metz

Strasbourg

Mayence

Maintz

Treves

Luxembourg

Deux Ponts

Landau

Basle

Soleurre

Berne

Lausanne

Rochelle

Bordeaux

Toulouse

Montpellier

Nismes

Avignon

Aix

Toulon

Marseille

Hyeres I.

Perpignan

Nice

Ventimiglia

Genoa

Rhone R.

Rhine R.

Moselle R.

Meuse R.

Somme R.

Loire R.

Garonne R.

Dordogne R.

Seine R.

Saone R.

Isere R.

Durance R.

Gironde R.

Departments

Manche

Calvados

Lower Seine

Eure

Orne

Cote du Nord

Finistere

Ille & Vilaine

Morbihan

Mayenne & Sarte

Lower Loire

Maine & Loire

Indre & Loire

Loire & Cher

Loiret

Nievre

Cher

Allier

Creuse

Up. Vienne

Charente

Lower Charente

Sevres

la Vendee

Deux Sevres

Vienne

Indre

Correze

Upper Loire

Cantal

Dordogne

Lot & Garonne

Lot

Aveiron

Landes

Gers

Upper Pyrenees

High Pyrenees

Low Pyrenees

Haute Garonne

Ariege

Aude

Herault

Gard

Mouths of the Rhone

Var

Lozere

Ardeche

Drome

High Alps

Cantal

Cisalpine Low Alps

Marne

Aube

Upper Marne

Yonne

Cote d'or

Upper Saone

Doubs

Jura

Saone & Loire

Ain

Savoy

Isere

Rhone & Loire

Puy de Dome

Ardennes

Meuse

Moselle

Lower Rhine

Upper Rhine

Meurthe

Vosges

Ille

Sambre

Dyle

Scale of English Miles 69½ to a Degree

Long. West from Paris

Long. East from London

THE

REIGN

OF

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH;

AND

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

WITH

NOTES, Critical and Explanatory

BY

JOHN GIFFORD, Esq,

AND OTHER ABLE HISTORIANS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY C. LOWNDES, DRURY-LANE;

AND J. PARSONS, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1795.


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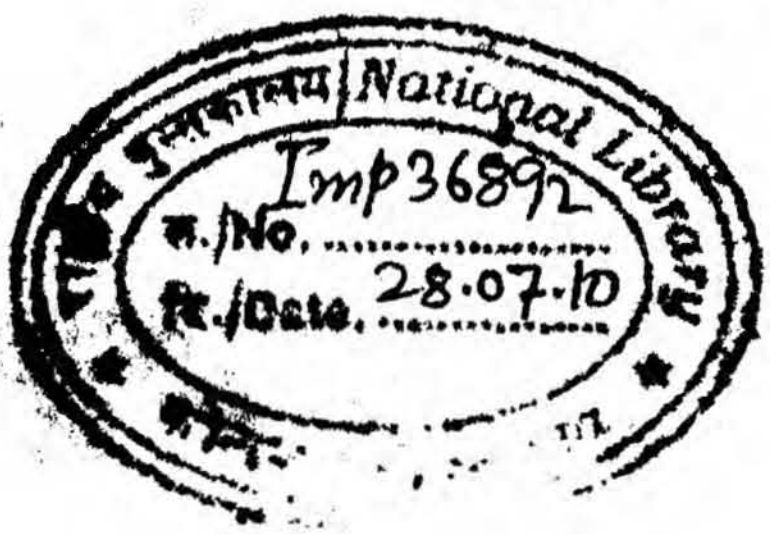
पुस्तक कालेज फोर्ट विलियम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LOUIS XVI.

Published as the Act directs, by C. Lowndes. 20. Oct. 1792.

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH.

A. D. 1774.] SUCH was the joy diſplayed by the people on the death of their late monarch, that they unanimouſly hailed his ſucceſſor by the flattering appellation of *Lewis the Deſired*; but the youthful king—then only in his twentieth year—wiſely rejected a diſtinction that caſt ſo ſevere a reflection on his predeceſſor.

The contagious diſtemper which had put a period to the exiſtence of Lewis the Fifteenth, was ſoon communicated to his three daughters, the princeſſes Adelaide, Sophia, and Victoire, whoſe tenderneſs and affection for a father had, during his illneſs, ſurmounted their fears of that dreadful diſorder. As ſome phyſical writers had propagated the opinion, that the ſame cauſes which produce that diſorder in an individual, may, probably, operate, at the ſame time, upon others of the ſame blood and family, at whatever diſtance, and without any direct communication of the infection, the nation now trembled for the ſafety of the king and his brothers; and it was deemed by many no improbable event, that the whole royal family might have been carried off by that fatal peſt, which had long been its inveterate enemy.

The princeſſes, however, recovered from the natural diſorder, and inoculation was happily called in to the preſervation of the reſt of the family. The king, with his two brothers, and the counteſs d'Artois, wife to the youngeſt, were all inoculated at the ſame time, and paſſed through the diſorder with the greateſt eaſe and ſafety. This example was ſufficient to remove the prejudices which had hitherto exiſted againſt that important

diſcovery, and to extend the practice from the court, where it immediately became *faſhionable*, throughout the provinces of France.

No ſooner was the health of Lewis confirmed, than he ſedulouſly applied himſelf to conciliate the affections of his people. For this purpoſe he prudently reſolved to repeal the moſt obnoxious meaſures of the late reign, and to remove thoſe perſons from the management of public affairs, whoſe miſtakes or misfortunes had rendered them diſagreeable to the nation.

One of the moſt popular meaſures that was adopted, was the recal of the count de Maurepas to court, whence he had been baniſhed three-and-twenty years. This nobleman had formerly been miniſter for the marine department, a ſtation for which he was eminently qualified, and was, in all reſpects, conſidered as a man of great abilities. It is ſaid, that, in ſome papers which the dauphin, father to Lewis the Sixteenth, left behind him for the uſe of his ſon, and which was only to be delivered on his acceſſion to the throne, M. de Maurepas was ſtrongly recommended, as being poſſeſſed of ſuperior talents for preſiding in his council. Upon his return to court, he declined reſuming the ſuperintendency of the marine, but accepted a ſeat in the privy-council; and continued, without any particular title, to be the mover of all public affairs.

Several ladies of high quality, who, from their ſervile aſſiduities to the late favourite, had long baſked in the ſmiles of the court, were now baniſhed from thence; while others who had obſerved a different line of conduct were recalled, and honoured with particular marks of royal favour. Matters, trivial in appearance, are uſefully attended to by princes when they contribute, in any degree, to gain the good-will and love of their people. Small conſiderations create great funds of gratitude and affection. The young monarch, in paſſing through Paris on his way to Muette, was ſurrounded by incredible numbers of people, who rended the air with their acclamations of "Long live the "king!" Stricken with theſe unſought teſtimonies of zeal and affection, he put his head out of the coach, and repeatedly exclaimed, "Long live my people! your happineſs ſhall "be the principal object of my care."

Though a change of councils took place immediately after the acceſſion of Lewis, ſome time was ſuffered to elapſe before the actual removal of the old miniſters. The duke d'Aiguillon was the firſt to reſign his office of prime-miniſter, which was ſpeedily followed by the diſmiſſion of the chancellor de Maupeou, and the abbé Terray, comptroller-general of the finances, who had juſtly incurred the deteſtation of the people. Yet, even on this occaſion, when the moſt ſevere exertions of rigour would have been juſtifiable, the moderation of the king was conſpicuous; the puniſhment of Maupeou was limited to the loſs of his employment; he was permitted to retire to his eſtate in Normandy, and to enjoy without reſtraint the fruits of his iniquity. The ſeals were delivered to M. de Miromenil,

menil, preſident of the parliament of Rouen; the count de Vergennes, who had filled with reputation the poſt of ambaſſador at the courts of Conſtantinople and Stockholm, was called to preſide over the foreign department; and the count, afterwards mareſchal, de Muy, was nominated ſecretary of war.

The joy that was excited by the removal of theſe unpopular miniſters, to whom were juſtly aſcribed the deſtruction of the parliaments, and all the other obnoxious meaſures of the late reign, may be more eaſily conceived than expreſſed. Nor were the hopes leſs ardent that were formed with regard to the future management of public affairs. The diſmiſſion of the duke d'Aiguillon had filled the partiſans of the duke de Choiſeul with the higheſt exultation; they were ſanguine in their expectations that he would again be entruſted with the government of the nation; while thoſe who wiſhed for a continuance of peace, and thoſe who were jealous of his power, were equally apprehenſive of that event. But neither the hopes of the former nor the fears of the latter were realized; he was, indeed, recalled to court, and honoured with the ſmiles of his ſovereign; but the favour he enjoyed was only extended to him as a private perſon, and he was carefully excluded from all participation in matters of ſtate.

The popularity of the king was encreaſed by the publication of an edict, in which he engaged to pay unremitting attention to the management of the finances; to reſtore the diſcharge of the public debt, which had been intercepted by his predeceſſor; and to make ample compenſation to ſuch as had ſuffered by that injurious meaſure. At the ſame time, various ſchemes of economy were adopted; and though theſe were more pleaſing in their appearance than beneficial in their effects, the people received with tranſport plans which promiſed ſome future attention to their happineſs, and, at leaſt, diſplayed a deſire of releaſing them from their burdens. The price of bread, which had riſen to an exceſſive height, was reduced by the prudent management of the new miniſters; and thoſe who, in the confuſion of the laſt reign, had treaſured up the corn in their granaries, and thereby occaſioned an artificial ſcarcity, were now prevailed upon to bring it to market.

Theſe attentions were rewarded by the applauſe of the nation, and only one circumſtance appeared now to be wanting in order to complete the general joy. This was the reſtoration of the ancient parliaments. The meaſures hitherto purſued ſeemed to encourage the expectation that it would ſpeedily take place; and equally raiſed the hopes and augmented the anxiety of the people. As the change of miniſters did not immediately produce the deſired effects, and the conduct of the court became more ambiguous, the agitation of their minds encreaſed, until fears and diſcontents ſeemed, at length, to preponderate. In this ſtate of affairs, a ſolemnity approached, which afforded the duke of Orleans an opportunity of ſignalizing that zeal for the ancient conſtitution, and the reſtoration of the parliaments, which he had diſplayed upon former occaſions.

It

It was neceſſary that the parliament, the princes of the blood, the great officers of ſtate, together with thoſe of ſome particular departments, ſhould attend the celebration of the ſolemn funeral ſervice for the late king, which was performed, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, in the church of the royal abbey of Saint Denis, where the religious ſervice is intermixed or attended with ſeveral public ceremonials, relative to the demiſe of the late, and the acknowledgment of the reigning monarch—matters, which, like many others, derive their importance from antiquity and forms. But the duke of Orleans, upon this occaſion, refuſed to attend, or to act, in any manner, in conjunction with the new parliament; and, in a letter to the king, he ſpecified the motives of his refuſal, and entered into a juſtification of his conduct.

Lewis, diſguſted with this unexpected oppoſition, and uncertain what effect it might produce upon the other princes of the blood, baniſhed the duke of Orleans, and his ſon, the duke of Chartres, from court. The other princes, in general, attended the ceremonial; the prince of Condé, having found a ſalvo for his ſcruples, by a diſtinction, that he did not act in conſequence of his title or birth, but, officially, as grand maſter of the king's houſhold. The place of the duke of Orleans was ſupplied by the duke of Bourbon, who went through thoſe parts of the ceremonial which were allotted to the firſt prince of the blood.

This incident encreaſed the general diſcontent; and the king, when he next repaired to the metropolis, inſtead of meeting with the uſual marks of applauſe, was received by the inhabitants in awful ſilence; dejection was ſtrongly marked on every countenance; and the youthful monarch, deeply affected by this ſudden change, determined to comply with the wiſhes of his ſubjects.

Preparations were immediately made to ſatisfy the people; the duke of Orleans was recalled to court, and again invited to attend the royal councils; the lettres-de cachet, iſſued againſt the members of the ancient parliament, were revoked; and guards were poſted to ſecure the obnoxious perſons who compoſed the preſent, from the rage of the populace. The twelfth of November was the day appointed for the formal re-eſtabliſhment of the old parliament. The king's entry into the capital, accompanied by his youthful conſort, his brothers, and the princes of the blood, with the appearance of the late exiled members, now proceeding to their reſtoration, with all the magnificence they were capable of exhibiting, and the ſtreets lined with guards, and filled with innumerable crowds, who loaded the houſes even to their roofs, conveyed all the ſplendour of a triumph, and excited more joy than the greateſt victory. Lewis, on this happy day, rivalled the moſt illuſtrious and moſt popular of his predeceſſors.

But though prudence and inclination had concurred in leading the king to conciliate the minds of his people by the recal of the parliament, he was equally averſe with his predeceſſor,

predeceſſor from admitting any extenſion of authority that might tend to circumſcribe the plenitude of his own power. The ſpeech, which he delivered upon this occaſion in the bed of juſtice, was ſufficiently explanatory of his intentions. He obſerved that the ſtep which he had taken might ſerve as a proof of his regard for his people, whoſe tranquility and happineſs required the preſervation of the royal authority, exempt from diminution or reſtraint; and he hoped, from the attachment and zeal of the preſent aſſembly, an example of ſubmiſſion to the reſt of his ſubjects. Their repeated reſiſtance to the commands of his grandfather, had compelled that monarch to have recourſe to exertions of ſeverity in order to maintain his own authority, and to fulfil the obligations he lay under of rendering juſtice to his ſubjects: that he had now recalled them, in the expectation that they would confine themſelves to the exerciſe of thoſe functions which they were appointed to diſcharge, and which they ought never to have forſaken; and he expreſſed his deſire that they would place a juſt value on his favours, and never forget their extent.

He proceeded to declare, that it was his will that all paſt grievances ſhould be conſigned to oblivion; and that he ſhould behold, with extreme diſapprobation, whatever might tend to create diviſions, or diſturb the good order and tranquility which he wiſhed to ſee preſerved in his parliament; he recommended to the magiſtrates to limit their attention to the faithful diſcharge of their reſpective duties, and to co-operate with his wiſhes, which were directed to promote the welfare and happineſs of his ſubjects; and he concluded by informing them that his chancellor would read his ordinance to the aſſembly, from which they might be aſſured he would not ſuffer the ſmalleſt deviation to be made.

This ordinance, which may be conſidered as a code of diſcipline for the conduct and government of the parliament, was immediately regiſtered by the king's command. It contained about ſixty articles, limited the power and pretenſions of that body within very narrow bounds. The members were forbidden to tranſmit any remonſtrance or arrêt, concerning ſuch affairs as might be tranſmitted to their conſideration, to any other parliaments, except in the caſes ſpecified by the ordinance: they were enjoined never to relinquiſh the adminiſtration of public juſtice, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, for which the firſt preſident was to be reſponſible to the king; reſignations, in conſequence of premeditated plans, were declared to incur the penalty of forfeiture, and the guilt of petty treaſon; and the grand council, it was added, might replace the parliament, without any new edict for the purpoſe.

They were ſtill, however, permitted to enjoy the right of remonſtrating, previous to the regiſtration of any edict or letters-patent, which they might conceive injurious to the welfare of the people, provided they preſerved, in their repreſentations, the reſpect due to the throne. But the repetition of theſe remonſtrances were forbidden; and the parliament, if they proved ineffectual, were to regiſter the arrêt to which they had objected within

within a month, at fartheſt, from the firſt day of its publication. They were ſtrictly prohibited from iſſuing any arrêt that might tend to excite trouble, or, in any manner, retard the execution of the king's ordinances; and they were aſſured, by the king himſelf, at the concluſion of this code, that as long as they adhered to the bounds preſcribed, and made no attempt to extend their power, they might depend upon his protection and countenance.

Thus by a fortunate combination of circumſtances was Lewis the Sixteenth enabled, at the commencement of his reign, not only to ſhake off the odium which had been incurred by the violent meaſures of his grandfather, but to convert it into a ſource of popularity for himſelf; and at the ſame time, without deſtroying the name of parliaments, to define the bounds of their authority, which had hitherto been indefinite. Had the magiſtrates conceived this limitation of their power to be a violation of the rights ſecured to them by the conſtitution, it was, indiſputably, their duty to enter a proteſt againſt the conduct of the king; but having once accepted the terms of their reſtoration, they were certainly precluded, *in foro juſtitiæ*, from urging any pretenſions in future beyond the ſpirit of the ordinance.

Some altercations, however, ſoon aroſe between them and the king, on the interpretation of the article reſpecting remonſtrance, which was doubtfully worded; they diſplayed on this occaſion the ſpirit of the ancient parliament, and endeavoured to enforce their former claims; but their infant oppoſition was cruſhed by the deciſion of the monarch, and his anſwer to their repreſentations, *That he muſt be obeyed*, was concluſive.

Having thus ſilenced the magiſtracy, his next efforts were directed to the ſalutary purpoſe of reſtraining the intemperate zeal of the clergy. The archbiſhop of Paris having renewed the commotions excited by the bull *Unigenitus*, and oppoſed the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, the king ſent for him to Verſailles, and in the ſtern language of offended majeſty reproved the officious prieſt; declaring, that inſtead of conſigning him to that exile, which the late monarch had repeatedly inflicted, on his again diſturbing the tranquility of the kingdom, he would give him over to the utmoſt rigour of the law.

The provincial parliaments of Beſançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Toulouſe, and Brittany, which had been ſuppreſſed by the deceaſed monarch, were alſo reſtored by his ſucceſſor; and unanimity being eſtabliſhed at home, France had leiſure to direct her attention to her late conqueſt of Corſica, which ſtill ſtruggled to throw of the yoke, and reſume her native independence.

The cruel ſeverities which were afterwards practiſed againſt thoſe brave but unfortunate iſlanders, were diſgraceful to a civilized nation. For though the barbarous fierceneſs of the Corſicans ſhould be urged in juſtification, and ſhown to be reſtrained by none of

of thoſe conventions which cuſtom has eſtabliſhed among mankind. The cauſe of its exertion, the defence of their natural rights and liberties, will, in a great meaſure, exculpate them with reſpect to its irregularity, while the original, flagrant, and uncoloured injuſtice and uſurpation on the other ſide, takes away every claim to the right of retaliation.

To juſtify their cruelty, the court of Verſailles had induſtriouſly propagated a report, that a plot had been formed by the natives to maſſacre all the French in the iſland on Aſcenſion-day; but that this horrid deſign was fortunately diſcovered by a young woman to a Frenchman, who was her gallant. As the account of this plot, however, is extremely vague, and deſtitute of every mark of authenticity, the reality of it has ever been queſtioned; and it is more than probable that the revolt of the Corſicans originated in the oppreſſion of their governors, and was rather the reſult of momentary indignation, than the conſequence of any ſettled plan.

Certain it is, that the averſion of the natives from the French was ſo invincible, that no benefits could diſguiſe, nor fear reſtrain, its effects; and the conduct of the latter ſhewed, that they conſidered extermination as the only efficacious remedy for this mortal antipathy. Various were the efforts exerted, in the courſe of the preſent campaign, by theſe intrepid defenders of their country, and aſſerters of their liberties, whom the lawleſs uſurpers of their rights ſtigmatized under the odious appellation of banditti. To particulariſe the means that were employed for their defeat would be to wound humanity by needleſs repetition of cruelties.

Suffice it to obſerve, that the ſame deſultory kind of war which had before been carried on was ſtill continued; that the defection was ſo general, that a great part of the Corſican regiment, which had been raiſed on purpoſe by France, as a proviſion and employment for reſtleſs and daring ſpirits, and to engage the nobility in its intereſts, joined the malecontents; that the loſſes of the French were ſo conſiderable, that they were neceſſarily reinforced by ſeveral regiments; that their communications between the different parts of the iſland were frequently cut off; and that the war, at length, finally degenerated, through the weakneſs and deſtruction of the natives—after many acts of the moſt deſperate valour—into the nature and reſemblance of a general hunting, in which a large portion of country is ſurrounded by a great body of armed men, who narrow the circle by degrees, until every thing within it becomes an inevitable prey.

But the inhabitants of that part of the iſland known by the name of the Pieve di Niolo, from their averſion from ſlavery, and the natural ſtrength of their country, had continued ſingle and unconquered, in the general ſubjugation of Corſica. Their central ſituation, from which the approaches were tedious and difficult, operating with the cauſes we have aſſigned, had rendered all the efforts of the French for their conqueſt,

ſince that period, equally fruitleſs. Threats of the ſevereſt puniſhments, even of a general deſtruction, having been repeatedly applied in vain, to intimidate theſe heroic aſſertors of their country's freedom, the influence of religion was, at length, proſtituted to bring them to ſubmiſſion.

For this purpoſe Aquiviva, one of their prieſts, a powerful and popular preacher, was firſt deceived himſelf, and then rendered an inſtrument to the deception and ruin of his friends and countrymen. This man was perſuaded to hold out the olive-branch to the people; and his perſuaſive eloquence, upon a ſubject to which religion ſo happily applied, and for which eaſe and ſecurity were prompt advocates with his auditors, was ſoon productive of the deſired effect, and the inhabitants of Pieve de Niolo, upon the moſt unequivocal and ſolemn aſſurances, not only of a full and unlimited pardon for their paſt reſiſtance, but of kindneſs and friendſhip for their preſent conduct, voluntarily ſubmitted to the French government.

A body of troops were accordingly admitted peaceably into the diſtrict, who had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of their natural defences, than they treacherouſly murdered two-and-forty of the principal inhabitants, who had formerly diſplayed the moſt activity and courage in the defence of their country. Amongſt thoſe, who were thus baſely circumvented, were one of the two chief magiſtrates and judges of the diſtrict, and two nephews of the very meſſenger of peace, the wretched prieſt, Aquiviva. Of theſe unhappy victims, eleven, including the judge and the prieſt's nephews, expired upon the wheel, amidſt the weeping eyes and bleeding hearts of their deluded friends, who, in vain adjured heaven and earth to avenge this perfidy.

The ſurvivors were ſent to augment the groans and encreaſe the afflictions of their countrymen, who already filled the dungeons of Baſtia. Nor was the fate of the remaining inhabitants of Niolo much happier. A bitter ſenſe of the loſſes they had formerly ſuſtained, in various conflicts with this miſerable people, unfortunately prevailed, with the French, over every ſenſe of humanity and juſtice. The whole diſtrict was ruined and deſtroyed; the houſes were burned, and the cattle carried off in triumph by the ſoldiers as a prey. One Capracinta was diſtinguiſhed for defending his houſe, ſingly, againſt his numerous aſſailants, and, after killing ſeveral, periſhed, unſubdued, amidſt the flames.

A. D. 1775.] The expences incurred by this diſgraceful expedition tended to enlarge the wounds which had been inflicted by the ſhameful profuſion of the late monarch; and the elevation of Turgot to the office of comptroller-general of the finances, afforded no ſmall ſhare of diſcontent to the powerful body of the farmers-general. That miniſter, alike diſtinguiſhed for his integrity and talents, had releaſed the commerce of grain from many injudicious reſtrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation;

portation; but a ſcarcity of corn unfortunately occurring at the moment of his regulations, thoſe effects which proceeded from dearth were aſcribed to the innovations he had ſuggeſted. His ſecret enemies ſedulouſly propagated reports, that the public diſtreſs was the conſequence of certain political combinations; and the people, whoſe real miſery was augmented by a miſtaken idea of the incapacity and oppreſſion of their rulers, tumultuouſly aſſembled in large and formidable bodies. They inſulted the magiſtrates, plundered the houſes, and, in the commiſſion of theſe outrages, not only deſtroyed vaſt quantities of corn and flour, which might have alleviated their wants, but encreaſed the general diſtreſs, by deterring the proprietors of proviſions from bringing them to market.

A diſtemper which had extended its fatal ravages among the cattle through the heart of the kingdom, added to the public gloom; and at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, the inſurrection of the populace was attended with the moſt fatal effects. The unhappy people, ſtimulated by want, had pillaged the houſe of the intendant, who with difficulty eſcaped from their fury. To check their progreſs it was neceſſary to ſummons to the ſupport of government a body of regular troops; yet the famiſhed inſurgents for ſome time ſucceſsfully reſiſted the efforts of diſciplined valour, and five hundred of them periſhed before they relinquiſhed the ineffectual conflict.

This diſtreſs, and the commotions it excited, reached the metropolis; and Lewis, after having exerted in vain all the arts that benevolence could ſuggeſt for ſoothing the minds of the people, was reluctantly compelled to repreſs their outrages by the moſt deciſive meaſures. Having ſummoned the parliament to attend him at Verſailles, he explained to them the urgency of the circumſtances which obliged him to deviate from the common courſe of juſtice, and then forbade them to make any remonſtrances on the meaſures he was about to purſue. The magiſtrates, ſenſible of the neceſſity of adopting ſome ſpeedy and vigorous ſyſtem, ſilently acquieſced in the mandate of their ſovereign.

The king, having thus fortified the royal authority by the tacit approbation of his parliament, commiſſioned the *marechauſſée*, a regular regiment of thief-takers, to diſperſe the ſeditious multitude, and to execute ſummary juſtice on the moſt guilty. At the ſame time a pardon was promiſed to ſuch as ſhould return home, and make ſatisfaction for the corn they had ſeized. The good effects of theſe regulations were ſoon diſcernable; numbers endeavoured to efface their miſconduct by reimburſing the perſons whom they had plundered; ſome few expiated their offences with their lives; and a plentiful harveſt which enſued baniſhed the diſtreſs of the people, and reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom.

The king availed himſelf of this opportunity to celebrate, with royal magnificence, the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed, as uſual, at Rheims. Twenty

millions of livres, opportunely ſupplied by the clergy, prevented the expence from being felt by the people; and, on this occaſion, the ancient dignities of the kingdom were revived. The count de Provence repreſented the duke of Burgundy; the count d'Artois, the duke of Normandy; the duke of Orleans, the duke of Aquitaine; the duke of Chartres, the count of Toulouſe; the prince of Condé, the count of Flanders; and the duke of Bourbon, the count of Champagne.

This ceremony was followed by the publication of an edict which ſtrongly diſplayed the humanity of Lewis: the puniſhment of death, hitherto annexed to the crime of deſertion, was changed into the leſs rigorous ſentence of working as ſlaves upon the public roads. With equal attention to the general welfare of his ſubjects, the king availed himſelf of the favourable moment of peace to reduce a part of his numerous forces, and to fulfil thoſe promiſes of economy, which, on his acceſſion to the throne, he had made to his people. The death of the mareſchal de Muy was ſucceeded by the appointment of the count de Saint Germain, an able and popular officer, to the vacant poſt of ſecretary at war.

This nobleman, intent on ſignalizing his adminiſtration by ſome act of *éclat*, ventured on a reform which expoſed him to the reſentment of the firſt families in France. The mouſquetaires, a military corps, inſtituted for the ſpecial protection of the royal perſon, were wholly compoſed of young men of high birth; and though ſuch a guard muſt have been highly grateful to the ſovereign, yet the expence attending it was ſeverely felt, and deeply regretted. The ſuppreſſion of this corps had been frequently agitated, but no miniſter had yet been found ſufficiently bold to expoſe himſelf to the odium which ſuch a meaſure muſt neceſſarily incur. The count de Saint Germain, regardleſs of cenſure, when the welfare of his country required his exertions, repreſented to Lewis the advantages to be derived from the ſavings that muſt accrue from the reduction he propoſed; and, in conſequence of theſe repreſentations an edict was publiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of the mouſquetaires; and thoſe gallant men, celebrated for their courage, and for their friendſhip to each other, received the news of their diſmiſſion with marks of the deepeſt deſpair. M. de la Chaire, a veteran officer of approved valour, and one of their commanders, fainted on the reception of the fatal mandate; and all the reſt vented their grief in loud and pathetic exclamations.

A. D. 1777, 1778.] The new miniſter of the marine, M. de Sartine, diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with equal zeal and fidelity; and his exertions were inceſſantly directed to the augmentation of the naval ſtrength of his country: the object, however, of ſuch augmentation by no means ſecured to him the praiſe to which his exertions would otherwiſe have been entitled, ſince it tended to involve the nation in a war highly prejudicial to its intereſts and welfare. The unhappy conteſt between Great Britain and her American colonies had commenced ſoon after the acceſſion of Lewis to the throne of his

Jones sculp.

Le Marquis de la Fayette.

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his anceſtors; and, after a ſeries of alternate diſaſters and ſucceſſes, equally calculated to irritate the minds of either party, the conflict now raged with ſuch fury, that all hopes of accommodation ſeemed to be at an end. That deſpicable and diſhoneſt ſyſtem of policy, which ſanctions the perpetual encouragement of internal commotions in a rival kingdom; a policy which had occaſionally prevailed in almoſt all the European courts, and which had been ſuffered, too invariably, to ſway the councils of Verſailles, now influenced the miniſters of France to interfere in the diſpute ſubſiſting between England and her North American ſubjects. The opportunity of humbling a rival, of repairing the loſſes ſuſtained in the preceding war, and, at the ſame time, of monopolizing the American commerce, was not, in the opinion of men who were ever willing to ſacrifice juſtice to policy, to be neglected. But as too early an avowal of their deſigns might fruſtrate the object they had in view, they determined, at firſt, to afford only private aſſiſtance to the Americans.

Before the cloſe of the year 1776, the French ports in Europe began to ſwarm with American privateers, and to be crouded with the prizes taken by thoſe veſſels from the Engliſh, which were at firſt openly ſold without the ſmalleſt colour of diſguiſe. On repeated remonſtrances from the Britiſh court, the obſervance of a little more decorum was enforced, ſome check was given to the open and avowed ſale of prizes; but the practice ſtill continued. In all the French colonies in the Weſt-Indies, the American depredations were much more avowedly countenanced. Even French ſhips took American commiſſions; and with few, and, ſometimes, no American ſeamen on board, carried on a war upon the Britiſh commerce with impunity. The temporiſing policy, and indeciſive meaſures of the Engliſh court, prevented, at this unfortunate period, the proper aſſertion of national dignity.

In the enſuing year ſeveral French officers were permitted to ſerve in the American armies; and, among others, the marquis de la Fayette, a young enthuſiaſt, diſtinguiſhed by thoſe romantic ideas which prevailed in the days of chivalry; who was ſuffered to purchaſe and freight a ſhip with military ſtores (in which he embarked with ſeveral of his friends) for the ſervice of the Americans. Indeed, the conduct of France, in every thing that regarded England and America, was now ſo ſlightly covered, and ſo little qualified, that it ſeemed to leave no room for any doubt—except with thoſe who were determined to place ſo implicit a faith in words, as to admit of no other ſpecies of evidence—as to the part which ſhe would finally take in the conteſt. As ſhe was not yet, however, in ſufficient preparation for proceeding to the utmoſt extremities, nor her negociations with the Americans—two of whoſe agents, Deane and Franklin, had ſucceſſively arrived at Paris—advanced to an abſolute determination, ſhe occaſionally relaxed in certain points, when ſhe found herſelf ſo cloſely preſſed by the Britiſh miniſters, that an obſtinate perſeverance would precipitate matters to that concluſion which ſhe wiſhed for ſome time longer to defer.

Thus

Thus, when an American adventurer had taken and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out at that port, the Engliſh packet from Holland, and ſent the mail to the American miniſters at Paris, it then ſeemed neceſſary, in ſome degree, to diſcountenance ſo flagrant a violation of good neighbourhood, as well as of the ſtanding treaties between the two nations, and even of the particular marine laws and regulations eſtabliſhed in France, in regard to her conduct with the people of other countries. The captain and his crew were accordingly committed for ſome ſhort time to priſon. Yet even this appearance of ſatisfaction was obliterated by the circumſtances which attended it: for the impriſonment of the captain was repreſented to the Americans, as proceeding merely from ſome informality in his commiſſion, and irregularity in his proceedings, which had brought him to, if not within, the verge of piracy, and which were too glaring to be entirely paſſed over without notice. And he was, with his crew, not only ſpeedily releaſed from his mock confinement, but he was permitted to purchaſe, fit out, and arm a much ſtronger veſſel, and better ſailer, than the former, for the avowed purpoſe of continuing his depredations on the Britiſh commerce.

It was in the ſame line of policy, that when the French Newfoundland fiſhery would have been totally intercepted and deſtroyed in caſe of an immediate rupture, and that the capture of their ſeamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable than the loſs even of the ſhips and cargoes, the Engliſh ambaſſador obtained, in that critical ſituation, an order from the miniſters, that all the American Privateers, with their prizes, ſhould immediately depart the kingdom. Yet, ſatisfactory as this compliance, and concluſive as this order appeared, it was combated with ſuch ingenuity, and ſuch expedients were practiſed to defeat its effects, that it was not complied with, in a ſingle inſtance, throughout the kingdom. It, however, anſwered the purpoſe for which it was intended, by gaining time, and opening a ſubject of tedious and indeciſive controverſy, until the French ſhips were ſafe in their reſpective ports.

But though M. de Sartine was the principal advocate for the American cauſe, he was determined that the charges of duplicity which ſuch a line of conduct muſt inevitably bring upon his country ſhould not reſt perſonally with himſelf. He, therefore, upon ſome reports which tended to diſcourage the commerce with the Americans, by enforcing a belief that the protection of the court would not be extended to French veſſels conveying the products of that continent, and that ſuch veſſels muſt, of courſe, if taken, become legal prizes to the Engliſh, aſſured the ſeveral chambers of commerce, by a *public* inſtrument, (iſſued on the fourth of July, 1777) and in direct contravention of all the Engliſh navigation laws, that the king was determined to afford the fulleſt protection to their commerce, and would reclaim all the ſhips that ſhould be captured under that pretext.

Upon the whole, whatever evaſion or duplicity might have appeared in the language or profeſſions of the French miniſters, their conduct had become ſo unequivocal as ſcarce-

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ly to admit of a double interpretation. It was eaſy to perceive that, beſides thoſe powerful motives which had their ſource in enmity and revenge, they had now acquired ſo thorough a reliſh for the ſweets of the American commerce, that nothing leſs than the moſt irreſiſtible neceſſity could induce them to forego the poſſeſſion of what they had obtained, and the vaſt hopes with which they had flattered themſelves in future. The Engliſh council, however, expreſſed their conviction, that the harmony which ſubſiſted between the two nations would not be interrupted; and their confidence was founded on the idea that the houſe of Bourbon would not ſupport the Americans, on the double account, that it would be teaching an evil leſſon againſt themſelves which might be too ſoon practiſed in their own colonies; and that the eſtabliſhment of an independent ſtate and riſing empire in the New World would be dangerous to their future intereſts both in Europe and America. This doctrine, it muſt be confeſſed, was more ſolid than many people, at that time, were willing to acknowledge; as a ſubject of ſpeculative controverſy, it would undoubtedly afford room for ample diſcuſſion; but, unfortunately, miniſters, like the reſt of mankind, are leſs inclined to look to future and remote contingencies, than to the greateſt preſent advantages, and to the gratification of the moſt urgent and powerful paſſions.

At length, the deſigns of France being brought to maturity, the maſk was thrown off, and a treaty, eventual and defenſive, was concluded at Paris, on the ſixth of February, 1778, between Lewis the Sixteenth and the United States of America. The preamble ſets forth, "That his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the United States having concluded a treaty of *amity* and *commerce*[z], for the reciprocal advantage of their ſubjects and citizens, have thought it neceſſary to take into conſideration the means of ſtrengthening thoſe engagements, and of rendering them uſeful to the ſafety and tranquility of the two parties; particularly in caſe Great Britain, in reſentment of that connection, and of the good correſpondence which is the object of the ſaid treaty, ſhould break the peace with France, either by direct hoſtilities, or by obſtructing her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace ſubſiſting between the two crowns.—And his majeſty and the ſaid United States having reſolved in that caſe to join their councils and efforts againſt the enterprizes of the common enemy."

The treaty conſiſts of the following articles:

1. If a war ſhould break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the preſent war between the United States and England, his majeſty and the ſaid United States ſhall make it a common cauſe, and aid each other mutually with their good

[z] On the 30th. of January, 1778.

offices

offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigency of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

2. The eſſential and direct end of the preſent defenſive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, of the ſaid United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce.

3. The two contracting parties ſhall each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge moſt proper, make all the efforts in its power againſt their common enemy, in order to attain the end propoſed.

4. The contracting parties agree, that in caſe either of them ſhould form a particular enterprize, in which the concurrence of the other may be deſired, the party whoſe concurrence is deſired, ſhall readily and with good faith join to act in concert for that purpoſe, as far as circumſtances and its own particular ſituation will permit, and in that caſe they ſhall regulate, by a particular convention, the quantity and kind of ſuccour to be furniſhed, and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compenſation.

5 If the United States ſhould think fit to attempt the reduction of the Britiſh power, remaining in the northern parts of America, or the iſlands of Bermudas, thoſe countries or iſlands, in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall be confederated with, or dependent upon, the ſaid United States.

6. The Moſt Chriſtian king renounces for ever the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Bermudas, as well as of any part of the continent of America, which before the treaty of Paris, in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called Britiſh colonies, or which are, at this time, or have lately been, under the power of the king and crown of Great Britain.

7. If his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhall think proper to attack any of the iſlands ſituated in the gulph of Mexico, or near that gulph, which are at preſent under the power of Great Britain, all the ſaid iſles, in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall appertain to the crown of France.

8. Neither of the two parties ſhall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal conſent of the other, firſt obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States ſhall have been formally or tacitly aſſured by the treaty or treaties that ſhall terminate the war.

9. The

9. The contracting parties declare, that, being reſolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauſes and conditions of the preſent treaty of alliance, according to its own power, and circumſtances, there ſhall be no after-claims of compenſation, on one ſide or the other, whatever may be the event of the war.

10. The Moſt Chriſtian king and the United States agree to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cauſe with them, and to accede to the preſent alliance, under ſuch conditions as ſhall be freely agreed to, and ſettled between all the parties.

11. The two parties guarantee mutually, from the preſent time, and for ever, againſt all other powers, to wit—the United States to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the preſent poſſeſſions of the crown of France in America, as well as thoſe which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and alſo their poſſeſſions, and the additions or conqueſts that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore poſſeſſed by Great Britain in North-America, conformable to the fifth and ſixth articles above-written, the whole as their poſſeſſions ſhall be fixed and aſſured to the ſaid States, at the moment of the ceſſation of the preſent war with England.

12. In order to fix more preciſely the ſeveral applications of the preceding articles, the contracting parties declare, that in caſe of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the ſaid article ſhall have its full force and effect the moment ſuch war ſhall break out; and if ſuch rupture ſhall not take place, the mutual obligation of the ſaid guarantees ſhall not commence until the moment of the ceſſation of the preſent war between the United States and England, ſhall have aſcertained their poſſeſſions.

It is impoſſible to peruſe this treaty without conſidering it as tantamount to a declaration of war againſt England; and, indeed, there can be little doubt but that it was intended to operate as ſuch. To the honour of Lewis the Sixteenth, however, be it ſpoken, that far from encouraging the inſidious projects of his miniſters, he diſcountenanced them to the utmoſt; and that, uniformly averſe from every thing that was unjuſt or ungenerous, and, conſidering this treaty as a meaſure of that deſcription, he indignantly threw away the pen, when urged to ſanction it with his ſignature. But in an evil hour for himſelf, his family, and his kingdom, he unfortunately yielded to the importunate perſuaſions of a party, whoſe ſolicitations are ſaid to have been ſeconded by the

powerful influence of his royal conſort, and ſigned that fatal inſtrument which involved both hemiſpheres in the horrors of war[1].

The duke de Noailles, ambaſſador to the court of London, was, in the month of March, inſtructed to acquaint the miniſters of Great Britain with the purport of this treaty, which he accordingly ratified to them in the following manner:

"The underſigned ambaſſador of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty has received expreſs or-
"ders to make the following declaration to the court of London.

"The United States of North America, who are in full poſſeſſion of independence,
"as pronounced by them, on the fourth of July, 1776, having propoſed to the king to
"conſolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be eſtabliſhed between
"the two nations, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and
"commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence.

"His majeſty, being determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting be-
"tween France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity and the
"good of his ſubjects, thinks it neceſſary to make his proceeding known to the court of
"London; and to declare, at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great
"attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation;
"and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation
"whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity.

"In making this communication to the court of London, the king is firmly perſuad-
"ed it will find new proofs of his majeſty's conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace;
"and that his Britannic majeſty, animated by the ſame ſentiments, will equally avoid
"every thing that may alter their good harmony; and that he will particularly take ef-
"fectual meaſures to prevent the commerce between his majeſty's ſubjects and the United
"States of North America from being interrupted; and to cauſe all the uſages received
"between commercial nations to be, in this reſpect, obſerved, and all thoſe rules which
"can be ſaid to ſubſiſt between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

"In this juſt confidence, the underſigned ambaſſador thinks it ſuperfluous to acquaint
"the Britiſh miniſter, that the king his maſter being determined to afford effectual pro-
"tection to the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his

[1] It is worthy of remark, that the French nobility, who have ſince been ſtigmatized as determined foes to liberty, were the moſt forward, on this occaſion, to eſpouſe a cauſe which they conſidered—whether juſtly or unjuſtly we ſhall not *here* enquire—as the cauſe of freedom.

"flag,

"flag, his majeſty has, in conſequence, taken eventual meaſures, in concert with the "United States of North America."

This declaration, by which inſult was added to injury, was received by the Britiſh court with evident marks of indignation; and the recall of the Engliſh ambaſſador from Verſailles, a meaſure which was now rendered almoſt a matter of neceſſity, was the ſignal for the commencement of hoſtilities.

As the French miniſtry had long prepared for this event, they began the war with conſiderable advantage. In the month of April, the count d'Eſtaing ſailed from Toulon with twelve ſhips of the line and four frigates. On board this fleet was embarked a body of land forces; and Silas Deane, the American envoy at the court of Verſailles, and Conrad Alexander Gerard, ſecretary to the council of ſtate, who had ſigned the late treaty, in the name of his ſovereign, and was now appointed miniſter-plenipotentiary to the United States of America, accompanied the count on board the Languedoc.

This armament was deſtined to ſtrike an important blow againſt the Engliſh in America, who, at the period of its arrival on that coaſt, were ſtationed in the environs of Sandy-Hook, whence they afterwards paſſed over to New York. Had not d'Eſtaing been delayed by bad weather, and other unexpected impediments which he met with on his voyage, he would have had an opportunity of meeting the Engliſh tranſports in the Delaware, or on the paſſage from thence, extremely loaded and encumbered, and convoyed only by two ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates. The Britiſh fleet muſt conſequently have been deſtroyed; and as the enemy could not then, by any poſſible means, have proſecuted its way to New York, and would have been encloſed, on one ſide, by the American army, and, on the other, by the French fleet, cut off from all ſupply of proviſions and deſtitute of every reſource, a ſimilar diſgrace to that ſuſtained by the Engliſh, at Saratoga, in the preceding campaign, muſt neceſſarily have been incurred.

Indeed, had d'Eſtaing, even then, directed his courſe immediately to New-York, inſtead of the Cheſapeak or Delaware, he ſtill might have ſecured the moſt important advantages, as he would, in that caſe, have encountered the Engliſh fleet and army, when they were entangled, either with the laying or paſſing of the bridge of boats, which had been conſtructed for the purpoſe of conveying the troops from the continent to Sandy-Hook, recently become an iſland by a violent breach of the ſea. In either circumſtance he muſt have cruſhed the enemy; but his great object was the ſurpriſe of the Engliſh fleet in the Delaware, and the conſequent encloſure of the army at Philadelphia, a deſign which, providentially for the Engliſh, was fruſtrated by the winds and weather.

On the eleventh of July d'Eſtaing made his appearance off Sandy-Hook, where lay the Britiſh fleet, conſiſting of ſix ſixty-four gun ſhips, three of fifty, two of forty guns, with ſome frigates and ſloops, under the command of lord Howe. But the ſuperiority of the French was, in ſome meaſure, counterbalanced by the advantage which the Engliſh

liſh enjoyed in the poſſeſſion of that port or harbour which is formed by Sandy-Hook; the entrance of which is narrow, and the navigation for large ſhips rendered dangerous by a bar which croſſes it, and from whence the inlet paſſes to New-York. The expected and avowed object of d'Eſtaing was to force that paſſage, and to attack the Engliſh ſquadron in the harbour. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of preparation made by lord Howe, that the time could poſſibly admit, yet from a variety of unavoidable incidents, his ſhips were not arrived in their reſpective ſituations of defence, nor had there been ſufficient time to chuſe their ſituations with proper judgment, when d'Eſtaing appeared without the Hook. Under theſe circumſtances, which, with reſpect to effect, might be conſidered, in ſome degree, as affording the advantages of a ſurprize, if he had puſhed on directly to paſs the bar and force the paſſage, it would ſeem, that the advantage of ſituation could not be capable of counteracting the vaſt ſuperiority of his force. But as d'Eſtaing was of opinion that his large ſhips could not paſs, in ſafety, through the ſtreights and over the bar, he caſt anchor on the Jerſey ſide, about four miles without the Hook, and in the vicinity of the ſmall town of Shrewſbury.

In this poſition the French fleet remained at anchor eleven days, which were paſſed in taking in a ſupply of water and proviſions. The Engliſh fleet was thus blocked up, and many veſſels under Engliſh colours (who were ignorant of the loſs of their uſual protection) were daily captured by the French. On the twenty-ſecond of July d'Eſtaing left his ſtation, and foregoing the probable advantage of a deſperate attack on the Britiſh fleet at Sandy-Hook, which an unuſual riſe of the water would have enabled him to make, without danger to his ſhips paſſing the bar, ſteered toward Rhode Iſland, the invaſion of which he had planned in concert with the United States. The American general Sullivan aſſembled a body of troops, in the neighbourhood of Providence, with a view to make a deſcent on the north end of the iſland; whilſt d'Eſtaing was to enter the harbour of Newport, near its ſouthern extremity, and, after deſtroying the ſhipping, by a powerful aſſault on the works facing the ſea, to place the Britiſh forces between two fires.

The French fleet either blocked up or entered the ſeveral inlets, between which Rhode, and its adjoining ſmaller iſlands, are encloſed, and which form a communication more or leſs navigable in the different branches, between the open ſea and the back continent; on the twenty-ninth of July, the main body caſt anchor without Brenton's Ledge, about five miles from Newport. Two of their line of battle ſhips ran up the Naraganſet paſſage, and anchored off the north end of the iſland of Conanicut, where they were prevented for ſeveral days, by contrary winds, from rejoining the fleet: while ſome of their frigates, entering the Secconet paſſage, compelled the Engliſh to burn three ſmall armed veſſels, which muſt otherwiſe have been captured.

Two

Two oppoſite bays, in the inlets on the eaſtern and weſtern ſides of the iſland, compreſs it ſo much, as to form a kind of iſthmus, by which the ſouthern end, that ſpreads into the ocean, is connected with the main body. The town of Newport lies juſt within this peninſula, at the opening of the iſthmus, on the weſtern ſide of the iſland, and oppoſite the iſland of Conanicut; the ſpace between both forming a bay, which includes, or forms, the harbour. The inlet to the harbour from the ſea, called the middle channel, is narrow, and encloſed by Brenton's point, and the oppoſite point of Conanicut, which forms the ſouthern extremities of both iſlands. A chain of high grounds, which croſſes the iſthmus from channel to channel above Newport, was ſtrongly covered by lines, redoubts, and artillery; ſo that the peninſula might be conſidered as a garriſon, diſtinct from the reſt of the iſland; and, under the protection of a ſuperior naval force, might, in a great meaſure, defy any attempts from the northern ſide, ſuppoſing that an enemy had effected a landing, in ſuch circumſtances. But the French, being maſters by ſea, rendered the taſk of defence, under the apprehenſion of an attack on both ſides at the ſame time, exceedingly arduous.

General Sullivan aſſembled a body of ten thouſand men—of whom one half were volunteers from New England and Connecticut—to ſecond the efforts of d'Eſtaing. As the operations of the French fleet were regulated by thoſe of the army on land, they continued inactive, until Sullivan was in a condition to paſs over from the continent to the north end of the iſland. On the eighth of Auguſt, finding that meaſure in forwardneſs, and the wind being favourable, they entered the harbour under an eaſy ſail, cannonading the batteries and town as they paſſed, and receiving their fire, without any material effect on either ſide. They anchored above the town, between Goat iſland and Conanicut, but nearer to the latter, on which both the French and Americans had parties for ſome days paſt.

D'Eſtaing, by thus entering the harbour, reduced the Engliſh to the neceſſity of deſtroying ſix of their frigates, which muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands; but he was prevented from reaping any farther advantage, by a ſudden change of wind, which induced him to put to ſea; and, after ſome ſharp but indeciſive actions between ſingle ſhips, he deemed it prudent to ſail to Boſton, in order to repair the damages he had ſuſtained during a violent tempeſt, which, by diſperſing both fleets, had prevented a general engagement.

If d'Eſtaing, inſtead of going to Boſton, had re-entered the harbour, and co-operated with the Americans, in conformity with their moſt earneſt ſolicitations, the ſtate of the Engliſh garriſon in Rhode iſland would have been extremely perilous; and he had a fair proſpect of retrieving, by a ſtroke of no ſmall importance, the failure of ſucceſs in his grand object. Such a ſucceſsful co-operation would likewiſe have had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of his new allies, and in giving them an idea which they were not much diſpoſed to entertain, of the vigour and efficacy of the French councils and

arms.

arms. The departure of d'Eſtaing effectually froſtrated the attempt on the iſland, and Sullivan, ſoon after, withdrew his troops.

In the mean time, the Engliſh admiral, on the Newfoundland ſtation, having received intelligence of the commencement of hoſtilities by d'Eſtaing, diſpatched a body of troops with orders to reduce the ſmall iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, which had been allotted to France by the laſt treaty of peace, for the purpoſe of curing and drying their fiſh, and ſerving as a ſtore-houſe and ſhelter for the veſſels employed in their fiſhery.

As France had been particularly reſtricted by the treaty from fortifying thoſe iſlands, and equally tied down from any encreaſe of a ſmall limited number of troops in them, which were only adapted to the ſupport of the civil government, and not to any purpoſes of defence, againſt whatever might deſerve the name of enemy, this ſervice was accordingly performed without difficulty. A capitulation was granted, in conſequence of which the governor, with the inhabitants and the garriſon, amounting in the whole to about two thouſand, were tranſmitted to France: all the accommodations of habitation, trade, and fiſhery were deſtroyed; and the iſlands thrown back into their original ſtate.

From the continent of America the flame of war had been rapidly communicated to the Weſt-India iſlands. The marquis de Bouillé, governor-general of Martinico, was informed of the defenceleſs ſtate of the iſland of Dominica, which, by the treaty of Paris had been ceded by France to England. The Britiſh government had, indeed, incurred a conſiderable expence in fortifying the iſland, and in ſupplying the works with a numerous artillery, but the garriſon was totally incompetent to the defence of the one, or to the uſe of the other. The marquis, accordingly, landed on the iſland, on the ſeventh of September, 1778, at dawn of day, with about two thouſand men, and proceeded to attack the different batteries and forts by land, as the marine force which accompanied him did by ſea. The few regular troops, not exceeding one hundred men, together with the militia and inhabitants in general, did all that could be expected againſt ſuch a ſuperiority of force, and under ſuch circumſtances of ſurprize. But the French having eaſily reduced thoſe batteries which lay firſt in their way, and which were but half-manned, and advanced to attack the little capital of Roſeau, by ſea and land, which likewiſe comprehended the principal fortifications of the iſland, the commander of the Engliſh troops, perceiving the futility of defence, prudently determined to ſave the inhabitants from plunder and ruin, by entering into a capitulation.

The terms, by the generoſity of the marquis de Bouillé, were rendered highly favourable to the inhabitants. Beſides the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, with the fulleſt ſecurity to their eſtates, property of every ſort, rights, privileges, and

and immunities, they were allowed to retain every part of their civil and religious government, with all their laws, cuſtoms, ordinances, courts, and miniſters of juſtice, until the concluſion of a peace; and, at that period, if the iſland ſhould be ceded to France, they had the liberty of choice, whether to adhere to their own political form of government, or to accept that eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands. And in either event, ſuch of the inhabitants as did not chuſe to continue under a French government, were to be at liberty to ſell all their eſtates real and perſonal, and to retire with their effects wherever they pleaſed. Not the ſmalleſt diſorder nor pillage was allowed; and the marquis de Bouillé, in lieu of plunder, diſtributed a conſiderable ſum of money among his troops.

D'Eſtaing, during theſe tranſactions, had been buſily employed in refitting his ſhips, and having compleated this object, he quited, early in November, the harbour of Boſton, with a full determination to reduce all the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Weſt-Indies. Previous to his departure, he publiſhed a declaration, intended to be diſperſed among the French inhabitants of Canada, to whom it was addreſſed, in the name of their ancient ſovereign, the king of France. The object of this publication was to recall the affection to their former government, and to revive all the national attachments of that people, thereby to prepare them for an invaſion either from France or America, and to raiſe their expectation and hope to no diſtant change of maſters. For theſe purpoſes they were applied to and invoked, by all the endearing and flattering ties of country, blood, language, common laws, cuſtom, and religion; by their former friendſhips, ancient glory, and fellowſhip in arms; and even by their common participation in the dangers and misfortunes of the laſt war. To touch the vanity of a people exceedingly prone to that failing, they were flattered by reminding them of thoſe peculiar military honours, diſtinctions, and royal decorations, which would have conſtituted the glorious rewards of their proweſs in the French ſervice; from which they had been ſo long debarred, and which were held ſo dear by all their countrymen. They were taught to conſider the French and Americans as equally friends, and almoſt as one people; whoſe invaſion of Canada, whether jointly or ſeperately, inſtead of conveying hoſtility or deſolation to them, would have, for its ſole object, their liberation from the galling yoke of a foreign power, whoſe reſidence was fixed in another hemiſphere; their emancipation from ſubjection to a people who differed wholly from them in religion, in manners, in language, in every thing; whoſe jealous and deſpotic government would, ſooner or later, treat them as a conquered people, and undoubtedly much worſe than they had done their own late countrymen, the Americans, to whom they were indebted for their former victories. Their future condition, in the event of this propoſed emancipation from the government of Great Britain, was left almoſt entirely in the dark; although ſome faint and diſtant alluſion was holden out, to a ſimilar ſtate of freedom to that poſſeſſed by the Britiſh colonies. D'Eſtaing ſeemed not altogether authoriſed to give up the idea of the reſtoration of Canada to the dominion of France; but he was aware that an avowal of thoſe ſentiments might have been yet imprudent with reſpect to that people, and would have been

been diſguſting and alarming, in the higheſt degree, to the Americans. He, however, aſſured the Canadians, in the name of the French king, that all his former ſubjects, who, ſhould relinquiſh their dependence on Great Britain, might depend on his ſupport and protection.

Aware of the danger to which the Weſt-India iſlands would be expoſed from the ſuperiority of the French in that quarter, the Engliſh commander at New York had, ſoon after the reduction of Dominica, detached a body of five thouſand troops for their protection, under the command of general Grant. The firſt expedition undertaken by theſe forces, whoſe operations were ſeconded by a Britiſh fleet, under admiral Barrington, was the reduction of the French iſland of Saint Lucia; an enterprize of the utmoſt importance in all the enſuing operations of the war. The reſerve of the Britiſh army, with the grenadiers and light infantry, under the command of general Matthews, was landed at the grand Cul de Sac in the evening of the thirteenth of December. That officer with his detachment, immediately puſhed forward to the heights upon the north ſide of the bay, which were occupied by the chevalier de Micoud, the French commandant, with the regular forces and militia of the iſland. Theſe poſts, though difficult of acceſs, were ſoon forced by the ſuperior numbers of the Engliſh, who alſo took poſſeſſion of a field-piece, with which the French fired upon the boats employed in landing the troops, and a four-gun battery, which had been ſucceſsfully directed againſt the ſhipping at the entrance of the harbour.

General Preſcot, meanwhile, had landed with five regiments, with which he guarded the environs of the bay, and, at the ſame time, puſhed on his advanced poſts, ſo as to preſerve a communication during the night with the reſerve. The next morning the reſerve followed, and ſupported by general Preſcot, advanced to the little capital of Morne Fortune, of which they took poſſeſſion. The chevalier de Micoud made the beſt defence that his ſituation would admit of, but, conſtantly preſſed by ſuperior numbers, he was compelled to retire before the Britiſh troops, from poſt to poſt. As the reſerve advanced, general Preſcot exerted the utmoſt diligence and circumſpection in ſupplying the poſts and batteries in their rear with every poſſible means of defence.

While theſe meaſures of ſecurity were carrying into execution, general Meadows puſhed forward and took poſſeſſion of the important poſt of the Viegie, which commanded the north ſide of the careenage harbour; while another Britiſh officer, with the remainder of the troops, guarded the landing place, kept up the communication with the fleet, and ſent detachments to occupy ſeveral poſts upon the mountains, which overlooked and commanded the ſouth ſide of the grand Cul de Sac.

The laſt French flag, on thoſe poſts which were in ſight among the neighbouring hills, was ſcarcely ſtricken, when d'Eſtaing, with a conſiderable force, appeared in view of the Britiſh

Britiſh fleet and army. Beſides his original ſquadron of twelve large ſhips of the line, he was now accompanied by a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers, and tranſports, with a land force, amounting to eight thouſand men. Theſe were intended for the reduction of all the Britiſh Leeward ſettlements; from the immediate purſuit of which project d'Eſtaing had been deterred by the intelligence he received of the attack on Saint Lucia; a circumſtance which he conſidered as ſingularly fortunate, it ſeeming to afford him an opportunity of cruſhing, at a ſingle blow, the whole Britiſh force by ſea and land; and, indeed, had he arrived but four-and-twenty hours ſooner, his moſt ſanguine hopes muſt, in all human probability, have been completely gratified. As it was, the day being far advanced, d'Eſtaing deferred his operations till the enſuing morning.

The Britiſh fleet, which conſiſted only of one ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, one of ſeventy, two of ſixty-four, three of fifty, and three frigates, was ſtationed in the moſt ſouthern inlet, called the grand Cul de Sac; the tranſports filling the interior part of the bay, and the ſhips of war drawn up in a line acroſs the entrance, which was ſtill farther ſecured by a battery on the ſouthern, and another on the northern oppoſite points of land. The careenage bay which led up towards Morne Fortune, lay between two and three miles to the northward of the grand Cul de Sac; and the peninſula of the Viegie, occupied by general Meadows, formed the northern boundary of the careenage, and covered its entrance on that ſide; Choc bay, and Gros Iſlet bay lay ſtill farther north.

Strange as it may appear, it is certain that the intelligence received by d'Eſtaing was ſo imperfect, that he did not even know that the Britiſh forces had extended their operations ſo far as to have taken poſſeſſion of the Viegie, and other poſts adjoining to the careenage; and, under this deluſion, his firſt motion in the morning was to ſtand in, with his whole fleet of ſhips of war and tranſports, for that bay. But a well-directed fire which his own ſhip, the Languedoc, received from one of thoſe batteries which had ſo lately changed maſters, ſoon convinced him of his miſtake. Diſconcerted by a circumſtance ſo wholly unexpected, he was, for ſome time, at a loſs how to act. At length, however, d'Eſtaing, with ten ſail of the line, ſtood on for the enemy's ſquadron. A warm conflict enſued, but the Engliſh admiral ſuſtained the attack with the utmoſt firmneſs, and, being ably ſeconded by the battery from the northern ſhore, which compleatly raked the enemies ſhips as they bore up, compelled them to fall to leeward, and diſcontinue the engagement.

At four in the afternoon, d'Eſtaing, having made a new diſpoſition, renewed the action with twelve ſail of the line. This attack was better ſupported and longer continued than the firſt; the cannonade was exceedingly heavy, and its whole weight concentrated within a narrower direction than before; but neither the change of poſition, nor the additional force, were capable of rendering this effort more ſucceſsful than the former. After a long and cloſe engagement, the French fleet fell into confuſion, and retired from action, having ſuſtained conſiderable damage, without having been able to make the

ſmalleſt effective impreſſion on the Britiſh line. The next day the whole fleet plied to windward, and anchored in the evening off Groſs Iſlet, about two leagues to the northward.

D'Eſtaing now reſolved to make a deſcent upon the iſland, and, accordingly, landed his troops, during the night and the following morning, in Choc bay, which lay between Groſs Iſlet and the careenage. The country which was now the ſcene of action was as difficult and impracticable, whether with reſpect to its face, or to the climate, in which it would ſeem that war could, in any manner, be conducted. It preſented no regular face, but a broken and confuſed heap of ſteep and abrupt hills, ſcattered among greater mountains, every were diſſected by narrow winding vallies, deep defiles, and difficult gullies. The Engliſh general, Grant, with the bulk of his forces, occupied all the ſtrong holds among the hills on either ſide of the grand Cul de Sac and commanded, by ſeveral detached poſts, the ground that extended from thence to the careenage, which lay at a diſtance of about two miles. A battery on their ſide, and at the ſouth point of the careenage, with another on the oppoſite point of the Viegie, defended the entrance into that bay, and, as we have before ſtated, checked the attempt of the French fleet to attain that object. Theſe troops were alſo poſſeſſed of two other batteries, near the bottom of the bay, where it narrows into, or is joined by a creek, which, paſſing Morne Fortune, interſects the country for ſome way farther up. Theſe batteries were covered in front by the creek, and commanded, in a conſiderable degree, the land approaches to the Viegie.

Thus general Meadows, who, with the reſerve, was ſtationed, and, as it were, ſhut up in that peninſula, was, by diſtance and ſituation, as well as that decided ſuperiority which the numbers of the French enabled them to maintain in all the parts of whatever ſervice they undertook, totally cut off from the ſupport of the main body, any farther than what might be derived from the batteries above mentioned. He was, in poſſeſſion of very ſtrong ground, but there were circumſtances to counterbalance that advantage. A retreat, however preſſed or overpowered he might be, was impoſſible; and the very circumſtance of ſituation, which afforded ſtrength to the peninſula in one reſpect, rendered it liable to danger in another, as he was expoſed to a landing and attack from the ſea in the rear, at the very inſtant that he might have been deſperately engaged, or perhaps overborne, in the front. But, fortunately for the Engliſh, his troops, though ſmall in number (not exceeding thirteen hundred men) had been trained to diſcipline, inured to fatigue, and accuſtomed to exertions of courage in the plains of America; while their boſoms were fired with the ſame paſſion for glory which ſo ardently glowed in the breaſt of their commander.

The French were extremely diſappointed when, after their landing, they diſcovered that the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the mountains on the ſouth ſide of the grand Cul de

de Sac; for the bombarding of the Britiſh fleets from thoſe heights, which ſo effectually commanded that bay, was the firſt great object of their landing; which, from the ſtrong poſition occupied by that part of the enemy's troops, was now totally unattainable, without a general engagement, which d'Eſtaing was not yet diſpoſed to riſk.

After an attentive conſideration of the different circumſtances, the French commanders determined to direct their firſt effort ſeparately againſt general Meadows; and to attack the peninſula, at the ſame time, by land and ſea. For the firſt of theſe purpoſes, about five thouſand of the beſt troops were drawn out (on the eighteenth of December) and advanced in three columns to attack the Britiſh lines, which were drawn acroſs the iſthmus that joins the peninſula to the continent. That on the right was led by the count d'Eſtaing; the centre by the count de Lovendhal; and the left column by the marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico. The remainder of the forces were kept diſengaged, to watch the motions of the Engliſh troops that were ſtationed in the other poſts, and to check any attempt they might make to ſuccour general Meadows.

On the near approach of the columns, they were enfiladed, with great effect by the batteries on the ſouth of the bay; but, notwithſtanding this impediment, they ruſhed on to the charge, with that impetuoſity which ſo ſtrongly characterizes their nation. They were received with a coolneſs, ſteadineſs, and immoveable firmneſs, which even exceeded the expectations of thoſe who were moſt verſed in the temper and character of their enemy. The French troops were ſuffered to advance ſo cloſe to the entrenchments, without oppoſition, that the Britiſh front line fired but once, and then received the enemy on the bayonet. That fire had, of courſe, a dreadful effect; but the French notwithſtanding, ſupported the conflict with great reſolution, and ſuffered extremely before they were entirely repulſed.

As ſoon as they had recovered their breath and order, they renewed the attack with the ſame eagerneſs and impetuoſity as before; and were again encountered with the ſame determined reſolution and inflexible obſtinacy. Although they had ſuffered ſeverely in theſe two attacks, they again rallied, and returned to the charge the third time. But the affair was now ſoon decided. They were totally broken, and obliged to retire in the utmoſt diſorder, and confuſion, leaving their dead and wounded in the power of the victors'. The diverſion attempted by ſea produced little or no effect.

* In a converſation which the author had with the count de Lovendhal, on the ſubject of this expedition, two years after it took place, he had the ſatisfaction to hear that nobleman declare, that a more able and maſterly diſpoſition for the reception of an enemy, more invincible firmneſs in ſuſtaining, or more intrepid courage in repelling an attack, than was that day diſplayed by the Engliſh commander and his troops, no officer had ever witneſſed. The count profeſſed the higheſt admiration and eſteem for general Meadows, and predicted, from what he had ſeen of his conduct in this action, that he would make one of the firſt generals in Europe. The whole tenour of that gallant officer's behaviour tends to juſtify the opinion entertained of him by the count.

The loſs ſuſtained by the French exceeded any thing that could have been ſuppoſed or apprehended, whether from the numbers engaged, or from the duration of the action. No leſs than four hundred men were killed upon the ſpot; five hundred were ſo deſperately wounded as to be rendered incapable of ſervice; and ſix hundred more were ſlightly wounded; the whole amounting to a number conſiderably ſuperior to that of the enemy whom they had encountered. The loſs of the victors was comparatively as ſmall, as that on the ſide of the vanquiſhed was great, and beyond uſual example; not one Britiſh officer—though many were wounded—loſt his life in the action.

Count d'Eſtaing continued ten days longer on the iſland, without making any farther attempt, by ſea or land, to recover poſſeſſion of it, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of his naval force, which hourly acquired an acceſſion of ſtrength, by the arrival of French and American privateers, which flocked thither from all quarters, to partake of the ſpoil, if not of the glory, of the enterprize. He, at length, however, found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing a conteſt, which had proved equally barren of profit and of honour. He, accordingly, embarked his troops, on the night of the twenty-eighth, and, on the following day, abandoned the iſland to its deſtiny. The chevalier de Micoud, thus deprived of all expectation of ſuccour, gave up the idea of farther reſiſtance, and ſurrendered to the Engliſh.

In order to prevent any interruption of the thread of our narration, we deemed it expedient to preſent under one point of view all the military operations in America and the Weſt Indies; though many of them were poſterior to the hoſtile events which occurred in Europe, to which we ſhall advert. The firſt act of hoſtility—committed however, under circumſtances which peculiarly juſtified the attempt—was the capture of the Licorne frigate, by the Engliſh, on the ſeventeenth of June. This, which was immediately followed by other acts of a ſimilar nature, was made uſe of by the French miniſtry as the oſtenſible ground for iſſuing out orders for repriſals on the ſhips of Great Britain; and an ordinance for the diſtribution of prizes—which had been ſigned on the twenty eighth of March, though, from political motives, it had hitherto lain dormant—was now immediately publiſhed. Some days after its publication, the French fleet ſailed from Breſt, amounting to thirty-two ſail of the line, and a great number of frigates. They were divided in three ſquadrons or diviſions, the whole being under the command of the count d'Orvilliers, who was aſſiſted, in his own particular diviſion, by admiral count de Guichen. The ſecond was commanded by count du Chaffault, aſſiſted by M. de Rochechouart; and the third by the duke de Chartres, a prince of the blood, who was ſeconded by admiral count de Graſſe. M. de la Motte Piquet, though bearing the rank of admiral, acted as firſt captain in the duke de Chartres' ſhip. On their departure from Breſt they captured an Engliſh frigate, the Lively, which had been ſent to watch their motions.

On

On the twenty-third of July the count d'Orvilliers deſcried the Engliſh fleet, under the command of admiral Keppel; but as his principal object was to intercept the enemy's trade, and to protect that of his own country, he ſtudiouſly avoided an engagement, until the twenty-ſeventh, when the efforts of the Engliſh to bring him to action, at length, proved ſucceſsful. During this interval two French ſhips of the line had been ſeparated from the fleet, ſo that the two admirals engaged on equal terms, each having thirty ſail of the line. The action, however, being reluctantly entered upon, on the part of the French, was wholly indeciſive: count d'Orvilliers availed himſelf of the approach of night to return to the port of Breſt; and the Engliſh, ſoon after, retired within their harbours to refit.

It is a matter of extreme regret, inaſmuch as it tends to deſtroy the repoſe of a great part of mankind, that while the active ſpirit of enterprize, which forms ſo prominent a feature in the character of Europeans, has extended their commerce and intercourſe to the moſt diſtant regions of the world, their contentions and animoſities have kept an equal pace with their diſcoveries, and have been either diſſeminated amongſt, or in ſome degree affected, the remoteſt nations; experience thereby expoſing the fallacy of that liberal ſyſtem of general advantage, which a ſpeculative philoſopher might otherwiſe have hoped from the eſtabliſhment of a free and eaſy communication between all the different communities of men. It has been obſerved—and the obſervation has, unhappily, but too much truth in it—that ſuch is the nature of man, that it may be a queſtion of no ſmall doubt, whether the preſcriptive laws or policy of China and Japan, againſt the admiſſion of foreigners, have not true wiſdom for their baſis; and, however fatal they may be to the progreſs of ſcience and arts, and the diffuſion of general knowledge, whether they do not lay a more ſolid and permanent foundation of public ſecurity and private happineſs, than ſyſtems more refined, and inſtitutions more liberal. Thus much is certainly clear, that the adoption of this policy would have ſaved many great nations from unexpected ruin, and from general deſolation.

While the effects of the conteſt between France and England were gradually ſpreading through the different parts of the old and the new weſtern world, its rage was ſpeedily communicated to the remoter regions of the eaſt; to a quarter of the globe, naturally and originally appertaining to the moſt peaceable, as well as to the moſt unmixed and primitive race of mankind; a race more abhorrent of blood and cruelty than any other.

The ſettlements of France in the Eaſt Indies had been totally ſubdued in the laſt war, and though reſtored on the peace, were, by the conditions of the treaty, left in a ſtate of weakneſs and degradation. Previous to any public declaration of war, the Engliſh Eaſt India company, apprized of the diſpoſition of the court of Verſailles to vindicate the independence of America, diſpatched orders to their governors to anticipate all danger in that quarter by an immediate attack on the poſſeſſions of the French. In conſequence

ſequence of theſe inſtructions, preparations were made by the government of Madras for taking the field with all poſſible diſpatch; but before the Britiſh forces could proceed on their intended expedition, the hoſtile fleets of France and England, under the command of monſieur Tronjolly and admiral Vernon, met near the road of Pondicherry; when an obſtinate conflict enſued, which, though attended with no material loſs on either ſide, proved highly advantageous to the Engliſh, inaſmuch as it it induced the French commodore to leave the coaſt, and enabled his adverſary to fulfil the object of his expedition, in forming the blockade of Pondicherry.

That city was completely inveſted by the Engliſh army on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt; the deficiencies ariſing from the weakneſs of its works were amply ſupplied by the bravery of the garriſon, and the ability of the governor, M. de Bellecombe, who, with about three thouſand men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans, gallantly reſiſted, for the ſpace of a month, all the efforts of the Engliſh army, amounting, in the whole, to ten thouſand five hundred men. But the moſt ſpirited exertions could only tend to protract the hour of ſubmiſſion; a practicable breach being made in the walls, and every preparation for a general aſſault completed, the governor was reduced to the neceſſity of averting the impending ruin by a timely capitulation, which was ſigned on the ſixteenth of October. The gallantry of his conduct enſured him the moſt honourable terms from a generous foe; the regiment of Pondicherry were, at his requeſt, allowed to keep their colours; all private property was ſecured; the European part of the garriſon were to be tranſported to France; and the ſeapoys, or black troops, were to be diſbanded in the country.

The victors, at the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of the different factories of the French in Bengal, and on the coaſts of Coromandel, the Engliſh flag was erected on the walls of Chandernagore, Gemain, Carical, and Maſulipatam: the fort of Mahie, in the dominions of Hyder Ally, and protected by the name of that prince, with the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon, ſtrong in the number of their inhabitants, and the advantages of their ſituation, alone defied the ſtorm of war.

A. D. 1779.] Count d'Eſtaing, having received a conſiderable acceſſion of force during his ſtay at Martinico, whither he had returned after his unſucceſsful attempt to recover the iſland of Saint Lucia, was enabled to open the preſent campaign with vigour and effect, and induced to project expeditions the moſt daring and deciſive. St. Vincent's, one of the neutral iſlands, and which had been ceded to England, at the concluſion of the laſt war, was the firſt object of his enterprize, and became an eaſy conqueſt. He then purſued his courſe for Grenada, and arrived off that iſland, on the ſecond of July, with a fleet of five-and-twenty ſail of the line, and twelve frigates, having on board body of forces, which, including marines, amounted to ten thouſand men. The iſland did not contain more than one hundred and fifty regular troops, and about four hundred

hundred armed inhabitants; while its whole ſtrength conſiſted in a fortified hill, which commanded the fort, harbour, and town of Saint George.

The French landed between two and three thouſand men, under the conduct of count Dillon, who the next day inveſted the hill, and made the neceſſary preparations for carrying it by ſtorm on the following night. The governor, lord Macartney, had placed great reliance on the natural and artificial ſtrength of this poſt: and by the inhabitants it was deemed to afford ſo perfect a ſecurity, that it was rendered a depoſit for plate, jewels, and other moſt valuable moveables. Their reſiſtance was proportioned to the booty it contained; and though d'Eſtaing headed a column of the French troops in perſon, they were repulſed at the firſt onſet. The ſuperiority of their numbers, however, proved finally deciſive, and they forced the lines, after a ſevere conteſt, which laſted about an hour and an half.

The cannon which they had taken on the top of the hill were now directed againſt the fort; and the governor, ſenſible of the inutility of farther reſiſtance, propoſed a capitulation; but d'Eſtaing, inflated with the pride of conqueſt, rejected with diſdain the proffered terms; and inſtantly preſcribed ſuch arbitrary conditions, as the governor and inhabitants thought it better to truſt to the law and cuſtoms of nations than accept: they therefore ſurrendered without any ſtipulations whatſoever, and abandoned themſelves to the diſcretion of the victor.

The ſeverity and oppreſſion exerciſed by d'Eſtaing, after the reduction of the iſland, ſullied the ſplendour of his conqueſt; but his arbitrary proceedings were ſoon ſuſpended by the appearance of the Engliſh admiral. Byron, on his return to Saint Lucia, had been informed of the loſs of Saint Vincent's, and, in conjunction with general Grant, had concerted a plan for the recovery of that iſland: but, while they were on their paſſage, they received the diſagreeable intelligence of the invaſion of Grenada, and immediately changed their deſign, in the hope of being ſtill able to preſerve that valuable ſettlement.

A ſignal from a battery on the iſland firſt apprized the French commander of the enemy's approach: he immediately iſſued orders for his whole fleet to ſtand out to ſea; and, though greatly ſuperior in numbers to admiral Byron, deemed it more prudent to ſecure his preſent acquiſition, than to hazard it in ſearch of freſh laurels. The Engliſh in vain endeavoured to bring on a general action; d'Eſtaing conſtantly and ſucceſsfully eluded their efforts; and the conteſt that enſued was partial and indeciſive. During the action the Engliſh were firſt informed of the total reduction of the iſland of Grenada: the object of the enterprize was thus at an end; ſome of their ſhips had ſuffered conſiderably in the engagement; and they determined to retreat to Saint Chriſtopher's; while d'Eſtaing,

taing, ſatisfied with the protection he had afforded to his new conqueſt, returned, during the night, to Grenada.

But no ſooner had he regulated the government of that iſland, than he ſteered for Martinico; and, having there taken in an ample ſupply of naval ſtores, proceeded towards Saint Chriſtopher's, and defied the Engliſh to battle. Incapable of forcing them in their own harbour, and having thus retorted the inſult that had been formerly offered to him at Martinico, he directed his efforts to a different quarter.

America had hitherto received no very eſſential ſervice, with reſpect to the direct operations of the war, from any co-operation of the French arms. The attempt on Rhode Iſland, in conjunction with d'Eſtaing, was productive of expence, danger, and loſs, uncompenſated by the ſmalleſt benefit. Nor was the conduct of that commander more ſatisfactory to the Americans than the expedition itſelf was advantageous. On the other hand, much miſchief and danger to the ſouthern provinces had ariſen during the height of the connection, and were perhaps ſcarcely counterbalanced by the recovery of Philadelphia; even admitting that event to have been an indirect conſequence of the French alliance; and ſuppoſing that the Britiſh forces would not otherwiſe have evacuated that capital. It alſo afforded a juſt ſubject of complaint to the Americans, that the protection, equipment, and ſupply afforded to the French fleet at Boſton, ſhould produce no better effect, than that immediate deſertion of their coaſts, which expoſed them to the ſouthern invaſion. Upon the whole their new alliance had not as yet produced thoſe important advantages which had been certainly holden out in the warmth of ſpeculation; nor even that proportion of them, which might have been reaſonably expected, as well from a conſideration of the motives which led to the connection, as of the general ſtate of affairs, and the means and power of the ally.

Impreſſed by theſe conſiderations, the French court now determined to afford ſome eſſential aid to their new allies, by directing d'Eſtaing's whole force to their aſſiſtance. That commander, accordingly, having firſt waited to ſee the homeward-bound Weſt India trade clear of danger, proceeded, with two-and-twenty ſhips of the line and ten frigates, to the coaſt of North America. His firſt object which was expected to be accompliſhed with little difficulty, was the deſtruction of the force under the Engliſh general Prevoſt, and the conſequent liberation of the ſouthern colonies from all their preſent danger and alarm. The ſecond was of greater importance, and likely to be attended with much greater difficulty and danger: it was a deſign to attack, in conjunction with general Waſhington, the Britiſh force at New-York, by ſea and land at the ſame time; and thus, by the reduction of that iſland and its dependencies, together with the conſequent ruin of the enemy's fleet and army, to bring the war on that continent to a final concluſion.

As ſoon as d'Eſtaing had arrived on the coaſt of America, he was informed that general Lincoln, who commanded at Charles-Town, had received orders to act in concert with him: ſome few days were conſequently loſt in adjuſting the future operations of their combined forces; and it was not till more than a week after his firſt appearance that he anchored off the bar of the Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah. The troops were landed at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from Savannah town; the frigates were ſtationed ſo as to ſecure the different inlets of the river; and the French, with the American light-horſe having driven in the out-poſts of the enemy, count d'Eſtaing ſummoned general Prevoſt to ſurrender the place to the arms of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

This ſummons was conveyed in terms the moſt haughty and imperious; the count vaunted, in high language, that he commanded the ſame troops, a detachment of whom had recently taken the Hoſpital-Hill, in Grenada, by ſtorm, notwithſtanding its ſtrength was ſo great as to be deemed by its defenders impregnable. He held out the circumſtances of that tranſaction as a leſſon of caution, to ſhew the futility, and the very great danger, with the force which the Engliſh general had, and ſuch works as he had to defend, of reſiſting the ardour of thoſe conquering troops, whoſe pillage he was himſelf unable to reſtrain. General Prevoſt was warned, in rather commanding terms, that he ſhould be perſonally reſponſible for all the unhappy or fatal conſequences which might be the reſult of his obſtinacy, in venturing a fruitleſs reſiſtance againſt a force, with which he was wholly incapable of contending.

Though general Prevoſt had diligently employed the interval between the arrival of the French and the receipt of this ſummons, in ſtrengthening the imperfect fortifications of the town, he yet was in hourly expectation of being joined by a conſiderable detachment, then abſent on an expedition againſt South Carolina. This circumſtance induced him to return an ambiguous anſwer; and count d'Eſtaing, in hopes of obtaining poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed, conſented to a truce for twenty-four hours. He had ſoon reaſon to lament the addreſs that had deceived him into this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; in the ſhort ſpace mentioned, the expected detachment entered Savannah, and the anſwer of the Engliſh general announced his reſolution to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.

The French forces conſiſted of near five thouſand regular troops, and ſome hundreds of mulattoes and free negroes, whom they had brought with them from the Weſt-Indies: the Americans, who joined them under the conduct of General Lincoln, ſwelled the numbers of the beſieging army to eight thouſand men: The Britiſh garriſon that defended Savannah did not exceed three thouſand. D'Eſtaing, having previouſly puſhed a ſap to within three hundred yards of the abbatis, to the left of the Britiſh center, began to bombard the town, in the night of the third of October; and, on the enſuing morn, he opened a violent cannonade, with thirty-ſeven pieces of heavy artillery, and nine mortars,

tars from his land batteries, and ſixteen cannon from the water, which was continued for five ſucceſſive days. The town and its inhabitants ſuffered greatly from the fire of the French; but neither the troops, nor the works they defended, ſuſtained any material injury. With a view to encreaſe the diſtreſs of the beſieged, the allied generals, deſtitute of that courteſy and humanity which ſo ſtrongly characterize the military operations of civilized nations, refuſed, in language the moſt brutal and inſulting, a paſſage through their lines to the women and children of Savannah, which was requeſted by general Prevoſt.

The regular approaches that had been firſt determined on but ill ſuited the impetuoſity of the French commander; he was ſenſible of the danger to which his ſhips were expoſed, in a moſt critical ſeaſon of the year, upon a coaſt which could afford them no poſſible ſhelter; he obſerved that his batteries had produced but little effect on the Britiſh works; he was impatient to proceed in queſt of new enterprizes; and he relied, with implicit confidence, on the ſuperiority of his force, and the goodneſs of his troops.

Theſe various motives ſuperinduced a reſolution which, had it been adopted previous to the return and junction of the Britiſh detachment to general Prevoſt, might have been attended with ſucceſs. The works, then weak and imperfect, were open to an aſſault, and would probably have been forced by the impetuous valour of the French: but they had now been ſtrengthened by the aſſiduous labour of three weeks, and were covered with a numerous artillery, partly brought from the Engliſh ſhips, amounting to near one hundred pieces, and directed by Captain Moncrieffe, an engineer of approved and conſummate ſkill. Yet theſe obſtacles, though they eſcaped not the obſervation, could not abate the ardor, of count d'Eſtaing.

On the ninth of October, before the dawn of day, the allies began their attack on the Britiſh lines, after a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which had been continued during the greater part of the preceding night. D'Eſtaing in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. They advanced in three columns; the attack was made with great ſpirit, and ſupported with an extraordinary degree of obſtinate bravery; but they were received with ſuch undaunted courage, and firm perſeverance, that, after a dreadful conflict of ſeveral hours, they were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs.

The Poliſh count Polaſki, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American war, was mortally wounded in the action, in which twelve hundred of the allies are ſaid to have fallen. M. d'Eſtaing himſelf was ſeverely wounded in two places. Major-general Fontange, with ſome other French officers of diſtinction, was likewiſe wounded. This repulſe entirely fruſtrated the deſigns of the French commander, who immediately raiſed the ſiege, and abandoned the unpropitious coaſt. After detaching one ſquadron of his

his fleet to Saint Domingo: a ſecond, under M. de la Motte Piquet, to Martinico: and a third, under Monſieur de Vaudreuil, to the Cheſapeak, whoſe preſence prevented the invaſion of Virginia, and retarded that of Carolina; count d'Eſtaing himſelf, with the ſhips leaſt fit for ſervice, ſailed for Europe.

But the diſappointments experienced by France in this quarter of the globe were amply compenſated by the ſucceſs of her negociations in Europe; where, by the intrigues of her miniſters, Spain was induced to reſign the office of mediator, which ſhe had in vain aſſumed, and, by becoming a principal in the war, to fulfil the conditions of the Family Compact. The combination againſt England ſeemed now too powerful to be reſiſted; while the French miniſtry, anxious to repel the charge of perfidy which had been ſtrongly urged againſt them by Great Britain, attempted a juſtification of their conduct in a manifeſto, which they publiſhed at Paris in the name of their ſovereign.

This manifeſto ſets forth, "That at the acceſſion of Lewis the Sixteenth to the throne "of his anceſtors, France enjoyed the moſt profound peace, his deſire to perpetuate the "bleſſings whereof the king immediately ſignified to the different powers of Europe. "This diſpoſition of his majeſty was generally applauded; the king of England in par- "ticular teſtified his ſatisfaction, and gave the moſt expreſſive aſſurances of ſincere "friendſhip. Such a reciprocity of ſentiment juſtified his majeſty in believing, that "the court of London was at laſt diſpoſed to adopt a mode of conduct more equitable "and friendly than that which had been purſued ſince the concluſion of the peace of "1763; and that a final ſtop would be put to thoſe acts of *tyranny*, which his ſubjects "had, in every quarter of the globe, experienced, on the part of England, from the era "above mentioned. His majeſty perſuaded himſelf that he could place a ſtill greater "reliance on the king of England's proteſtations, as the primordial ſeed of the Ameri- "can revolution began to unfold itſelf in a manner highly alarming to the intereſt of "Great Britain.

"But the court of London, vainly imputing that to fear or weakneſs, which was but "the natural reſult of his majeſty's pacific diſpoſition, ſtrictly adhered to her cuſtomary "ſyſtem, and continued every haraſſing act of of violence againſt the commerce and navi- "gation of the ſubjects of France. His majeſty repreſented thoſe outrages to the king "of England with the utmoſt candour, and, judging of his ſentiments by his own, had "the greateſt confidence, that the grievances would no ſooner be made known than re- "dreſſed. Nay, further, his majeſty, being thoroughly acquainted with the embarraſſ- "ment which the affairs of North America had occaſioned the court of London, chari- "tably forbore to encreaſe that embarraſſment, by inſiſting too haſtily on thoſe repara- "tions of injuries, which the Engliſh miniſters had never ceaſed to promiſe, nor ever "failed to evade.

"Such was the ſtate of affairs between the two courts, when the meaſures of the court of London *compelled* the Engliſh coloniſts to have recourſe to arms for the preſervation of their rights, their privileges, and their freedom. The whole world knows "the era when this *brilliant event* ſhone forth; the multiplied and unſucceſsful efforts "made by the Americans to be reinſtated in the boſom of their mother country; the "diſdainful manner in which they were ſpurned by England; and, finally, the act of "independence, which was at length, and could not but have been, the natural reſult of "ſuch treatment.

"The war in which the United States of North America found themſelves involved, "with regard to England, neceſſarily compelled them to explore the means of forming "connections with the other powers of Europe, and of opening a direct commerce with "them. His majeſty would have neglected the moſt eſſential intereſts of his kingdom, "were he to have refuſed the Americans admiſſion into his ports, or that participation of "commercial advantages which is enjoyed by every other nation.

"This conduct, ſo much the reſult of juſtice and of wiſdom, was adopted by far the "greater part of the commercial ſtates of Europe; yet it gave occaſion to the court of "London to preſer her repreſentations, and give vent to all the bitterneſs of complaint. "She imagined, no doubt, that ſhe had but to employ her uſual ſtile of haughtineſs and "ambition to obtain of France an unbounded deference to her will. But, to the moſt "unreaſonable propoſitions, and the moſt intemperate meaſures, his majeſty oppoſed "nothing but the *calmneſs of juſtice*, and the *moderation of reaſon*. He gave the king of "England plainly to underſtand, that he neither was, nor did he pretend to be, a judge "of the diſputes with his colonies; much leſs would it become him to avenge the quar"rel of that monarch: that in conſequence he was under no obligation to treat the "americans as rebels; to exclude them from his ports: and to prohibit them from all "commercial intercourſe with his ſubjects. Nevertheleſs his majeſty was very ready to "ſhackle, as much as depended on him, the exportation of arms and military ſtores; and "gave the moſt poſitive aſſurance, not only that he would not protect this ſpecies of "commerce, but that he would alſo allow England free permiſſion to ſtop thoſe of his "ſubjects who ſhould be detected in carrying on ſuch illicit traffic, obſerving only the "faith of treaties, and the laws and uſages of the ſea. His majeſty went ſtill farther: he "was ſcrupulouſly exact in obſerving every commercial ſtipulation in the treaty of Utrecht, "although it was daily violated by the court of London; and England, at the very time, "had refuſed to ratify it in all its parts. As a conſequence of the amicable part thus taken "by his majeſty, he interdicted the American privateers from arming in his ports; he "would neither ſuffer them to ſell their prizes, nor to remain one moment longer in "the ports of France than was conſiſtent with the ſtipulations of the above treaty. He "ſtrictly enjoined his ſubjects not to purchaſe ſuch prizes; and, in caſe of diſobedience, "they were *threatened* with confiſcation. Theſe Acts had the deſired effect: but though

"diſtinguiſhed

" diſtinguiſhed as well by their condeſcenſion, as by their ſtrict adherence to the ſpirit " and letter of a treaty, which his majeſty (had he been ſo diſpoſed) might have conſi- " dered as non-exiſting; all theſe acts were far from ſatisfying the court of London. " That court affected to conſider his majeſty as reſponſible for all tranſgreſſions, al- " though the king of England, notwithſtanding a ſolemn act of parliament, could not " himſelf prevent his own merchants from furniſhing the North American colonies " with merchandize, and even military ſtores.

" It is eaſy to conceive how the refuſal to yield to the aſſuming demands, and *arbitrary* " pretenſions of England, would mortify the ſelf-ſufficiency of that power, and revive " its ancient animoſity to France. She was the more irritated from her having begun to " experience ſome checks in America, which prognoſticated to her the irrevocable ſepa- " ration of her colonies; and from foreſeeing the inevitable calamities and loſſes reſult- " ing from ſuch a ſeparation; and obſerving France profiting by that commerce, which " ſhe, with an inconſiderate hand, had thrown away, and adopting every means to render " her flag reſpectable.

" Theſe are the combined cauſes which have encreaſed the deſpair of the court of " London, and have led her to cover the ſeas with privateers, furniſhed with letters of " marque, conceived in the moſt offenſive terms; to violate, without ſcruple, the faith " of treaties; to haraſs, under the moſt frivolous and abſurd pretences, the trade and na- " vigation of his majeſty's ſubjects; to aſſume to herſelf a tyrannical empire of the ſea; " to preſcribe unknown and inadmiſſible laws and regulations; to inſult, on many occa- " ſions, the French flag; in ſhort, to infringe on his majeſty's territories, as well in " Europe as in America, in a ſtyle of inſult the moſt marked and characteriſtic.

" If his majeſty had been leſs attentive to the ſacred rights of humanity; if he had " been more prodigal of the blood of his ſubjects; in ſhort, if, inſtead of following the " benevolent impulſe of his nature, he had ſought to avenge his wounded honour; he could " not, for a moment, have heſitated to make reprizals, and to repel thoſe inſults which " had been offered to his dignity by the force of his arms. But he ſtifled even his juſt " reſentments. He was deſirous that the meaſure of his goodneſs might overflow, be- " cauſe he ſtill retained ſuch an opinion of his enemies as to expect they would yield " that to moderation and amicable adjuſtment, on his part, which their own intereſts " required of them.

" Theſe were the conſiderations which moved his majeſty to detail the whole of his " complaints to the court of London. This detail was accompanied with the moſt ſerious " repreſentations, his majeſty being deſirous that the king of England ſhould not be left in " any uncertainty, as to his majeſty's actual determination to maintain his own dignity " inviolate; to protect the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects; and to make his flag re- " ſpected.

" ſpected. But the court of London affected to obſerve an offenſive ſilence on every " grievance repreſented by the French ambaſſador; and when it was determined to " vouchſafe an anſwer, it was an eaſy matter to deny the beſt authenticated facts; to ad- " vance principles contrary to the law of nations, to poſitive treaties, to marine uſage; " and to encourage judgements without juſtice, and confiſcations without mercy, not " leaving to the injured even the means of appeal. At the ſame time that the court of " London put the moderation and forbearance of the king to the ſevereſt trial, prepara- " tions were making, and armaments equipping, in the Engliſh ports, which could not " have America for their object; the deſign was too determinate to be miſtaken. His " majeſty, therefore, found it indiſpenſible to make ſuch diſpoſitions, on his part, as " might be ſufficient to prevent the evil deſigns of his enemy, and, at the ſame time, " to provide againſt depredations and inſults ſimilar to thoſe committed in 1755.

" In this ſtate of things his majeſty, who had hitherto rejected the overtures of the " United States of North America, (and that in contradiction to his moſt preſſing in- " tereſts) now perceived that he had not a moment to loſe in concluding a treaty with " them. Their independence had been declared and *eſtabliſhed*; England herſelf had, in " ſome degree, recognized that independence, by permitting the exiſtence of acts which " carried away every implication of ſovereignty. Had it been the intention of his ma- " jeſty to deceive England, and to adopt meaſures for the purpoſe of concealing the de- " ception, he might have drawn the veil of ſecrecy over his engagements with his preſent " allies; but the principles of *juſtice*, which have ever directed his majeſty, and his ſin- " cere deſire of preſerving peace, operated as deciſive inducements for him to purſue a " conduct more generous and noble: he conceived it a duty which he owed to himſelf " to notify to the king of England the alliance he had formed with the United States. " Nothing could be more ſimple nor leſs offenſive than the reſcript delivered by the " French ambaſſador to the Britiſh miniſter. But the council of Saint James's were not " of this opinion; and the king of England, after having firſt broken the peace, by re- " calling his ambaſſador, announced to his parliament the declaration of his majeſty, as " an act of hoſtility, as a formal and premeditated aggreſſion. It would be inſulting " credulity to ſuppoſe it can be believed, that his majeſty's recognition of the indepen- " dence of the Thirteen United States of America ſhould of itſelf have ſo irritated the " king of England; that prince, without doubt, is well acquainted with all thoſe in- " ſtances of the kind which not only the Britiſh annals, but his own reign, can furniſh. " His reſentment is founded on another principle. The French treaty defeated and ren- " dered uſeleſs the plan formed at London for the ſudden and precarious coalition that " was about to be formed with America, and it baffled thoſe ſecret projects adopted by " his Britannic Majeſty for that purpoſe. The real cauſe of that extreme animoſity " which the king of England has manifeſted, and which he has communicated to his " parliament, was his inability to recover America, and to turn her arms againſt France.

" A conduct

" A conduct thus extraordinary taught his majeſty what he had to expect from the " court of London; and, even had there remained a poſſibility of doubt, the immenſe " preparations carrying on in the different ports of England, with redoubled vigour, " would have ſufficed to ſolve the doubt. Meaſures ſo manifeſtly directed againſt " France had the effect of impoſing a law upon his majeſty; he put himſelf in a condi- " tion to repel force by force; it was with this view that he haſtened the equipment of " his armaments, and that he diſpatched a ſquadron to America under the command of " count d'Eſtaing.

" It is notorious that the armaments of France were in a condition to act offenſively " long before thoſe of England were ready. It was in his majeſty's power to make a " ſudden and moſt ſenſible impreſſion on England. The king was avowedly engaged in " the enterprize, and his plans were on the point of being carried into execution, when " the bare whiſper of peace ſtayed his hand, and ſuſpended their accompliſhment. His " Catholic majeſty imparted to the king the deſire of the court of London to avail her- " ſelf of the mediation of Spain on the ſubject of conciliation. But his Catholic ma- " jeſty would not engage to act as mediator without a previous aſſurance of his good " offices being unequivocally accepted, in a caſe where he interpoſed without being made " acquainted with the principal objects, which were to ſerve as the baſis of negociation.

" The king received the overture with a ſatisfaction proportioned to the wiſh he had " uniformly expreſſed for the continuance of peace. Notwithſtanding the king of Spain " had profeſſed it to be a matter of perfect indifference to him, whether his mediation was " accepted or not; and that notwithſtanding the overtures he made, he left the king, his " nephew, entirely at liberty to act as he thought proper, yet his majeſty not only con- " ſented to the mediation, but he immediately countermanded the ſailing of the Breſt " fleet, and agreed to communicate his conditions of peace the moment that England " ſhould expreſs, in poſitive terms, a deſire of reconciliation, in which the United States " of North America were to be comprehended; France by no means entertaining an " idea of abandoning them: there could not ſurely be any thing more conformable to " the oſtenſible wiſhes of the court of London, than this propoſal. His Catholic ma- " jeſty loſt not a moment in the diſcuſſion of the buſineſs with the king of England and " his miniſter; but it was quickly diſcovered by the court of Madrid, that the Engliſh " miniſters; were not ſincere in their overtures for peace. They inſiſted on the neceſſity " of his majeſty's withdrawing the reſcript which had been delivered by his ambaſſador " on the thirteenth of March, 1778, as a preliminary and indiſpenſible ſtep to reconci- " liation. Such an anſwer was injurious to *Spain* as well as France; and it developed " the hoſtile intentions of England in the cleareſt point of view. Both monarchs view- " ed each other with amazement; and although his majeſty (ever animated with a love " of peace) left the Catholic king to act as he thought moſt prudent with reſpect to con-

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" tinuing his mediation, yet he judged it expedient to recommend his chargé des affaires " at London to obſerve a profound ſilence on the ſubject.

" The hope of peace, however, continued to flatter the diſpoſition of his majeſty, " until the fleets commanded by the admirals Keppel and Byron ſailed out of port. " Then it was that the veil of deception, which had ſerved to cover the real intentions " of the court of London, was rent aſunder. It was no longer poſſible to place confi- " dence in her inſidious profeſſions, nor could her aggreſſive deſign be any longer doubt- " ed. The face of things being thus changed, his majeſty found himſelf obliged to " make an alteration in thoſe meaſures which he had previouſly adopted, for the ſecurity " of his poſſeſſions, and the preſervation of the commerce of his ſubjects. The event " will very ſoon demonſtrate his majeſty's foreſight to have been juſt. The world can " witneſs in what manner his majeſty's frigate, the *Belle Poule*, was attacked by an Eng- " liſh frigate, within view of the French coaſt; nor is it leſs notorious that two other " frigates, and a ſmaller veſſel, were ſurprized and carried into the ports of England. " The departure of the fleet under count d'Orvilliers became abſolutely neceſſary to " fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemies of his majeſty's crown, and to revenge the inſults " his flag had received. Providence diſpoſed *the triumph in favour of the French arms*; " count d'Orvilliers, after being attacked by the Engliſh fleet, *forced them to retreat with* " *conſiderable damage*.

" Since that period hoſtilities have been continued without any declaration of war. " The court of London has not declared it, becauſe ſhe wants reaſons to juſtify her con- " duct. Nor had ſhe dared to accuſe France publickly of being the aggreſſor, after " three of his majeſty's veſſels had been captured by the Engliſh fleet; and ſhe felt that " ſhe would have ample cauſe to bluſh, when the execution of thoſe orders ſhe had ſent " clandeſtinely to India ſhould have opened the eyes of all Europe to the degree of re- " liance which can be placed in her pacific profeſſions, and ſhould have enabled every " court in it to determine which of the two powers, France or England, the term of " *perfidious* moſt properly applies, an epithet which the Engliſh miniſter loſes no oppor- " tunity of beſtowing upon France.

" As to the king, if he has deferred notifying to the world multiplied injuries he " has ſuſtained from the court of London; if he has delayed demonſtrating the abſolute " neceſſity of his having recourſe to arms; ſuch a procraſtination, on the part of his " majeſty, has been owing to a fond hope that the Engliſh miniſter would at laſt recol- " lect himſelf, and, that either juſtice, or the critical ſituations into which he has plunged " his country, would have prevailed on him to change his conduct.

" This hope appeared to have been the better founded, as the Engliſh miniſter was " continually diſpatching his emiſſaries to ſound his majeſty's diſpoſition, at the very

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" time the king of Spain negociating with him for peace. His majeſty, ſo far from " belying thoſe ſentiments which he had invariably expreſſed, liſtened with eagerneſs " to the advice of the king, his uncle; and, to convince that prince of his perſevering " ſincerity, his majeſty entruſted him, without reſerve, with thoſe *very moderate* condi- " tions, on which his majeſty would moſt gladly have lain down his arms.

" The Catholic king communicated to the court of London the aſſurances he had " received from his majeſty; and he urged that court to perfect the reconciliation which " ſhe had long ſo earneſtly *affected* to deſire. But the Engliſh miniſter, although con- " ſtantly feigning a wiſh for peace, never returned an *ingenuous* anſwer to the king of " Spain, but was perpetually *inſulting* his Catholic majeſty with a tender of inadmiſſible " propoſitions, quite foreign from the ſubject of diſpute.

" It was now clear, from the moſt indiſputable evidence, that England did not wiſh for " peace, and that ſhe negociated for no other purpoſe but that of gaining time to make " the neceſſary preparations for war: The king of Spain was perfectly ſenſible of this " truth; nor was he leſs ſenſible how much his own dignity was committed; yet his " heart anticipated the calamities of war, and he forgot his own *wrongs*, in his anxious " wiſh for peace. He even ſuggeſted a new plan for a ceſſation of arms for a term of " years. This plan was perfectly agreeable to his majeſty, on condition that the United " States of America ſhould be compriſed in the propoſal, and that, during the truce, " they ſhould be treated as independent. To render it more eaſy for the king of Eng- " land to ſubſcribe to this eſſential ſtipulation, his majeſty conſented that he ſhould " either treat immediately with congreſs, or through the mediation of the king " of Spain.

" In conſequence of theſe overtures, his Catholic majeſty diſpatched his plan to the " court of London. Beſides the time limited for the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities (during " which the United States were to be conſidered as independent *de facto*) his Catholic " majeſty took it upon himſelf to propoſe, relative to America, that each party ſhould " have the poſſeſſion of what they occupied at the time of ſigning the treaty of ſuſpen- " ſion, guaranteed to them. Such infinite pains did the king of Spain take to ſtop the " effuſion of human blood.

" There is not a doubt but theſe conditions muſt appear to every well-judging " perſon, ſuch as would have been accepted; they were, however, formally rejected by " the court of London, nor has that court ſhewn any diſpoſition to peace, unleſs " on the *abſurd* conditions that his majeſty ſhould abandon the Americans, and leave " them to themſelves.

" After this afflicting declaration, the continuation is become *inevitable*, and therefore " his majeſty has invited the Catholic king to join him in virtue of their reciprocal en-

" gagements, to avenge their *reſpective injuries*, and to put an end to that tyrannical
" empire which England has uſurped, and pretends to maintain, upon the ocean.

" This ſuccinct expoſure of the political views, and the progreſſive ſeries of events " which have occaſioned the preſent rupture between the courts of Verſailles and London " will enable all Europe to draw a parallel between the conduct of his majeſty, and that " of the king of England; to render juſtice to the *purity and directneſs of intention* which, " during the whole of the diſpute, has characterized his majeſty; and, finally, all Eu- " rope will be enabled, by this publication, to judge, *which* of the two ſovereigns is the " real author of the war which afflicts their kingdoms; and which of the two poten- " tates will be anſwerable, at the tribunal of Heaven, for that train of calamities occa- " ſioned by the war!"

Such is the language of a manifeſto, which ſtands almoſt without a parallel in the annals of Europe; thoſe annals moſt certainly preſent not a more flagrant attempt to impoſe on the credulity, or rather a more daring inſult to the *common ſenſe* of makind. The manifeſto exhibits an impotent effort to ſanction violence and injuſtice; and to convert acts of aggreſſion, the moſt hoſtile and unequivocal, into proofs of a pacific diſpoſition. But manifeſtoes, however unfounded in truth, muſt be conſidered as a kind of ſacrifice to decency; for, in every war, it is to be preſumed that *one* party muſt be guilty of a ſhameful violation of every principle of juſtice and humanity;—to ſay nothing of the direct and poſitive precepts of the Chriſtian religion;—and it is probably a conſciouſneſs of the effect which ſuch a violation muſt produce on all *well-judging* minds, that gives riſe to the publication of manifeſtoes calculated to transfer the odium to an adverſary.

A "Juſtifying Memorial" ſoon appeared on the part of England, in reply to the unfounded declarations of the French; it was explanatory, ſpecific, and concluſive; ſome parts of it are worthy to be recorded in hiſtory:—After tracing the origin of the unhappy diſpute with the American colonies, it is remarked, that the court of Verſailles had eaſily forgotten the faith of treaties, the duties of allies, and the right of ſovereigns, to endeavour to profit by circumſtances which appeared favourable to its ambitious deſigns; that it did not bluſh to debaſe its dignity by the ſecret connections it formed with rebellious ſubjects; and, after having exhauſted all the ſhameful reſources of perfidy and diſſimulation, it dared to avow, in the face of Europe (full of indignation at its conduct) the ſolemn treaties which the miniſters of the Moſt Chriſtian king had ſigned with the dark agents of the Engliſh colonies, who founded their pretended independence on nothing but the daringneſs of their revolt.

It enforced the neceſſary diſcrimination between the oppoſite duties impoſed on nations by war and peace; which duties, it was maintained, had been perpetually confounded in the manifeſto publiſhed by France, who pretended to juſtify her conduct, in making the beſt,

beſt, by turns, nay, almoſt at the ſame time, of thoſe rights which an enemy only is permitted to claim, and of thoſe maxims which regulate the obligation and procedure of national friendſhip: it was obſerved, that the fineſſe of the court of Verſailles, in blending inceſſantly two oppoſitions which have no connection, was the natural conſequence of a falſe and treacherous policy, which could not bear the light of the day.

The Engliſh miniſter inſiſted, that the full juſtification of his maſter, and the indelible condemnation of France, might be reduced to the proof of two ſimple, and almoſt ſelf-evident principles. The firſt of theſe was—that a profound, permanent, and on the part of England, a ſincere and true peace, ſubſiſted between the two nations, when France formed connections with the revolted colonies, ſecret at firſt, but afterwards public and avowed: the ſecond--that according to the beſt acknowledged maxims of the rights of nations, and even according to the tenor of treaties actually ſubſiſting between the two crowns, theſe connections might be regarded as infractions of the peace; and the publick avowal of theſe connections was equivalent to a declaration of war on the part of the moſt Chriſtian king.

The court of Verſailles was challenged to prove, that any of the vague complaints which were ſo copiouſly ſcattered over the manifeſto had the ſmalleſt foundation in truth; the accuſations of treachery were ſucceſsfully repelled; and the charge of haughtineſs and ambition was boldly retorted. It was urged that, if ſome facts, which France enhanced as the ground of their complaints, were built on a leſs ſandy baſis, the Engliſh miniſters had cleared them without delay, by a moſt clear and entire juſtification of the motives and rights of their ſovereign, who might puniſh contraband trade on his coaſt, without wounding the public repoſe; and to whom the law of nations gave an indiſputable right to ſeize all veſſels which carried arms or warlike ſtores to his enemies or rebellious ſubjects; that the courts of juſtice were always open to individuals of all nations, and thoſe muſt be very ignorant of the Britiſh conſtiution, who could ſuppoſe that the royal authority was capable of ſhutting up the means of appeal; that every time that the court of Verſailles had been able to eſtabliſh the truth of any real injuries which its ſubjects had ſuſtained, without the knowledge or approbation of the king of England, his majeſty had given the moſt ſpeedy and effectual orders to ſtop an abuſe, which was equally injurious to his own dignity and to the intereſt of his neighbours. It was aſked, Whether probability ſanctioned the conjecture, that whilſt the forces of England were employed in bringing back to their duty the revolted colonies of America, ſhe ſhould have choſen that moment to irritate the moſt reſpectable powers of Europe, by the injuſtice and violence of her conduct.

In order to eſtabliſh clearly the pacific ſyſtem which ſubſiſted between the two nations, the teſtimony of the court of Verſailles was appealed to. It was aſſerted, that at the very time in which that court did not bluſh to place all thoſe pretended in-

fractions of the publick peace, which would have engaged a prince, leſs ſparing of his ſubjects' blood, to make, without heſitation, repriſals, and to repel inſult by force of arms—the miniſter of the Moſt Chriſtian king ſpoke the language of confidence and friendſhip; and that, inſtead of denouncing any deſign of vengeance, with that haughty tone, which at leaſt ſpares injuſtice from the reproaches of perfidy and diſſimulation, the court of Verſailles concealed the moſt treacherous conduct under the ſmootheſt profeſſions—profeſſions which now ſerved to belie its declaration, and to call to mind thoſe ſentiments which ought to have regulated its conduct. It was called upon to acknowledge, that till the moment that it dictated to the marquis de Noailles that declaration which had been received as the ſignal of war, it did not know any ground of complaint, ſufficiently real or important, to authorize a violation of the obligations of peace, and the faith of treaties, to which it had ſworn both in the face of heaven and earth; and to diſengage from that amity, of which, to the laſt moment, it had repeated the moſt ſolemn and lively aſſurances.

The warlike preparations of England were declared to have been the *conſequence* and not the *cauſe* of the proceedings of France, whoſe dangerous policy, without a motive, and without an enemy, precipitated the building and arming of ſhips in all her ports; and which employed a conſiderable part of her revenues in the expence of thoſe military preparations, the neceſſity or object of which it was impoſſible to declare: in this reſpect the king of England only followed the council of his prudence, and the *example* of his neighbours, and that with a view to maintain the general tranquillity of Europe.

Adverting to the declaration of the French miniſter, that the Britiſh monarch, "inſtead of confining himſelf within the limits of a lawful defence, gave himſelf up to a "hope of conqueſt; and that the reconciliation of Great Britain with her colonies announced on her part, a fixed project of re-allying them with her crown, to arm them "againſt France," the court of Verſailles was ſummoned, in the face of Europe, to produce a proof of an aſſertion as odious as it was bold, and to develope thoſe public operations, or ſecret intrigues, that could authorize the ſuſpicions of France, that Great Britain, after a long and painful diſpute, offered peace to her ſubjects, with no other deſign than to undertake a freſh war againſt a reſpectable power with which ſhe had preſerved all the appearances of friendſhip.

To prove that France was bound by every obligation of friendſhip and treaty with the king of England, who had never failed in his legitimate engagement, the French miniſter was referred to the treaty ſigned at Paris, on the tenth of February, 1763, between their Britannic, Moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and Moſt Faithful majeſties, which confirms in the moſt preciſe and ſolemn manner, the obligations which natural juſtice impoſes on all nations which are in mutual friendſhip. After having compriſed, in a general orm, all the ſtates and ſubjects of the high contracting powers, they declared their reſolution, "not

" not only never to permit any hoſtilities by land or ſea, but even to procure recipro-
" cally, on every occaſion, all that can contribute to their mutual glory, intereſt, and
" advantages, without giving any ſuccour or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe
" who would do any prejudice to one or other of the high contracting parties." Such was the ſacred engagement which France had contracted with Great Britain; and the latter very juſtly maintained, that ſuch a promiſe ought to bind with greater ſtrength and energy againſt the domeſtic rebels, than the foreign enemies of the two crowns. The revolt of the Americans, it was contended, put the fidelity of the court of Verſailles to the proof; if France had intended to fulfil her duty, it was impoſſible for her to have miſtaken it; the ſpirit as well as the letter of the treaty of Paris impoſed on her an obligation to bar her ports againſt the American veſſels; to forbid her ſubjects to have any commerce with that rebellious people; and not to afford either ſuccour or protection to the domeſtic enemies of a crown with whom ſhe had ſworn a ſincere and inviolable friendſhip.

It was obſerved, that after the declaration of independance, the agents of the revolted colonies, who were anxious to draw from Europe thoſe military aids, without which it was impoſſible for them to continue the war, endeavoured to penetrate into and ſettle in the different ſtates; but that France was the only power which would afford them an aſylum, hopes, and aſſiſtance. The difficulty of preventing, in all caſes, illicit commerce, was readily acknowledged; but it was inſiſted, that the conduct of the French merchants, who furniſhed America not only with uſeful and neceſſary merchandize, but even with ſaltpetre, gunpowder, arms, and artillery, loudly proclaimed that they were aſſured not only of impunity, but of the protection and favour of the miniſters of the court of Verſailles.

To eſtabliſh beyond the reach of confutation, the hoſtile diſpoſition, and aggreſſive conduct of France, the Engliſh miniſters adverted to facts of ſuch profeſſed notoriety, as to preclude the chance of contradiction; they mentioned the proceedings of a company, aſſociated for the expreſs purpoſe of ſupplying the Americans with whatever could nouriſh and maintain the fire of revolt; the chief of the enterprize was publickly named: his houſe was eſtabliſhed at Paris; his correſpondents at Dunkirk, Nantz, and Bourdeaux, were equally known: the immenſe magazines which they formed, and which they repleniſhed every day, were laden in ſhips that they built or bought; and they ſcarcely diſſembled their objects, or the place of their deſtination.

Theſe facts which could be conſidered only as manifeſt breaches of the faith of treaties, were continually multiplied, and the Britiſh ambaſſador had diligently communicated his complaints and proofs to the court of Verſailles: he even pointed out the names, number, and quality of the ſhips, that the commercial agents of America had fitted out in the ports of France, to carry to the rebels arms, warlike ſtores, and even French officers,

cers who had engaged in the ſervice of the revolted colonies: the duties, places, and perſons were always ſpecified, with a preciſion that afforded the miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty the greateſt facility of being aſſured of theſe reports, and of ſtopping in time the progreſs of theſe illicit armaments. Numerous examples, demonſtrative of the neglect of the court of Verſailles to fulfil the conditions of peace, and of its conſtant attention to nouriſh fear and diſcord, were cited; and the following quotation was made from a ſhort memorial preſented by lord Stormont to the count de Vergennes, in the month of November, 1777, as giving a juſt, though very imperfect idea of the wrongs which Britain had ſo often ſuſtained:—"There is a ſixty-gun ſhip at Rochefort, and an "Eaſt-India ſhip, pierced for ſixty guns, at l'Orient, which are deſtined for the ſervice "of the rebels. They are laden with different merchandize, and freighted by Meſſrs. "Chaumont, Holken, and Sabatier. The ſhip l'Heureux ſailed from Marſeilles the "twenty-ſixth of September, under another name: ſhe goes ſtraight to New Hamp-"ſhire, though it is pretended ſhe is bound to the French iſlands. They have been "permitted to take on board three thouſand muſquets, and twenty-five thouſand pounds "of ſulphur; a merchandize as neceſſary to the Americans, as uſeleſs to the iſlands. "This ſhip is commanded by M. Lundi, a French officer of diſtinction, formerly lieu-"tenant to M. de Bougainville. L'Hippopotame, belonging to the Sieur Beaumarchais, "will have on board four thouſand muſquets, and many warlike ſtores for the uſe of the "rebels. There are about Fifty French ſhips laden with ammunition for the uſe of the "rebels, preparing to ſail to North America. They will go from Nantz, l'Orient, "Saint Malo, Havre, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and other different ports."—Then followed the names of the perſons principally intereſted.

Various other acts of aggreſſion were ſpecified and detailed. Ships, it was affirmed, had been purchaſed and arrived in France to cruize in the European ſeas, nay, even on the coaſts of Great Britain: to ſave appearances, the captains of theſe corſairs hoiſted the American flag, but their crews were always compoſed of a great number of Frenchmen, who entered with impunity, under the very eyes of the governors and officers of the maritime provinces: a numerous ſwarm of theſe corſairs, animated by a ſpirit of rapine, ſailed from the French ports: and, after cruiſing in the Britiſh ſeas, re-entered, or took ſhelter in the ſame ports: thither they brought their prizes, and under a rude, weak artifice, which they ſometimes vouchſafed to employ, the prizes were ſold, publicly and commodiouſly enough, in the ſight of the royal officer, always diſpoſed to protect the commerce of thoſe traders, who violated the laws, to conform to the French miniſtry. The corſairs enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the Britiſh ſubjects; and, after having profited of full liberty to repair their loſſes, provide for their wants, and procure all warlike ſtores, gunpowder, cannon, and rigging, which might ſerve for new enterprizes, they departed freely from the ſame ports to make new cruizes. The Reprisal privateer, which had brought Franklin, agent to the revolted colonies, to Europe, was received, with two prizes ſhe had taken, in her poſſeſſion; ſhe remained in the port of Nantz as long as

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ſhe thought convenient; put twice to ſea to plunder the ſubjects of England; and went quietly into l'Orient with the new prizes ſhe had made.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt repreſentations of the Britiſh ambaſſador, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the French miniſters, the captain of that corſair was permitted to ſtay at l'Orient as long as it was neceſſary to refit his ſhip, to provide ſixty barrels of gunpowder, and to receive as many French ſeamen as choſe to engage with him. Furniſhed with theſe reinforcements, the Repriſal ſailed a third time from the ports of France, and preſently formed a little ſquadron of pirates, by the connected junction of the Lexington and the Dolphin, two privateers, the firſt of which had already carried more than one prize into the river of Bourdeaux; and the other, fitted out at Nantz, and manned entirely by Frenchmen, had nothing American but the commander. Theſe three ſhips, which ſo publickly enjoyed the protection of the court of Verſailles, in a ſhort time afterwards took fifteen Britiſh veſſels, the greateſt part of which were taken into the ports of France, and ſecretly ſold. Similar inſtances of aggreſſive conduct were adduced in the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies.

To the firſt repreſentations of the Britiſh ambaſſador, on the ſubject of the privateers which were fitted out in the French ports under American colours, the miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty replied, with expreſſions of ſurprize and indignation, and by a poſitive declaration, that attempts, ſo contrary to the faith of treaties, and the public tranquillity, ſhould never be ſuffered. But the train of events ſoon manifeſted the inconſtancy, or rather the falſhood of the court of Verſailles; and the Engliſh ambaſſador was ordered to repreſent to the French miniſters the ſerious, but inevitable conſequences of their policy. He fulfilled his commiſſion with all the conſideration due to a reſpectable power, the preſervation of whoſe friendſhip was deſired, but with a friendſhip worthy of a ſovereign, and a nation little accuſtomed to do or to ſuffer injuſtice. The court of Verſailles was called upon to explain its conduct, and its intentions, without delay or evaſion; and the king of England propoſed to it the alternative of peace or war. France choſe peace, in order to wound her enemy more ſurely and ſecretly, without having any thing to dread from her juſtice. She ſeverely condemned thoſe ſuccours and armaments, which the principles of public equity would not permit her to juſtify. She declared to the Britiſh ambaſſador, that ſhe was reſolved to baniſh the American corſairs immediately from all the ports of France, never to return again; and that ſhe would take, in future, the moſt rigorous precautions to prevent the ſale of prizes taken from the ſubjects of Great Britain. The orders given to that effect aſtoniſhed the partiſans of the rebels, and ſeemed to check the progreſs of the evil: but ſubjects of complaint ſprang up again daily; and the manner in which theſe orders were firſt eluded, then violated, and, at length, entirely forgotten, by the merchants, privateers, nay, even by the royal officers, was not excuſable by the proteſtations of friendſhip, with which the court of Verſailles

Verſailles accompanied thoſe infractions of peace, until the very moment that the treaty of alliance, which it had ſigned with the agents of the revolted American colonies, was announced by the French ambaſſador in London.

If a foreign enemy, acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, had conquered the Britiſh American dominions; and if France had confirmed, by a ſolemn treaty, an act of violence, that had plundered, in the midſt of a profound peace, a reſpectable neighbour of whom ſhe ſtiled herſelf the friend and ally; all Europe would have ſtood up againſt the injuſtice of her conduct, which ſhamefully violated all that is moſt ſacred among men. The firſt diſcovery, the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of two hundred years, and the conſent of all nations, were ſufficient to aſcertain the rights of Great Britain over the lands of North America, and its ſovereignty over the people that had ſettled there, with the permiſſion, and under the government of the predeceſſors of the king of England. If even this people had dared to ſhake off the yoke of authority, or rather of the laws; if they had uſurped the provinces and prerogatives of their ſovereign; and if they had ſought the alliance of ſtrangers to ſupport their pretended independence: thoſe ſtrangers could not, it was contended, accept their alliance, ratify their uſurpations, and acknowledge their independence, without ſuppoſing that *revolt* hath more extenſive rights than thoſe of *war*; and without granting to rebellious ſubjects a lawful title to conqueſt, which they could not have made, but in contempt both of law and juſtice. The ſecret enemies of peace —ſaid the Britiſh miniſter—of England, and, *perhaps of France herſelf*, had nevertheleſs the criminal dexterity to perſuade his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that he could, without violating the faith of treaties, publickly declare, that he received the revolted ſubjects of a king, his neighbour and ally, into the number of his allies. The profeſſions of friendſhip which accompanied that declaration, which the marquis de Noailles was ordered to make to the court of London, only ſerved to aggravate the injury by the inſult; and it was reſerved for France to boaſt of pacific diſpoſitions, in the very inſtant that her ambition inſtigated her to execute and avow an act of perfidy, unexampled in the hiſtory of nations.

In anſwer to the aſſertion that it was not the acknowledgment of the independence of America that had enraged the king of England, who could not be ignorant of all the examples of the like kind that the Britiſh annals, even of his own reign, furniſh, it was properly obſerved, that no ſuch examples exiſted; that the king of England never acknowledged the independence of a people, who had ſhaken off the yoke of their lawful prince; and a concern was expreſſed, that the miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould have cheated the piety of their ſovereign, to cover, with ſo reſpectable a name, aſſertions, without any foundation or likelihood, which were contradicted by the memory of all Europe.

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The memorial concluded with a well-founded obſervation, that the declaration of the marquis de Noailles was a ſignal of the public infraction of the peace—in conſequence of which the king of England directly proclaimed to all nations that he accepted the war which France offered; the laſt proceedings of his majeſty, it was maintained, was rather the offspring of his prudence than his juſtice; and Europe was left to judge if the court of London wanted means to "juſtify a declaration of war, and if ſhe did not dare to "accuſe France publickly of being the aggreſſor."

Such is the ſubſtance of the Britiſh memorial, publiſhed as a reply to the French manifeſto; the facts it exhibits are ſtrong, pointed, and unanſwerable, and the arguments it contains are generally concluſive; but unhappily there is no earthly tribunal endued with power to enforce, on ſuch occaſions, the verdict which juſtice would dictate; to check the deſtructive efforts of ambition; to reſtrain the luſt of conqueſt; to avert the deadly effects of national enmity; and to fruſtrate the fatal projects of revenge. The die was already caſt; the flames of war were widely diffuſed; and amidſt the clang of arms, reaſon but ſeldom can exert her ſalutary ſway.

The intrigues of France had prevailed in the cabinet of Madrid; and the Spaniſh ambaſſador having quitted London, the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon formed a junction of their naval forces, amounting to ſixty-ſix ſail of the line, with which they triumphantly entered the Britiſh channel. This deciſive ſuperiority compelled the Engliſh fleet to ſeek for refuge in its own ports; while the inhabitants of the Britiſh coaſt were in momentary expectation that the enemy would effect a deſcent; and even Plymouth trembled for her ſafety. But the dread of the approaching equinoxial ſtorms ſuperinduced a ſeparation of the combined fleets, after they had captured the Ardent, an Engliſh ſhip of the line; and the French ſailors, in their return to port, communicated to their countrymen a peſtilential diſorder, which raged for ſome time in different parts of the kingdom.

With a view to encreaſe the embarraſſments of England, and to divide her force, Spain, with a conſiderable army, formed the memorable ſiege of Gibraltar; an enterprize which had a contrary effect to that it was intended to produce, and finally terminated in the diſgrace of Spain, and the exultation of her foe. The land forces were entruſted to the command of Don Alvarez; Don Barcello blocked up the harbour with a number of xebecques and frigates; while Don Lewis de Cordova, with twelve ſhips of the line, was ſtationed near to afford ſupport to its operations.

Amidſt the rage of war, Lewis the Sixteenth diſplayed that regard for ſcience which had early formed the prominent feature of his reign; and while his operations againſt the enemy were marked by the utmoſt vigour of exertion, two ſhips obtained a voluntary and honourable exemption from the hoſtile attempts of the French fleets. Previous to the

commencement of hoſtilities, the Engliſh had ſent two veſſels into the South Seas, commanded by captains Cook and Clerke, to explore the coaſts and iſlands of Japan and California; the return of thoſe veſſels was hourly expected in Europe; and Lewis, with that conſiderate humanity which reflects the brighteſt luſtre on his character, commanded his naval officers, by a circular letter, to abſtain from hoſtilities againſt thoſe ſhips, and to treat them, in all reſpects, as neutral veſſels. The letters alſo mentioned captain Cook, who had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſucceſſive voyages of diſcovery, in terms of the higheſt reſpect; but that celebrated navigator did not live to enjoy this grateful teſtimony of his merit; having already fallen a victim to the blind fury of the ſavages, in one of the newly-diſcovered iſlands.

A. D. 1780.] To augment thoſe reſources which were indiſpenſibly requiſite for the ſupport of the war, M. Neckar, who now preſided over the finances of France, exerted his talents in the taſk of reform. Not a ſingle department of the revenue eſcaped his vigilance and attention; rigid economy and judicious improvements precluded the neceſſity of additional impoſts; and a variety of unneceſſary offices in the houſehold of the king and queen were aboliſhed, at the expreſs requiſition of their majeſties, whoſe concern for the eaſe of their ſubjects, and the general welfare of the kingdom, led to the adoption of many other important regulations.

The zeal and induſtry of the director-general of the finances were rivalled by the addreſs of the French miniſters at the different courts of Europe. Fearful leſt the intimate connection which had ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Ruſſians might lead to an alliance hoſtile to the intereſts of France, the French ambaſſador at the court of Peterſburgh was inſtructed, at this critical juncture, to conciliate the inclinations of the empreſs, by every compliance that the honour of his country would permit; and the fears of France were ſoon extinguiſhed by a manifeſto as favourable to the views of the court of Verſailles, as it was unpropitious to thoſe of St. James's. The jealouſy that had been excited by the former aſcendancy of Great Britain, and the dominion to which ſhe had attained on the ſea, had even extended, and been nouriſhed by, the moſt diſtant powers of the north; the empreſs of Ruſſia embraced the opportunity to emancipate her commerce from the controul of the Engliſh; and was readily perſuaded, by the ambaſſador of France, to place herſelf at the head of a confederacy formed of her northern neighbours. She accordingly addreſſed a declaration to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, in which, after expatiating at large on the juſtice and moderation of which ſhe had given ſuch convincing proofs in the courſe of her war with the Ottoman Porte, and the ſtrict regard which ſhe had always ſhewn for the rights of neutrality and of commerce in general, ſhe lamented that her example had not been permitted to influence the preſent belligerent powers, but that her ſubjects had been precluded from the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the advantages belonging to neutral nations; that they had been moleſted in their navigation, and retarded in their operations, by the ips and privateers

vateers of the contending ſovereigns; and that ſhe found herſelf, with concern, under the neceſſity of removing thoſe vexations which were offered to the commerce of Ruſſia in particular, and to that of Europe in general, by all the means compatible with her own dignity, and with the welfare of her ſubjects.

She proceeded to demand that neutral ſhips ſhould enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coaſts of the belligerent powers; that all the effects belonging to thoſe powers ſhould be looked upon as free on board ſuch neutral ſhips, excepting only thoſe goods that were agreed to be contraband, as arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores; that if any ſuch were found, beyond what might properly appertain to the ſhip's crew or paſſengers, they might be ſeized and confiſcated according to law; but neither the veſſels, paſſengers, nor the reſt of the goods, were to be detained for that reaſon, nor hindered from purſuing their voyage; that theſe principles were to ſerve as rules in the judicial proceedings and ſentences upon the legality of prizes; and her imperial majeſty declared, that to render them ſtill more reſpected, and to protect the honour of her flag, ſhe had given orders to fit out a conſiderable naval force. The kings of Denmark and Sweden immediately acceded to the declarations of the empreſs of Ruſſia; the States-general of the United Provinces, after that delay which generally prevails in the deliberations of the Republic, followed their example; and this formidable confederacy aſſumed the title of the Armed Neutrality, and engaged to make a common cauſe of it at ſea, againſt any of the powers that ſhould violate the principles which had been laid down in the Ruſſian memorial.

The king of France haſtened publickly to declare his entire approbation of a meaſure, the adoption of which his miniſters had been long ſecretly endeavouring to promote. He declared that what her imperial majeſty claimed from the belligerent powers was nothing elſe than the rules preſcribed to the French navy; the execution of which was enforced with an exactneſs known and applauded by all Europe. He heartily coincided with the principles and views of the empreſs; and he aſſerted, that from the meaſures ſhe had now adopted, ſolid advantages would undoubtedly reſult not only to her ſubjects, but likewiſe to all nations.

While France, thus ſucceſsful in the cabinet, ſecured the friendſhip of the northern potentates, the arms of her kindred ally received a deep and deſperate check. A Spaniſh fleet of eleven ſhips of the line and two frigates, cruiſing near Cape Saint Vincents, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, were encountered, on the ſixteenth of January, by a Britiſh fleet of ſuperior force, commanded by admiral Rodney, the object of whoſe deſtination was the relief of Gibraltar. The Spaniards diſplayed great gallantry in maintaining, for a conſiderable time, the unequal conflict; but they were unable to avert that fate which an inferior force muſt ever expect to incur. One of their ſhips, the Saint Domingo, of ſeventy guns and ſix hundred men, was blown up in the action.

The admiral's ſhip, the Phœnix of eighty guns, with four more ſhips of ſeventy guns, were taken; another of the ſame rate was driven aſhore and deſtroyed; and the reſt of the fleet, after ſuſtaining conſiderable damage, eſcaped with difficulty into the neighbouring ports. Admiral Rodney immediately purſued his courſe to Gibraltar: relieved the garriſon of that fortreſs; then repaſſing the ſtreights, ſteered to the Weſt Indies, after detaching admiral Digby, with his prizes and part of his ſquadron to Great Britain, who, on his paſſage, fell in with and captured the Prothé, a French man of war of ſixty-four guns.

Nor was this the only diſaſter which aroſe from the fooliſh perſeverance of Spain in the fruitleſs ſiege of Gibraltar. France had, during the winter, at an immenſe expence, continued thoſe preparations, the object of which was to give the allies a deciſive ſuperiority at ſea; but the meditated junction of the combined fleets was retarded by the obſtinacy of the Spaniards, who confined their hoſtile attempts to that impregnable fortreſs; and the ſhips of France were confined in their harbours, by the ſuperior force of Great Britain, whoſe naval armaments ſhe was not able to encounter ſingly. Admiral Geary, with the Engliſh fleet, continued vigilantly to obſerve their motions, and the Artois, the Pearl, the Capricieuſe, the Nymphe, and the Belle-Poule, ſwelled the number of frigates, loſt to France in the ſpace of a few months, to eight, beſides the count d'Artois, a private ſhip of war, carrying ſixty-four guns. The chevalier de Kergarion, who commanded the Belle-Poule, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bloody and gallant reſiſtance: though his ſhip mounted only thirty-two guns, and the enemy he encountered had ſixty-four, he maintained the combat with undaunted reſolution: when mortally wounded, he continued to exclaim "*Courage, mes enfans! courage!*" and expired while animating to farther exertions his courageous crew. On his death the command devolved on his firſt lieutenant, M. la Motte Tabourel, who emulated the heroic valour of his captain, and, for three quarters of an hour, defended the Belle-Poule with equal vigour. He then reluctantly ſtruck his flag, the ſhip being on the point of ſinking. Six feet water were in the hold; ſixteen ſhot in the hull of the ſhip: the maſts and yards broken; the ſails and rigging cut to pieces; the captain and twenty-four men killed; and the ſecond captain, with fifty men, wounded. The chevalier du Remain, in the Nymphe, had diſplayed ſimilar bravery in the defence of his ſhip; equal in force to the enemy, he only yielded to her ſuperior fortune; before the colours of the Nymphe were ſtricken, two thirds of her crew were killed and wounded; and among the former was the chevalier du Remain himſelf.

Finding there was no proſpect of being joined by the Spaniards, the French ſhips of war had eſcaped from Breſt in ſmall diviſions, and repaired to Cadiz; and as the combined fleets were cruiſing off Cape St, Vincent, fortune ſeemed diſpoſed to make them ample amends for their former diſappointments. A rich and extenſive convoy for the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies had ſailed from England under the feeble protection

protection of a ſingle ſhip of the line, and only two frigates; and Don Louis de Cordova, who commanded the allied ſquadrons, was agreeably ſurpriſed, on the eighth of Auguſt, with the ſight of this valuable and defenceleſs fleet. A ſignal was made for a general chace; the ſhips of war eſcaped by their ſuperior ſailing; but five Eaſt Indiamen, and fifty veſſels bound to the Weſt Indies, were taken and carried into Cadiz; the former, beſides arms and ammunition, with a train of artillery, conveyed naval ſtores for the ſupply of the Britiſh ſquadron in that quarter; and the latter contained tents and camp equipage for the troops deſigned for active ſervice in the Leeward Iſlands; but the greateſt loſs which Great Britain ſuſtained, on this occaſion, was that of fifteen hundred and twenty ſeamen, and twelve hundred and fifty-five ſoldiers, who became the captives of the houſe of Bourbon.

In the Weſt Indies, M. de la Motte Piquet, with four ſhips of the line, attacked, on the twentieth of March, a ſmaller ſquadron of the Engliſh under commodore Cornwallis; the action, which continued the whole night and part of the following day, was totally indeciſive, not a ſhip being taken on either ſide. The French admiral, having ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and being anxious to join the grand fleet, left the enemy in a diſabled ſtate, and bore away for Cape François. The count de Guichen had ſailed from Breſt to ſupply the place of count d'Eſtaing; the fleet under his command, when united, conſiſted of twenty-three ſhips of the line, beſides frigates; and, on the ſeventeenth of April, he fell in with admiral Rodney, whoſe force did not exceed twenty ſhips of the line. An engagement enſued, which, like the other, was maintained with great obſtinacy, and proved equally indeciſive. The French retired to Guadaloupe, for the purpoſe of refitting their ſhattered veſſels; while the Engliſh, reſolute to renew the action, preſerved their ſtation off the iſland of Martinico.

As ſoon as the count de Guichen had repaired his ſhips, he again ſailed to encounter the enemy: on the evening of the fifteenth of May the hoſtile fleets engaged, but after a fruitleſs effuſion of human blood, night parted the combatants; who again met, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, when a third action enſued, equally partial and indeciſive. But though the French, in theſe different engagements, had no advantage to boaſt, they nevertheleſs convinced the Engliſh that the decided ſuperiority on which they had been accuſtomed to reckon, in naval encounters, no longer exiſted; for whatever inferiority there might be on the part of the common ſeamen of the French fleet, there appeared to be no inferiority, with reſpect either to naval ſkill or courage, in the French officers.

The count de Guichen was joined, in the month of June, by a Spaniſh ſquadron, but the refuſal of its admiral to concur in any attack on the Engliſh ſettlements, totally deſtroyed the effects of the ſuperiority which that junction afforded him. Thus debarred, by the ſuperfluous caution of his colleague, from all hoſtile attempts, he ſeized the opportunity to eſcort the homeward-bound trade towards Europe; the ſickly ſtate of his men

men induced him to continue his voyage, and he conducted the rich fleet he had undertaken to convoy in ſafety to Cadiz. He was there joined by the count d'Eſtaing, who aſſumed the chief command; the fleet of France, by this union, was ſwelled to ſix-and-thirty ſail of the line; but the ſhips themſelves were foul and out of repair, and the feeble condition of the crews ſo far precluded the poſſibility of attack, that, though the French admiral, on his paſſage, fell in with an Engliſh fleet of only twenty ſhips of the line, he ſtudiouſly avoided an engagement, and purſued his courſe to the ports of France.

The Engliſh, meanwhile, had been anxious to avail themſelves of the inactivity of the French in America, and, by the reduction of Charles Town, had excited a conſideable alarm throughout that continent. The earneſt ſolicitations of the United States, at length, awakened the French miniſtry to a juſt ſenſe of the importance of affording effectual ſupport to their allies; and, in the beginning of May, the count de Rochambeau was detached from Breſt with a ſtrong body of troops, and the chevalier de Ternay with ſeven ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates. Six thouſand of the troops were landed, on the tenth of July, at Rhode Iſland, which, during the courſe of the preceding year, had been evacuated by the Britiſh, and now acknowledged the authority of the United States.

Count Rochambeau was highly flattered with the reception he experienced from the Americans, who appointed a committee from the general aſſembly of Rhode Iſland to congratulate him on his arrival; and the ſatisfaction evinced by the latter was greatly encreaſed by the declaration of the French commander, that his ſovereign would never ſheath the ſword until the independence of America was ſecured; that the troops he had brought over were only the vanguard of a much greater force that was deſtined to their aid; and that he had the king's orders to aſſure them that the whole power of France ſhould be exerted for their ſupport; he added, that the French troops were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and, ſubject to the orders of general Waſhington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

Rhode Iſland was allotted, as a place of arms, by the United States, to their allies; and count Rochambeau, while he awaited the promiſed reinforcement, diligently employed his troops in repairing and ſtrengthening the works on the iſland; a precaution on which he had ſoon after reaſon to congratulate himſelf. General Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, returned, after the deduction of Charles Town, to New York, formed a plan of attack againſt the French fleet and army; but general Waſhington, having diſcovered their intentions, croſſed the North River with twelve thouſand men; and the Engliſh commander, ſenſible of the danger to which his abſence muſt expoſe New York, abandoned his project.

A plan

A plan, formed by the French and their allies, proved equally abortive. It was expected that Monſieur de Guichen, from the Weſt India iſlands, would ſteer his courſe to America, to join the freſh ſhips of M. Ternay; and that the grand army, under general Waſhington, being alſo reinforced by the troops of Rochambeau, an attack by ſea and land might be made on the Britiſh troops at New York, with ſuch a ſuperiority of force, as muſt have enſured ſucceſs; the reduction of lord Cornwallis's detachment to the ſouthward muſt naturally have enſued; and the marquis de la Fayette was to have proceeded, with a conſiderable army, on a winter expedition againſt Canada.

In expectation of theſe events, la Fayette publiſhed a preparatory memorial, addreſſed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them, by all the ancient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural deſire of recovering their loſt liberties, to be ready to join and aſſiſt him; and holding out all the ſeverities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to thoſe, if any ſuch there were, who, blindly perverſe to their own intereſts, and forgetful of all thoſe ties and duties, ſhould, in any manner oppoſe the arms or impede the generous deſigns of their deliverers; but when the diligence of Waſhington had ſwelled his army to twenty thouſand men, the whole project was diſconcerted by the departure of the count de Guichen for Europe, which expoſed the Americans to as ſevere a diſappointment as any they had experienced during the courſe of the war.

The count's departure, which was juſtified by the bad ſtate of his ſhips, preſerved him from thoſe calamities in which the Weſt India iſlands were ſoon after involved. A hurricane, which raged with a degree of violence that baffles all deſcription, ſpread deſolation, both by ſea and land, throughout that quarter of the world. At Martinico, the beautiful town of Saint Pierre, built upon the ſhore, was entirely overwhelmed and waſhed away; the town of Baſſe-terre in Guadaloupe ſhared the ſame fate: ſixty ſail of tranſports from France, juſt arrived at Martinico with ſtores, and two thouſand five hundred troops on board, were driven out to ſea, and almoſt all ſwallowed up by the waves. The Experiment of fifty guns, with the Juno of forty, and ſeveral other French frigates, were totally loſt. Grenada and Saint Vincent's, equally preſented a ſcene of terror and deſolation; and in the latter not a ſingle houſe was capable of withſtanding the fury of the ſtorm. The Britiſh ſettlements and marine ſuffered alſo, in a proportionate degree: Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Saint Lucia, were the principal victims to its rage: admiral Rodney, with eleven ſhips of the line, had fortunately proceeded to the coaſt of America; but the Andromeda and Laurel, Britiſh frigates, were both wrecked on the coaſt of Martinico. The humanity of that gallant officer, the marquis de Bouillé, governor general of the French Weſt India iſlands, ſhone forth, on this occaſion, with diſtinguiſhed luſtre; thirty-one Engliſh ſailors, the ſcanty remnant that was ſaved from the crews of the Andromeda and Laurel, were ſent by the marquis, under a flag of truce, to the Britiſh commodore

commodore at Saint Lucia, with a letter, in which he declared, that he could not conſider in the light of enemies, men who had ſo narrowly eſcaped in a contention with the force of the elements; he expreſſed his concern that their number was ſo ſmall, and that none of the officers had been ſaved.

The events of the campaign, though by no means adverſe, had neither anſwered the ſanguine expectations of the court of Verſailles, nor been productive of thoſe deciſive advantages which the miniſters of France had hoped to derive from the united force of the houſe of Bourbon. But that confederacy ſoon acquired additional ſtrength from the daring boldneſs of their enemy. Great Britain, by the capture of an American packet, on board of which was Mr. Laurens, late preſident of the Congreſs, obtained poſſeſſion of the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce, between the Republic of Holland and the United States of America, which appeared to be in a train of negociation, and was approved by Van Berkel, a chief magiſtrate of the city of Amſterdam. This diſcovery gave ſo much offence to the court of London, that the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague received orders to preſent a memorial, dated the tenth of November, in which the States General were informed, that it appeared, from the papers of Mr. Laurens, that "the "States of Amſterdam had entered into a clandeſtine correſpondence with the American "rebels, ſo early as the month of Auguſt, 1788; that inſtructions and powers had been "given by them, for the purpoſe of entering into a treaty of indiſſoluble friendſhip "with the ſaid rebels, natural ſubjects of a ſovereign to whom the Republic was united "by the ſtricteſt ties of friendſhip;" his Britannic majeſty, therefore, required that ſo irregular a conduct might be formally diſavowed; and alſo inſiſted "on ſpeedy ſatisfac-"tion, adequate to the offence, and the exemplary puniſhment of the penſionary Van "Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace, and violators of the "rights of nations."—The States General not giving an immediate anſwer to this memorial, the demand contained in it was preſſed by the Britiſh ambaſſador, in repeated conferences, and in a ſecond memorial. Their recorder was then directed to wait on him, and to inform him, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the reſpective provinces, according to the received cuſtom and conſtitution of government; and that they would endeavour to frame an anſwer to his memorial, as ſoon as the nature of their government would permit. This gave ſo little ſatisfaction to the Britiſh court, who had the moſt convincing proofs of the treachery of the Dutch, that their ambaſſador was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and a declaration of war againſt Holland was publiſhed on the twentieth of December; a meaſure which was received at Paris with open exultation, and which neceſſarily threw that republic into the arms of France,

A. D. 1781.] The French miniſters, anxious to haraſs the enemy in every quarter, ſanctioned with their approbation a ſcheme, propoſed by the baron de Rullecourt, for taking

taking the iſland of Jerſey by a *coup-de-main*. For this purpoſe twelve hundred men of the legion of Luxembourg were entruſted to the command of the baron, who, in the night of the ſixth of January, traverſed, in flat-bottomed boats, the ſpace that ſeparates the iſland from the continent; and, having effected a landing, at the Bank du Violet, wholly unperceived by the enemy, though not without the loſs of two hundred men, ſuſtained in conſequence of a privateer, with four tranſports, being wrecked upon the rocks, he puſhed forward to the little town of St. Hellier, the capital of Jerſey, and drew up his troops in the market-place, whence he detached a party to the houſe of the lieutenant-governor, major Corbett, who was immediately ſecured, but not before he had found means to convey information of the ſtate of things to three regiments, which were ſtationed in different parts of the iſland. The baron de Rullecourt propoſed to the lieutenant-governor, to ſign articles of capitulation; threatening, in caſe he refuſed, to ſet fire to the town, and put the inhabitants to the ſword; and, at the ſame time, in order to prevail on him to comply, falſely aſſured him, that he had landed above five thouſand men on the iſland. The lieutenant-governor repreſented, that, being a priſoner, he was in conſequence deprived of all authority, and that, therefore, his ſigning any terms of capitulation, or proceeding to give any orders, could anſwer no purpoſe. The French general, however, perſiſted in his requiſition; and major Corbett, influenced by his menaces reſpecting the town and its inhabitants, and paying too much regard to his repreſentations, was, at length, prevailed upon to ſign the articles and to ſend orders to ſome officers under his command to comply with the capitulation.

But when Elizabeth caſtle was ſummoned, by the French, to ſurrender, captain Aylward, who commanded the Engliſh garriſon, not only peremptorily refuſed, but fired upon them, and compelled them to retire. In the mean time, the Britiſh troops, under the command of major Pierſon, who was next in ſeniority to the lieutenant-governor, together with the militia of the iſland; aſſembled upon the heights near the town. The baron de Rullecourt ſent to them a requiſition that they ſhould conform to the capitulation; but received for anſwer, "That, if the French did not lay down their arms, and "ſurrender themſelves priſoners, in twenty minutes they would be attacked." Accordingly, major Pierſon, having made a very judicious diſpoſition of the Britiſh troops, attacked the French with great vigour and impetuoſity. During the heat of the action, the baron de Rullecourt compelled major Corbett to ſtand cloſe by him, ſaying that he ſhould ſhare his fate. But the French general received a mortal wound, from a muſket ball, which broke his lower jaw-bone; and, in leſs than half an hour from the commencement of the action, in which the brave major Pierſon was alſo killed, the French ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

The attention of the French was diverted from the ſubject of this diſappointment, by the famous *Compte rendu*, or ſtate of the finances of France, which M. Neckar, director-general of the finances, now laid before the king, and cauſed to be printed for the

public inſpection; a meaſure which excited the greater aſtoniſhment, inaſmuch as the ſtricteſt ſecrecy had generally been obſerved, with reſpect to all the operations of the government. In this memorial M. Neckar obſerved, that he had been induced to render to his majeſty a public account of the ſucceſs of his labours, and of the actual ſtate of the French finances, by the conſideration, that the openneſs and authenticity of ſuch an account might tend greatly to promote the welfare of his majeſty's affairs. Such a ſtatement of accounts might alſo put every perſon who was concerned in his majeſty's councils in a ſituation to ſtudy and to attend to the ſtate of the finances; a ſpecies of knowledge important in itſelf; and having either connection with, or relation to, all deliberations of moment. He took notice, that a principal cauſe of the great credit of England was, the public notoriety to which the ſtate of her finances was ſubmitted; this account was every year preſented to parliament, and afterwards printed; and the money lenders, being thus regularly made acquainted with the proportion maintained between the receipts and diſburſements, were not rendered uneaſy by thoſe chimerical ſuſpicions and fears which were the inſeparable concomitants of a more diſguiſed conduct. But in France, the ſtate of the finances had conſtantly been made a matter of myſtery; or, if it was ſometimes ſpoken of, it was in the preambles of edicts; and always at the moment when there was occaſion to borrow. But it was of great moment to fix the public confidence upon a more ſolid baſis. The ſovereign of ſuch a kingdom as France might always, at his pleaſure, maintain the balance between his ordinary expences and revenues. The diminution of the former, ever ſeconded by the public wiſh, was in his own hands, and, when circumſtances required it, the augmentation of the impoſts was ſubmitted to his power[5]. But the moſt dangerous, as well as the moſt unjuſt of all reſources, was that of ſeeking temporary aids in a blind confidence, and engaging for loans, without having, either by an augmentation of the revenue, or by a retrenchment of expences, provided for the intereſt. Such an adminiſtration, as reduced, by procraſtinating the moment of embarraſſment, only increaſed the evil, and made farther advances in undermining the precipice; whilſt a different conduct, more ſimple and more liberal, would multiply the reſources of the ſovereign, and perpetually reſtrain him from every ſpecies of injuſtice.

M. Neckar divided his account of the French finances into three parts; the firſt, concerning the actual ſtate of the finances, and all the operations which related to the royal treaſury, and to public credit; the ſecond was intended to unfold the operations which

5 "*L'augmentation des impots eſt ſoumiſe a la puiſſance du Roi.*"—This aſſertion is *conſtitutionally* falſe. The privilege of raiſing taxes by the ſimple *fiat* of the ſovereign, had, indeed, frequently been aſſerted by the moſt tyrannical of the French monarchs, but had never been acknowledged by the nation; and our readers muſt have been convinced, by the frequent diſcuſſions of that ſubject, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that the kings of France, whenever they exerciſed ſuch privilege, were guilty of a groſs violation of the conſtitutional laws of the realm.

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had united important meaſures of economy with great advantages in government; and, in the third, he gave an account of ſome diſpoſitions and regulations which had lately taken place, and which had for their object the general welfare of the people, and the proſperity of the ſtate. At the cloſe of his addreſs to the French monarch, M. Neckar expreſſed himſelf in the following terms:—"My whole time has been devoted, without "intermiſſion, to the exerciſe of the important functions which your majeſty has en- "truſted to my charge. I have neither ſacrificed to fame, nor to power; and I have diſ- "dained the trappings of vanity. I have renounced even the deareſt private ſatisfaction, "that of ſerving my friends, or obtaining the gratitude of thoſe who ſurround me. If "any perſon owes to my ſingle favour either a penſion, a place, or an employment, "let him be named. I have had no other object than my duty, and the hopes of merit- "ing the approbation of my maſter, new to me; but my devotion and zeal for his ſer- "vice ſhall not be exceeded by any of his ſubjects: and I alſo avow, that I have proud- "ly relied on the public approbation, of which wicked men have endeavoured to de- "ſpoil me; but, in ſpite of their efforts, truth and juſtice will prevail."

In the third part of this publication, M. Neckar expreſſes very ſtrongly his regret, that, in conſequence of the commencement of the war, the introduction of reform, and the promotion of economy, had not been productive of all thoſe beneficial effects to the people, which they might have received from them, if peace had been continued. Had no war broken out, many of the burthens might have been lightened, their taxes might have been reduced, the national debt leſſened, canals opened, trade promoted and extended, new and uſeful eſtabliſhments founded in the kingdom, and various bleſſings communicated to the nation. On this ſubject, M. Neckar expreſſed himſelf with the wiſdom of a ſtatesman, and exhibited the benevolent and enlarged views of a real patriot, who had the good of his country at heart.

Towards the end of June, the fleet of France, conſiſting of eighteen ſhips of the line, under the command of the count de Guichen, ſailed from Breſt, and effected a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz. The united ſquadrons, amounting to no leſs than fifty ſhips of the line, ſteered ſouth-eaſt: and detached two large ſhips, with ſeveral frigates, to eſcort the duke de Crillon, and a conſiderable body of land forces, to Minorca, the invaſion of which iſland had been determined on by the courts of Verſailles and Madrid. After performing this ſervice, the combined fleets directed their courſe towards the Engliſh channel. Admiral Darby, who had but twenty-three ſhips of the line under his command, retired at their approach; but the elements warred in favour of the Engliſh; a violent tempeſt diſperſed the French and Spaniards, and compelled them to ſeek for ſhelter in their reſpective ports.

But the principal efforts of the combined powers were directed againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in America and the Weſt-Indies. At the latter end of March, monſieur de

Graſſe ſailed, with twenty ſhips of the line, one of fifty-four guns, and ſeveral frigates, with ſix thouſand land forces, from Breſt for Martinico. Off Fort Royal he deſcried the Britiſh fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail of the line, under the command of admiral Hood. The convoy with which de Graſſe was encumbered compelled him at firſt to prepare for action with caution; but four ſhips of the line having eluded the vigilance of the Britiſh admiral, and joined the French from Fort Royal, he now determined to avail himſelf of this decided ſuperiority, and to bring on a general engagement. In the mean time, the Engliſh had been alſo reinforced by a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns; and their commander diſplayed admirable ſkill in his manœuvres; yet the advantages of the French were numerous and evident, and an action of three hours, fought on the twenty-ninth of April, was only terminated by the approach of night. On the return of day, M. de Graſſe would have renewed the engagement, but the Engliſh bore away to Antigua, to repair the damages they had ſuſtained in the unequal conflict; while the French directed their operations to the reduction of the Britiſh ſettlements.

The loſs of Saint Lucia ſtill continued a ſubject of extreme regret to the French, who once more reſolved to attempt its recovery; for this purpoſe, the marquis de Bouillé, whoſe enterpriſing ſpirit had already been repeatedly diſplayed, with the viſcount Damas, and a conſiderable body of troops, landed on the iſland, during the abſence of a great part of the Engliſh garriſon, which had been drafted away for the capture of the Dutch ſettlement of St. Euſtatius. They immediately occupied the town of Groſs Iſlet, and ſummoned brigadier-general Saint Leger, the commanding officer, to ſurrender; but the marquis, being ſoon convinced that the ſtrength of the Engliſh was far ſuperior to what the natives, impatient to return under the French government, had taught him to believe, abandoned the project; and, having ſuddenly re-embarked his troops in the night, ſteered his courſe towards Tobago.

Againſt that iſland he had previouſly detached a ſmall ſquadron, with a conſiderable body of troops, under the conduct of mouſieur de Blanchelande, late governor of Saint Vincent's. The ſmall garriſon of Tobago, amounting to little more than four hundred men, gradually retired before the invaders to Concordia, a high ground, naturally ſtrong, and which commands a view of both ſides of the iſland. They were there inveſted by monſieur de Blanchelande; and the marquis de Bouillé, ſoon after arriving with the French fleet, aſſumed the ſupreme command.

Though that nobleman was poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſuperiority in the number of his troops, yet the reſiſtance of the garriſon of Tobago was long and obſtinate: during ſix days, they maintained themſelves, with undaunted courage, in the poſt of Concordia; and when the French had occupied the adjacent hills, which, in ſome meaſure, commanded the poſt, the Engliſh on a ſudden quitted it, and retreated to another ſtation, almoſt equally ſtrong, and at a conſiderable diſtance.

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But theſe efforts, though they protracted, could not avert, the final ſubmiſſion of the iſland; the ardour of the marquis de Bouillé was encreaſed by the difficulties he had to encounter: under a burning ſun, he, in perſon, conducted his troops through the moſt intricate paſſages of the iſland; to unite terror to force he reduced two of the neighbouring plantations to aſhes; and the inhabitants, hopeleſs of ſuccour, at length conſented to ſurrender. The marquis, neither elated by ſucceſs, nor provoked by the obſtacles their perſeverance had preſented, ſet an example of generoſity to all other commanders, in a ſimilar ſituation, and granted to the vanquiſhed the ſame favourable conditions as, had been extended to the inhabitants of Dominica.

Tobago had no ſooner ſubmitted to the dominion of France, than the Britiſh fleet, under admiral Rodney, appeared in ſight. M. de Graſſe immediately got under ſail, and offered the enemy battle; but the Engliſh, foiled in their efforts to prevent the reduction of the iſland, declined the encounter; and the French admiral re-conveyed the marquis de Bouillé to Martinico, touched at the Havannah to receive a ſupply of money, and, with twenty-eight ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates, directed his courſe towards America, and anchored in the Cheſapeak the laſt day in Auguſt.

General Arnold, who had lately forſaken the American cauſe and joined the Britiſh troops, had been detached from New-York, with a ſelect body of forces, to make an irruption into the province of Virginia, the extenſive plantations of which had largely contributed to furniſh the reſources of congreſs. The French, who were ſtationed at Rhode Iſland, deemed this a proper opportunity for atoning for their paſt inactivity, and for rendering an eſſential ſervice to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from the Cheſapeak. To reconnoitre that bay a ſhip of the line and ſome frigates were diſpatched, which fell in with and captured the Romulus, a Britiſh man of war, of forty-four guns; and ſoon after count Rochambeau ſailed with the land forces from Rhode Iſland, under convoy of monſieur Ternay's fleet.

Off Cape Henry, the French admiral was ſurpriſed by the unexpected appearance of the Britiſh ſquadron under admiral Graves; an action immediately enſued, which, though partial and indeciſive, ſo far diſabled the French ſhips as to render their return to Rhode Iſland a matter of neceſſity, by which means the project of giving aſſiſtance to the Americans was wholly diſconcerted, and an opportunity offered to the Engliſh to complete, with impunity, the devaſtation of Virginia.

To that country the attention of Lord Cornwallis, who could no longer ſubſiſt in the exhauſted province of Carolina, was alſo directed; having traverſed a hoſtile country of above three hundred miles, he arrived at Peterſburgh ſome few days after general Philips had fallen a victim to the heat of the climate. He immediately aſſumed the chief command, and was enabled by a reinforcement of two thouſand men from New York, to

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diſplay that active vigour which forms the prominent feature of his character. He penetrated as far as Williamſburgh, the capital of Virginia; defeated, on his retreat, a conſiderable corps under the marquis de la Fayette, ſent to diſpute his paſſage of James River; and eſtabliſhed his place of arms at York town, ſituated on the banks of the river of that name, which, being navigable for ſhips of great ſize and burthen, enabled him to receive any ſuccours or ſupport by ſea.

This poſt Lord Cornwallis applied himſelf, with great diligence, to fortify, in the hope that it would effectually ſecure him from all hoſtile attempts; but, unhappily, he was deſtined to find ruin where he looked for protection. By a rapid ſucceſſion of the moſt judicious movements, Waſhington had contrived to deceive his antagoniſt Clinton; while count Rochambeau paſſed over from Rhode Iſland, and, in conjunction with the American army, menaced New York with an immediate attack. That poſt, with its dependencies, was kept in a ſtate of continual alarm for above ſix weeks; when the combined army rapidly traverſed the Jerſeys, croſſed the Delaware, paſſed through Philadelphia, and arrived at the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Cheſapeak.

On the ſame day monſieur de Graſſe, with his fleet from the Weſt Indies, arrived alſo in the bay, where, after blocking up York River, he inſtantly applied himſelf to ſecure the River James, which he occupied with his armed veſſels and his cruiſers, to a conſiderable diſtance. By this manœuvre, he not only precluded the poſſibility of a retreat to the Carolinas, but alſo enabled himſelf to convey, in ſecurity, the marquis de Saint Simon, with three thouſand three hundred land forces from the Weſt Indies, eighteen leagues up that river, where he effected a junction with la Fayette, who had been previouſly reinforced by general Wayne, and the ſuccours from Penſylvania.

The French fleet conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips of the line, whilſt that of the enemy, which now approached, under the command of the admirals Graves and Hood, did not exceed nineteen; but the chief object of M. de Graſſe was the capture of lord Cornwallis's army; he expected, moreover, every hour to be joined by the ſquadron from Rhode Iſland, commanded, ſince the death of M. Ternay, by monſieur de Barras, who, he knew, had lately ſailed with ſeveral tranſports, and a train of artillery, for the ſiege of New York; and fifteen hundred of his own ſeamen were ſtill employed in tranſporting the French troops up James River. Under theſe circumſtances he prudently determined to act with caution, and rather to avoid defeat than to ſeek for conqueſt; accordingly, though he ſtood out to ſea, and engaged the Engliſh fleet, he was ſatisfied with maintaining the honour of the French flag; and, without attempting to improve his advantage, he retired to his former ſtation in Cheſapeak Bay, where he was, ſoon after, ſtrengthened by the arrival of monſieur de Barras.

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Lord Cornwallis, who, with ſeven thouſand ſelect troops, ſtill occupied York Town, was now cloſely inveſted by the united forces of France and America. The count de Rochambeau, and the marquis de la Fayette, with an equal number of French, extended from a river above the town, to a moraſs in the center, where they were met by the Americans under Waſhington, who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot. M. de Graſſe was entirely maſter of Cheſapeak Bay; and the duke de Lauzun, with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Wieden, already preſſed the Britiſh poſt at Glouceſter Point, which was defended by colonel Tarleton, with about ſix hundred infantry and cavalry.

The commanders of the allied forces, having thus ſurrounded their enemy on all ſides, began to preſs their attacks with a degree of vivacity that precluded every hope of relief; the works of the Engliſh were penetrated by an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; their defences were in many places ruined, and moſt of their guns were ſilenced. Two redoubts, which ſtill incommoded the progreſs of the allied army, were attacked and carried during the night; and the fate of Lord Cornwallis, from that moment, appeared unavoidable. Some damages, occaſioned by two judicious and ſpirited ſallies made by the Engliſh commander, were ſpeedily repaired; and his attempt to eſcape to the oppoſite ſide of the river was fruſtrated by the tempeſtuous weather, and the vigilance of the French ſhips of war.

Matters were now brought to a criſis: ten days after the trenches were firſt opened, every preparation was made for a final aſſault; but this ſcene of carnage was averted by the prudence of the Britiſh commander, who, convinced of his inability to reſiſt force ſo ſuperior, determined not wantonly to ſacrifice the lives of the gallant men entruſted to his care; he, accordingly, opened a negociation, by which the troops under his command ſubmitted, on the thirteenth of October, to become priſoners of war. The Guadaloupe frigate, of twenty-four guns, with ſeveral tranſports, and fifteen hundred ſeamen were, in the diviſion of the ſpoil, aſſigned to M. de Graſſe, in return for the French naval power and aſſiſtance; but the land forces amounting to between five and ſix thouſand men, became the captives of the Americans.

This deciſive atchievement moſt eſſentially contributed to eſtabliſh the independence of America. The French officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much by their humanity, in the moment of victory, as by their courage in the hour of danger; and lord Cornwallis, in his official diſpatches, bore the moſt honourable teſtimony to their merit—"Their delicate ſenſibility of our ſituation,"—ſaid the Engliſh commander—"their "generous and preſſing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has "really gone beyond what I can poſſible deſcribe; and will, I hope, make an impreſſion "on the breaſt of every Britiſh officer whenever the fortune of war ſhould put any of "them into our power."

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This was not the only advantage obtained by the houſe of Bourbon during the preſent campaign. The arms of Spain were ſo ſucceſsful in America, as to reduce all the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi, and to effect the total reduction of the provinces of Weſt Florida. Penſacola ſurrendered to Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spaniſh governor of Louiſiane, on the ninth of May. The reduction of the place was facilitated by a ſhell from the Spaniards, which accidentally burſt by the door of the magazine of an advanced redoubt, ſet fire to the powder within, and reduced, in an inſtant, the body of the redoubt to a heap of rubbiſh. By the exploſion, ſeventy-ſix ſoldiers and ſailors loſt their lives, and twenty-four were dangerouſly wounded. Even after this unfortunate diſaſter, the garriſon continued to defend the place with great gallantry, but were obliged to ſubmit to the very ſuperior force of the enemy. The Spaniſh commander granted them honourable terms of capitulation, and, in other reſpects, treated his vanquiſhed foes with great generoſity and humanity.

But Gibraltar, the favourite object of the court of Madrid, ſtill continued to deride her attempts, though planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour. On the twenty-ſeventh of November, a moſt ſpirited ſally was made by the Britiſh garriſon, with a view to ſtorm and deſtroy the whole of the advanced works of the Spaniards, which, after immenſe labour and expence, were arrived at the higheſt ſtate of perfection. The detachment which was appointed for this enterprize was formed in three columns, and marched from the garriſon at the ſetting of the moon, about three o'clock in the morning. The columns were ſeverally compoſed of an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, artillery-men carrying combuſtibles, and a ſuſtaining corps, with a reſerve at the rear. The pioneers of the left column were ſeamen; they attacked the Spaniſh works with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that the troops who were appointed to defend them gave way on all ſides, and abandoned their ſtupendous works with great precipitation, and in the utmoſt conſternation. The pioneers and artillery-men exerted themſelves in ſo wonderful a manner, and ſpread their fire with ſuch amazing rapidity, that, in half an hour, two mortar-batteries, of ten thirteen-inch mortars, and three batteries of ſix guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverſe, were in flames, and were entirely reduced to aſhes. The mortars and cannon were ſpiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms deſtroyed. The aſtoniſhed Spaniards, ſeeing all oppoſition to be fruitleſs, offered no other reſiſtance than an ill directed fire of round and grape ſhot from the forts of St. Barbara, Saint Philipe, and the batteries on the lines; and remained in their camp ſpectators of the conflagration. The whole of this brave detachment, which had ſuſtained very little loſs, was in the fortreſs again by five o'clock, juſt before the break of day.

Holland, unprepared abroad and diſunited at home, was an ally that claimed the more immediate attention and ſupport of the court of Verſailles; the Britiſh commanders had eagerly invaded the iſland of Saint Euſtatius, in the Weſt Indies, which had become the general

general magazine of all nations; but the conquerors reaped not that advantage they expected from the general confiſcation; ſeveral of the veſſels richly laden with ſpoil were intercepted on their voyage to Europe, and even in ſight of the Britiſh coaſt, by Monſieur de la Motte Piquet, who was cruizing off the Lizard with ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates. And before the cloſe of the year, the iſland itſelf was recovered by the activity of the marquis de Bouillé, who ſuddenly landed with a ſelect body of troops from Martinico, ſurprized the Engliſh commandant, and reſtored Saint Euſtatius to the dominion of the Dutch the very day before count de Graſſe caſt anchor at Fort Royal, after his deciſive triumph on the coaſt of America.

But it was in the eaſt that the Republic of Holland was moſt open to attack; and her excluſive poſſeſſions of the Spice Iſlands, her wealthy and populous ſettlement of Batavia, afforded the moſt faſcinating allurements to her enemies. In the beginning of the war France had the mortification to learn that her ſettlements throughout Aſia had been reduced by the ſuperior power of the Engliſh; ſhe, therefore, readily liſtened to propoſals which tended to reſtore her own colonies, in that quarter of the globe, and to ſecure thoſe of her ally. She accordingly ſigned a treaty with the Republic, by which her troops were to be put in poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, a port on the African coaſt, particularly commodious for refreſhments on the long voyage to India; and ſhe alſo engaged to detach an armament to act in conjunction with the Dutch forces in the Eaſt.

In order to fulfil this treaty, at the ſame time that the Count de Graſſe ſailed from Breſt to the Weſt-Indies, Monſieur de Suffrein, with five ſhips of the line and a conſiderable body of land forces, was ſent to the Eaſt Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival at Saint Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands—on the ſixteenth of April—he deſcried a Britiſh ſquadron, of nearly equal force, at anchor within the harbour: this had ſailed from England, under the conduct of commodore Johnſtone, much about the ſame time as Suffrein had quitted Breſt, and was deſigned to take by ſurprize the Dutch ſettlements at the Cape of Good Hope. The impetuoſity of Suffrein prevailed over his reſpect to the crown of Portugal, and he made no ſcruple to enter a neutral harbour as an enemy, and to attack the Engliſh. But though, in this enterprize, he diſplayed the moſt daring ſpirit and undaunted reſolution, yet all the efforts of courage only ſerved to expoſe his ſhips to the deſtructive fire of the enemy, who derived from his ſituation advantages that neither ſkill nor courage could compenſate. The French commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the attack, and after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, and reinforcing that ſettlement with a ſufficient number of troops to ſecure it from inſult, he ſteered to the iſland of Mauritius, to join the count d'Orves, who, after the loſs of Pondicherry, had aſſembled at that place the ſcattered remnant of the French forces.

But while France rather hoped than expected to eſtabliſh her ancient power and influence on the coaſt of Coromandel, her ambitious views were ſeconded by a new and formidable enemy to Great Britain, who ſuddenly burſting through the unguarded paſſes, deluged with his troops the ſettlements of the Engliſh. This daring invader was Hyder Ally, regent of the kingdom of Myſore, whoſe ſucceſsful ambition had raiſed him from the humble ſituation of a ſoldier of fortune to the command of a valuable, well-regulated, and extenſive country; and who had eſtabliſhed ſuch a military force as India had never beheld, and was, indeed, thought incapable of producing. He had, more than once, diſputed the honour of victory with the Engliſh Eaſt India company; and, though frequently defeated, he ſtill appeared formidable, and had even menaced, with his martial ſquadrons, the capital of the victors, who were confounded by the rapid evolutions of a cavalry that precluded all flight, and derided all purſuit.

The Engliſh had excited the reſentment of this Eaſtern chieftain by the reduction of Mahé, a ſettlement eſtabliſhed within his dominions, but belonging to the French. Encouraged by the neglect of the government of Madras, he penetrated through the *Gauts*—narrow paſſes in the mountains, which ſeparate his territories from thoſe of the Engliſh—and, with incredible celerity, extended his ſanguinary depredations over the face of the Carnatic. A conſiderable detachment, the flower of the Engliſh army, was overwhelmed, after a gallant reſiſtance, by the irreſiſtible weight of his cavalry. The Engliſh general Munro, who commanded the principal army belonging to the ſettlement of Madras, was compelled to retreat before his ſucceſsful arms: Madras even trembled for her ſafety; and the progreſs of the victor was only checked by the arrival of general Coote, with a large reinforcement from the province of Bengal. On the firſt of July that gallant officer brought Hyder to a general action between Porto Novo and Mooteapollom: when, after an obſtinate conflict, the latter ſuſtained a total defeat; his numerous cavalry, however, was ſtill ſpread over the fertile fields of the Carnatic, and extended on every ſide the terror of his name.

It was at this critical juncture, that the Engliſh firſt received the intelligence of a rupture with the United States of Holland, and they diſplayed no ſmall degree of vigour in attacking the ſettlements of the Dutch before they could co-operate with, or receive aſſiſtance from Hyder. In Bengal, Chinſura; on the coaſt of Coromandel, Negapatnam; and Trincomalé, in the iſland of Ceylon, were ſurprized or reduced by the Engliſh; and Holland beheld, with terror, that ſtorm which threatened her ſettlements in Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas.

Though the French had great reaſon to be contented with the operations of the campaign, the ſatisfaction they derived from thence was more than counterbalanced by the diſpleaſure they experienced on the diſmiſſal of a miniſter in whom they placed the moſt unbounded confidence. Monſieur Neckar, by his management of the finances, had acquired

quired the eſteem and applauſe of the nation; but the auſterity of his temper had excited diſguſt in the minds of thoſe who enjoyed the confidence of their ſovereign. By them, the repeated reforms he had recommended were repreſented as inconſiſtent with the dignity of the crown; and he was at length diſmiſſed from his office of director-general of the finances, which was conferred on monſieur Joli de Fleuri, counſellor of ſtate.

The memorable occurrences of this year were cloſed by the birth of the dauphin, an event which cauſed the greateſt rejoicings throughout the kingdom; the young prince was baptized by the cardinal de Rohan; the count de Provence and the princeſs Elizabeth repreſented, as ſponſors, the emperor of Germany and the princeſs of Piedmont, and beſtowed on their royal nephew, the names of Lewis, Joſeph, Xavier, and Francis.

A. D. 1782.] The ſiege of Minorca, which had been undertaken in the laſt campaign, was terminated in the beginning of the preſent, by the ſurrender of Saint Philip's; the garriſon were made priſoners of war; and their commander, general Murray, acknowledged, in the moſt expreſs terms, the humane treatment they experienced from the victorious leaders, the duke de Crillon, and the baron de Falkenhayen.

The capture of the army under lord Cornwallis had ſo far encreaſed the independence of America, that the ſubſequent operations in that quarter were confined to ſome faint ſtruggles made by the Engliſh in the Carolinas and Georgia. France was, therefore, at leiſure to direct her attention to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; and monſieur de Graſſe from the Cheſapeak had ſteered his courſe to Martinico; his naval force when collected, conſiſted of thirty ſhips of the line; but he had already detached four to convoy from Saint Domingo the homeward-bound trade to Europe. The court of Verſailles, to ſupply this deficiency, had fitted out at Breſt nine ſhips of the line; under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil; theſe were accompanied by a numerous fleet of tranſports, deſtined for the ſervice of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt and Weſt; and they were eſcorted by the count de Guichen, who ſailed, at the ſame time, with ten ſhips of the line, to join the grand fleet of Spain at Cadiz. On their paſſage they were met by the Engliſh fleet of twelve ſhips of the line, under admiral Kempenfelt: the admirable manœuvres of that officer were ſeconded by the favourable ſtate of the wind; and the count de Guichen had the mortification to behold his convoy diſperſed, and fourteen of them, laden with artillery and ordnance ſtores, and having on board one thouſand and ſixty-two ſoldiers, and five hundred and forty-eight ſeamen, taken by an inferior force. He himſelf continued his courſe to Cadiz; while the marquis de Vaudreuil, having detached part of his ſquadron to the Cape of Good Hope, with the reſt joined M. de Graſſe at Martinico.

That active commander immediately prepared to profit by the deciſive ſuperiority given him by this reinforcement over the Engliſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas. In conjunction with the marquis de Bouillé, who had already reduced the iſland of Saint Nevis, he planned

the attack of Saint Chriſtopher's, one of the moſt conſiderable of the Weſt India Iſlands that yet remained in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain. The marquis landed with eight thouſand men and a formidable train of artillery, while the count de Graſſe occupied with his fleet Baſſeterre Road, and ſeemed to preclude all hopes of relief. General Frazer, the Engliſh commander, immediately retired to Brimſtone-Hill, a ſtrong poſt, which he expreſſed his determination of defending to the laſt extremity. But the operations of the French were ſoon interrupted by the appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips of the line, conducted by Admiral Hood, an officer of approved ſkill and courage. The count de Graſſe, whoſe naval force conſiſted of twenty-nine large ſhips, immediately quitted his ſtation to encounter his daring adverſary. The action was partial and indeciſive; but, in the courſe of it, the Engliſh admiral, by a ſudden change of diſpoſition, deceived his antagoniſt, eluded his attack, and preſſing towards the iſland, gained the very anchorage in Baſſeterre Road that the French fleet had quitted.

Though the count de Graſſe could not refuſe his admiration to the ſuperior dexterity of his adverſary, he was by no means diſpoſed to leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of his advantage. The next morning he attacked, with his whole force, the Engliſh ſquadron from van to rear; but theſe ſuſtained with a ſteady fire the repeated efforts of the French; and though the count, in the courſe of the evening, renewed the attempt, the damage which his ſhips had ſuſtained compelled him reluctantly to deſiſt.

The marquis de Bouillé watched, with extreme anxiety, the operations of the rival fleets, on the reſult of which his own fate ſeemed ſo materially to depend; but, undiſmayed by the check which M. de Graſſe had experienced, he continued to preſs his attacks with additional ardour. Brimſtone-Hill was cloſely inveſted on every ſide, and while he confided the blockade of that important poſt to the marquis de Saint Simon, he himſelf marched, with four thouſand troops, to encounter a detachment that had been landed from the Britiſh ſhips. Although the number of theſe, amounting only to two thouſand four hundred men, was by no means formidable, yet their ſituation rendered an attack imprudent; and the marquis contented himſelf with a vigilant obſervance of their motions, which, debarring them of all hopes of either effecting a junction with, or affording ſuccour to their countrymen, induced them to reimbark. In the mean time, every moment was aſſiduouſly employed in the annoyance of the Engliſh intrenched at Brimſtone-Hill; the marquis de Bouillé again reſumed the command of the beſiegers; and the inceſſant fire of his artillery reduced the works and buildings to a heap of ruins. In this ſituation, the enemy conſented to ſurrender a place that was no longer tenable; and the humanity of the marquis granted the ſame favourable terms of capitulation as had been accorded to the garriſons and inhabitants of the other iſlands which the French arms had reduced.

As ſoon as the Engliſh admiral was informed of the fate of Saint Chriſtopher's, he determined to abandon a ſituation which was no longer either uſeful or ſecure; and this reſolution he executed with a ſecrecy and celerity that prevented all danger from the ſuperior force of the Count de Graſſe. He cut his cables during the night, and, ſailing from Baſſeterre Road, ſteered his courſe towards Barbadoes, in the hope of joining a conſiderable ſquadron that was hourly expected from England; while the Count de Graſſe and the Marquis de Bouillé, after reducing the ſmall iſland of Montſerrat, returned to Martinico.

In that road one hundred and fifty tranſports, with a large quantity of artillery, and a conſiderable body of land-forces, had been aſſembled for the purpoſe of accompliſhing a ſcheme which had for its object the total extinction of the Britiſh power in the Weſt-Indies. The Count de Graſſe, whoſe fleet already amounted to thirty-ſix ſail of the line, was to have been joined by a ſtrong Spaniſh ſquadron from the Havannah; and the united force of the houſe of Bourbon was to have been directed againſt Jamaica; the moſt flouriſhing ſettlement belonging to the Engliſh in that quarter of the globe.

In purſuance of this deſign, the count quitted Fort Royal Bay, about the beginning of April, to proceed to the place of his deſtination; but he had ſcarce loſt ſight of the iſland of Martinico, before he deſcried the Britiſh fleet, commanded by Admiral Rodney, and, by late reinforcements from Europe, encreaſed to thirty-ſix ſail of the line. He immediately hoiſted the ſignal for battle, and ſuſtained, with great intrepidity, the attack of the enemy; but, intent on the grand object of his court, he wiſely availed himſelf of a favourable wind, and bore away towards Guadaloupe.

But fortune, which had hitherto ſmiled on all the enterprizes of France, now deigned to caſt a propitious look on her adverſary. The Zelé, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, had ſuſtained conſiderable damage in the late action; and though the count de Graſſe had gained a conſiderable ſtart of admiral Rodney, he was now reduced to the unpleaſant alternative of ſacrificing the ſhattered veſſel, which was unable to keep pace with the fleet, or of hazarding the ſucceſs of his expedition by a ſecond engagement.

The road which prudence pointed out was too plain to be miſtaken, but a high, though, on this occaſion, a *miſtaken*, ſenſe of honour, impelled him to reject her dictates, and he determined rather to riſk the failure of the important expedition with which he was entruſted, than quietly to ſuffer the loſs of a ſingle ſhip: he, therefore, bore down to the ſuccour of the Zelé, and reſcued her from ſome ſhips of the enemy who were on the point of attacking her. The approach of night prevented an immediate action; but in the morning of the twelfth of April the French admiral found that the Engliſh had gained the wind of him, and that he muſt ſtake the fortune of France on a deciſive engagement.

The

The battle began at ſeven in the morning, and laſted, with unremitting fury, till half paſt ſix in the evening, when the ſetting ſun put an end to the conteſt. The French ſuſtained a total defeat; the Ville de Paris of one hundred and ten guns, commanded by count de Graſſe himſelf, the Glorieux, the Hector, and the Cæſar of ſeventy-four, with the Ardent of ſixty, were compelled to ſtrike their colours to the Britiſh flag: the Cæſar ſoon after caught fire and blew up; while the marquis de Vaudreuil collected part of the ſcattered fleet, and, with nineteen ſail of the line, effected his eſcape to Martinico; the reſt, ſhattered and diſperſed, endeavoured to reach the neareſt ports, and elude the purſuit of the victors. The number of men loſt on this occaſion has never been aſcertained, as the political caution of France in concealing the extent of her diſaſters precludes the poſſibility of inveſtigating ſimilar facts. The ſhips that were taken had on board, at the commencement of the action, four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty men, including troops; and, by their capture, the Engliſh were ſo fortunate as to make themſelves maſters of the battering cannon, travelling carriages, and train of artillery, which had been deſtined for the reduction of Jamaica, but which were now devoted to the purpoſe of encreaſing the ſtrength of that valuable ſettlement. But as the action was ſo deſperate and deciſive, the French had rather reaſon to congratulate themſelves on the eſcape of ſo many ſhips, than to deplore the magnitude of their loſs, great as it undoubtedly was. As the ſhips in the rear diviſion of the Engliſh, under admiral Hood, had ſuſtained, comparitively, but little damage in the action, it ſeems probable that, if they had been ſuffered to purſue the flying ſquadron of M. de Vaudreuil, the victory might have been much more complete. But, in naval actions, ſo much depends upon circumſtances which none but profeſſional men are competent to appreciate, that no conjecture as to the conduct of a commander ſhould be raſhly hazarded.

It is certain that the count de Graſſe endeavoured to make amends for his want of prudence in hazarding an engagement, by a diſplay of the moſt intrepid courage during the action; though wounded, he continued to defend his ſhip to the laſt extremity, and, before he conſented to ſtrike his flag, the Ville de Paris reſembled a wreck. He was received on board the Barfleur with thoſe marks of reſpect which the truly brave never fail to ſhew each to other; after remaining a ſhort time at Jamaica, he was conveyed to England, and was there honoured by the conſtant attention of the royal family; while the applauſe of the multitude, who admired the perſonal gallantry of their enemy, contributed to ſooth the painful recollection of defeat.

The misfortunes of France ended not with the twelfth of April. The Cato and the Jaſon, two men of war of ſixty-four guns each, with the Aimable of thirty-two, and the Ceres of eighteen, were taken by a ſquadron under admiral Hood, detached ſo late as the *eighteenth* of April, from the main Engliſh fleet. Nor were the French more fortunate in Europe, for, in that month, the Pegaſe, of ſeventy-four guns, and the Actionnaire, of ſixty-

ſixty-four, which had ſailed from Breſt for the Eaſt-Indies, with ten ſhips of their convoy, were captured by the Engliſh off Uſhant.

The marquis de Vaudreuil, after the late defeat, ſteered, with all the ſhips he could collect, from Cape François to America; but not till he had detached monſieur Perouſe, in the Sceptre, of ſeventy-four guns, with two large frigates, againſt the remote poſſeſſions of the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay Company. As the marquis was unacquainted with the defenceleſs ſtate of the ſettlements, he added three hundred ſoldiers, with ſome mortars and cannon, for the purpoſe of beſieging any place that might offer reſiſtance.

But the greateſt, and, indeed, the only difficulties which monſieur Perouſe was deſtined to encounter, were thoſe which attended the navigation of obſcure ſtraits and gulphs, among the frozen regions of the north; and, for three weeks, from the moment that they paſſed the iſlands of Reſolution, which mark the entrance into Hudſon's ſtraits, they were inceſſantly expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Notwithſtanding the power of the ſun, in the month of July, the ſhips, at one time, were ſo faſt locked up in the ice, that the ſeamen walked from one to the other; and, even after they had extricated themſelves, things appeared ſo hopeleſs, that monſieur Perouſe began to entertain thoughts of ſending back his own ſhip, the Sceptre, with one of the frigates, to the Weſt-Indies, and of wintering himſelf, with the other frigate and a part of the troops, in the bay. So ſevere a trial of his conſtancy was, however, prevented by the appearance of a ſmall opening in the ice two days afterwards. Through this the ſhips forced their way with a preſs of ſail, and ſoon after diſcovered, to their no ſmall joy, the Engliſh colours flying from a fort on the banks of Churchill river.

Some compenſation for the toils and dangers of the voyage was afforded by the facility, though not by the importance, of the conqueſt: the forts of the Hudſon's Bay company were wholly unprovided with troops, and their only garriſon conſiſted of a motley crew of ſtorekeepers, clerks, and ſervants, who ſurrendered on the firſt appearance of an European enemy. Some few ſought ſhelter in the deep and impenetrable woods; and monſieur Perouſe having, by the deſtruction of the forts and merchandize, completed the object of his expedition, had yet the humane precaution to preſerve one of the magazines, in which he depoſited proviſions, arms, and ammunition, for the uſe and ſubſiſtence of the fugitives who had eluded his purſuit, and who, during the long and approaching winter, could not have received any relief from England.

While France roſe ſuperior to the preſſure of calamity, and diſplayed, in every quarter of the globe, that active ſpirit which could not be repreſſed by defeat; that leſs impetuous, but more patient, courage of the Spaniards was ſtill exerciſed in the inceſſant ſiege of Gibraltar. The duke de Crillon, after the reduction of Minorca, was entruſted with the conduct of this more arduous enterprize, and the count d'Artois and the duke

de Bourbon, reſigned the eaſe and luxury of Verſailles, and repaired to the Spaniſh camp.

But they had ſcarce arrived before they had the mortification of beholding the principal advanced works of the beſiegers deſtroyed. A heavy fire of carcaſſes, hot-ſhot and ſhells, from the batteries of the garriſon, in the morning of the eighth of September, had the moſt dreadful effect on the batteries and works of the Spaniards, many of which ſuſtained irreparable damage. The enſuing morn the Spaniards in vain endeavoured to retaliate the injury, by playing, with one hundred pieces of cannon and ſixty mortars, upon the garriſon; but the impenetrable rock derided their efforts; and the premature attempt was only productive of inconvenience to the aſſailants.

Yet the court of Madrid, though often baffled, ſtill perſevered; and to cut off the garriſon of Gibraltar from all hopes of relief, the combined fleets of France and Spain, conſiſting of forty-four ſhips of the line, were directed to block up the harbour. This was but the prelude to a new and different mode of attack, which had been planned by the chevalier d'Arçon, an officer of diſtinction in the ſervice of France, and on which the moſt ſanguine expectations were founded. Ten ſhips of different ſizes, from ſix hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were converted into floating batteries. They were ſecured by every art which the ingenuity of man could deviſe, and provided with every offenſive or defenſive material that experience ſuggeſted, or the wealth of Spain could ſupply. Their maſſy decks were furniſhed with one hundred and forty-two braſs guns, each of them carrying balls of twenty-ſix pounds, for immediate uſe, and ſeventy more, for the purpoſe of replacing occaſional deficiencies. They were ſupported by a ſufficient number of frigates; and three hundred large boats were alſo collected for the purpoſe of conveying the troops that were ready to avail themſelves of the confuſion of the garriſon, and the breaches which it was expected the floating batteries muſt ſoon occaſion But the defence of that important fortreſs was entruſted to an officer, whoſe vigilance, courage, and reſolution were never excelled; and who united the ſpirit and activity of youth with the caution and experience of age.

On the thirteenth of September, the floating batteries being fully prepared, and the wind favourable, thoſe fatal engines of deſtruction proceeded to take their ſtations oppoſite the New and Old Moles, and the encampment at Europa Point, thoſe under the command of Don Moreno and the prince of Naſſau leading the van: and, after ſuſtaining a heavy fire from the batteries of the enemy, they ſucceeded in the attempt to moor themſelves at the diſtance of one hundred and forty toiſes from the rock. While theſe batteries maintained a heavy and well-directed fire upon the garriſon, the Spaniſh lines and advanced batteries on ſhore ſupported them, with a view of dividing the enemy's attention.

It was intended that ſeveral diviſions of gun and mortar boats ſhould proceed, ſo as to flank the garriſon along the front, and to direct their fire to ſuch particular ſpots as might ſeem proper, in order that the troops—eſpecially thoſe employed on the batteries—might receive all the annoyance poſſible; but a meaſure, ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs of the ſcheme, could not poſſibly be carried into execution, on account of the violence of the wind, and the conſequent ſwell of the ſea. Other material obſtacles alſo occurred to defeat the intention of ſending ſhips to make a diverſion towards Europa Point. Hence all the enemy's batteries, that were unexpoſed to the fire of the Spaniards from the land, were employed, uninterruptedly, againſt the floating batteries, into which ſhells, round and grape ſhot, and red-hot balls were inceſſantly poured.

Though this dreadful fire was returned without intermiſſion, the continual diſcharge of hot balls kept up by the enemy was ſuch, as rendered all the precautions taken in the conſtruction of the floating batteries of no effect; for the balls, by lodging in their ſides, neceſſarily occaſioned the fire to ſpread throughout the veſſel. But, during the day, the flames thus enkindled, were ſpeedily extinguiſhed; as night, however, approached, and the fire of the Engliſh by no means relaxed, all the floating batteries, with the gun and mortar boats, became unmanageable; and thoſe commanded by Don Moreno and the prince of Naſſau, began to burn with ſuch violence as rendered their preſervation impoſſible.

The enemy's fire having now no oppoſition, was attended with more fatal effects, and in a few hours all the floating batteries were in flames, while the gun-boats of the Engliſh prevented the Spaniards from approaching to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen: to avoid the rapid progreſs of one deſtructive element, the miſerable men were compelled to confide themſelves to another; part periſhed by the fire; part were overwhelmed by the ſea; and the ſcanty remnant was only ſaved by the Britiſh ſeamen, who diſplayed their humanity in riſking their own lives in the attempt to preſerve thoſe of their enemies. Every one of the floating batteries were deſtroyed.

One reſource ſtill remained for the accompliſhment of the object which the houſe of Bourbon ſeemed to have ſo much at heart; and the beſiegers, thus fatally repulſed in every aſſault, now reſolved to wait with patience the ſlow but certain effects of famine. With a view to prevent the garriſon from receiving any ſupplies, the combined fleets were directed to ſtretch acroſs the bay; but even this diſpoſition could not enſure ſucceſs; a violent tempeſt that aroſe ſhattered their ſhips, and drove on ſhore the Triumphant, a Spaniſh man of war of ſeventy-four guns; and the Engliſh fleet of thirty four ſail of the line, with a conſiderable convoy, entered the ſtraits, in the month of October, and landed the troops and proviſions for the relief of Gibraltar. On their return a partial and indeciſive action took place off the ſtraits mouth; but the Engliſh had already effected the object of their expedition; and the French and Spaniſh commanders judged

it not prudent to preſs an engagement which, if adverſe, might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, and, if ſucceſsful, could not tend to the immediate reduction of the fortreſs.

The war, meanwhile, was maintained in the Eaſt with increaſe of ardour, and the coaſts of Coromandel were ſtained with the blood of the contending powers. From the Cape of Good Hope monſieur Suffrein had proceeded, with favourable winds, to the iſland of Mauritius, where he reſigned the command to his ſuperior officer, count d'Orves; and the French fleet, encreaſed by this junction to ten ſhips of the line, and one of fifty guns, beſides ſeveral large frigates, ſailed for the coaſt of Coromandel, accompanied by a number of tranſports and ſtoreſhips, with a conſiderable body of land forces. On the voyage, the count d'Orves, whoſe zeal for the ſervice had riſen ſuperior to the infirmities of an impaired conſtitution, expired, and the ſole command of the fleet devolved on monſieur Suffrein, whoſe ſkill and courage entitle him to a place among the moſt diſtinguiſhed naval commanders of the age.

On his paſſage he fell in with the Hannibal, a Britiſh man of war of fifty guns, which, after a gallant but fruitleſs reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender, and ſwelled the number of the French ſquadron. With this addition to his ſtrength he directed his courſe along the Coromandel coaſt, and entered Madras roads, in the hope of ſurprizing, according to the intelligence he had received, the Engliſh admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, with only ſix ſhips of the line. The eaſy deſtruction of this force he conſidered himſelf capable of effecting; the loſs of the numerous trading ſhips and tranſports in the road muſt have been the inevitable conſequence of ſuch a diſaſter; and while by that means terror would have been ſpread through the town of Madras, the French forces, joined by Hyder Ally's numerous army, would have carried on their attacks againſt it by land; and the victorious ſquadron would have aſſailed it by ſea.

But this flattering illuſion, which monſieur Suffrein had ſo fondly cheriſhed, was ſpeedily diſpelled, and his hopes of finiſhing the war by one deciſive blow ſoon vaniſhed; for, to his utter ſurprize, he found that the Engliſh ſquadron had, ſome few days before, been joined by a reinforcement from Europe. Admiral Hughes had, at the ſame time, been apprized of the approach of Suffrein; his crews had been ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of three hundred land forces from Madras; and the French commander now beheld, inſtead of the defenceleſs ſquadron he had hoped to ſurprize, nine ſhips of the line, drawn up in proper order, and ready to receive him.

Under theſe circumſtances, monſieur Suffrein gave up his intention of attacking the enemy, and ſtood out to ſea, with the intention of diſembarking the land forces deſtined to ſupport Hyder Ally. The Engliſh, who penetrated his deſign, immediately followed; in the courſe of the purſuit they took ſix tranſports, one of which had three hundred

dred troops on board; and on the ſeventeenth of February, the two fleets came ſufficiently near each other to engage; the action, however; was but partial, for the wind was ſo favourable to the French that they were enabled to bring eight of their beſt ſhips to bear upon five of the enemy's, while the remainder of the Engliſh ſquadron were prevented from ſharing in the action. This unequal conflict was maintained, with great reſolution, for ſeveral hours; night only parted the combatants; the Engliſh admiral directed his courſe to Trincomalé, while monſieur Suffrein, anxious to ſecure the retreat of his convoy, ſtood off to the north-eaſt.

The French commander, having attained this important object, once more ſet ſail in ſearch of the enemy. The latter, during this interval, had been reinforced from Europe, by two men of war of ſeventy-four guns each; but this formidable acceſſion of ſtrength did not alter the reſolution of Suffrein, who had ſtill a ſuperiority in point of numbers. On the twelfth of April he attacked the Engliſh fleet with great intrepidity; leading the attack himſelf in the Heros of ſeventy-four guns, and continuing to engage the Engliſh admiral, for a conſiderable time, within piſtol ſhot. The damages ſuſtained by the Heros induced him to ſhift his flag into the Hannibal, a French ſhip of equal force, and, by his ſuperior fire, he diſabled and drove out of the line the Monmouth of ſixty-four guns. But though every effort was made to board that ſhip, ſhe was reſcued by the maſterly manœuvres and courageous exertions of the Engliſh; and the hoſtile fleets, after a bloody conteſt, in which they had diſplayed equal valour, and ſuffered equal loſs, ſeparated as if by mutual conſent. They kept ſight, however, of each other for ſeveral days following, but their reciprocal damages ſuſpended on both ſides all idea of attack. The Engliſh again retired to Trincamalé, and the French ſquadron proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the iſland of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the ſouthward of Trincamalé.

The war on land had raged with equal fury. In the general deſtruction of the French ſettlements, on the commencement of hoſtilities, a ſmall band had fled for ſhelter to the dominions of Hyder Ally, and had ever ſince, under the command of monſieur Lally, given vigour to the operations of that enterpriſing prince. They now, in conjunction with Tippoo Saib, (the ſon of Hyder) who inherited the daring ſpirit of his father, attacked, on the ſixteenth of February, a Britiſh detachment under Colonel Braithwaite, that had encamped on the banks of the Colleroon, for the protection of Tanjore and the adjacent provinces. This ſmall but ſelect corps, conſiſted of two thouſand veteran infantry, with thirteen field pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two ſucceſſive days they repulſed, with undaunted reſolution, the reiterated attacks of Hyder's cavalry, though amounting to the formidable number of twenty thouſand; but on the third they were broken by the charge of four hundred French, who advanced with bayonets fixed, and were led on by monſieur Lally himſelf. The humanity of that offi-

cer was no leſs conſpicuous than his courage; he not only iſſued orders for putting an immediate ſtop to the carnage, but haſtened perſonally, and with apparent hazard, to chaſtiſe and reſtrain the cruel fury of the black cavalry, five of whom periſhed by his own hand in the generous exertion. He alſo prevailed on Tippoo Saib to commit the priſoners to his care, and endeavoured to ſooth their misfortunes by every mark of tenderneſs and reſpect: indeed, it cannot eſcape obſervation, that, during the whole courſe of this war, the French and Engliſh did not leſs vie with each other in acts of generous compaſſion than in deeds of daring valour.—Alas! when will that time arrive, at which the ſpirit of emulation among kingdoms ſhall have *only* virtue for its object?

The land forces which monſieur Suffrein had landed at Porto Novo, after his firſt engagement with the Engliſh fleet, were joined by a body of native troops belonging to Hyder Ally: and the combined army immediately marched to the ſiege of Cuddalore. The garriſon of that fortreſs, being too weak to reſiſt the arms of the allies, opened their gates to the victors, on the ſixth of April; and monſieur Duchemin, the French commander, having ſecured a poſt for the reception of ſuccours, an advantage of which France was before deſtitute, proceeded to more diſtant conqueſts. He, accordingly, inveſted Peemacoli to the northward, and, after the reduction of that place, effected a junction with the main army of Hyder, and, in concert with that prince, meditated an attack on Vandiwaſh.

The approach of the Engliſh compelled them to abandon that enterprize; and the combined army, ſtrong in their numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſuch advantageous poſts, as precluded the poſſibility of attack. But the Britiſh commander, general Coote, determined, if poſſible, to bring them to action, had recourſe to a manœuvre, which effectually anſwered his purpoſe. He marched with his whole force to Arnee, a ſtrong fortreſs, in which Hyder's principal magazines were depoſited; and that prince, anxious for the ſafety of ſo valuable a poſſeſſion, relinquiſhed his ſituation on the Red Hills, and marched to the relief of the garriſon. Ever rapid in his motions, and concealing the march of his infantry by his numerous bodies of horſe, he took the enemy by ſurprize, on the ſecond of June; but the ſkill of the Engliſh commander, and the bravery of his troops were ſucceſsfully exerted for the reſtoration of order; the attack was returned with ſpirit and effect; and the allies were driven from the field with conſiderable ſlaughter. But the native troops, chiefly compoſed of cavalry, eaſily eluded the purſuit of the victors; and monſieur Duchemin had cautiouſly avoided expoſing the French, till the arrival of the marquis de Buſſy, with a ſtrong reinforcement, an event that was daily expected, might enable them to act with efficacy.

In conſequence of this plan, he retired to Cuddalore, which he ſtrengthened by additional works, and rendered ſecure from any ſudden inſult. The indiſpoſition of general Coote,

Coote, about the ſame time, joined to a want of proviſions, compelled him to quit the field; ſo that no event of any conſiderable importance took place in the Carnatic, during the remainder of the year.

But though the armies of either power were thus compelled to abſtain from hoſtilities, the rival ſquadrons of France and England ſtill continued their bloody attacks. Monſieur Suffrein had returned from Batacalo to the coaſt of Coromandel; and, having refreſhed his fleet at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, he proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their chief place at arms, both for the land and ſea ſervice. It was his object to attack the Engliſh fleet, before the arrival of a reinforcement, which he knew had ſailed from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He was furniſhed at Cuddalore with four hundred French, and as many ſeapoys; and to theſe were added three hundred artillery-men, who were of the moſt eſſential ſervice to him.

Thus ſtrengthened, he appeared off Negapatnam, where the Engliſh fleet lay at anchor; and Admiral Hughes no ſooner deſcried his rival, than he reſigned the ſecurity of his ſtation to meet him. In this action, fought on the ſixth of April, the number of ſhips on each ſide was the ſame as in the laſt engagement; the ſame ſkill and courage were diſplayed; the French fleet, however, ſuffered the greateſt damage, retired firſt from action, and would, probably, have ſuſtained a total defeat, had not a favourable ſhift of wind reſcued them from impending danger. The captain of the Severe, of ſixty-four guns, even ſtruck his colours, but having by that means eſcaped the deſtructive fire of the Sultan, an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, to which he ſtruck, he renewed the engagement without hoiſting his colours, and retired for ſafety, into the midſt of his own fleet. The French commander retreated to Cuddalore, while admiral Hughes, having kept the ſea about a fortnight longer, proceeded to Madras.

Monſieur de Suffrein exerted his uſual induſtry in refitting his ſquadron; and having received advice from the Sieur d'Aymar, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Ceylon, in his own ſhip, the Saint Michael of ſixty-four guns, accompanied by the Illuſtre of ſeventy-four; and the ſecond diviſion of the marquis de Buſſy's troops, the French admiral immediately ſailed from Cuddalore, and having joined this ſquadron, proceeded with his whole force to the attack of Trincamalé, where he arrived towards the end of Auguſt.

Having braved the fire of the Engliſh batteries, he anchored his fleet in the moſt advantageous ſtation for the annoyance of the garriſon; the landing of the troops, under the conduct of the baron d'Agoult, was effected the next day, and the place was immediately inveſted. After two days, employed in the erection of batteries, thoſe on the left were opened early in the morning, and ſoon gained ſuch a deciſive ſuperiority, that

the

the Engliſh cannon were ſilenced before night. On the following day, monſieur Suffrein, encouraged by this ſucceſs, ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender; and the Britiſh commandant, convinced of the inutility of farther reſiſtance, conſented to capitulate.

The moſt favourable conditions were ſubſcribed by the French commanders. The honours of war were granted in the fulleſt extent: the garriſon was to be immediately conveyed to Madras, in ſhips provided at the expence of France; the Dutch inhabitants, as well as the garriſon, were to be ſecured in their private property; and all the rights and privileges of the former were to be preſerved inviolate.

Monſieur de Suffrein had ſcarce taken the neceſſary meaſures for ſecuring his new acquiſition, when the Engliſh fleet appeared off Trincamalé. Admiral Hughes had been lately joined by a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns; but ſtill the advantage was on the ſide of the French, and they were ſuperior to their adverſaries by one ſhip of the line, and two of fifty guns. In the hope of eſtabliſhing the dominion of France, on the Eaſtern Ocean, by a deciſive victory, monſieur de Suffrein ſtood out to ſea, and, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the third of September, the action became general. Monſieur de Suffrein himſelf in the Heros again encountered admiral Hughes in the Superbe, and the rival commanders maintained a cloſe and bloody conflict till the evening was far advanced. Soon after ſix o'clock the French admiral's main and mizen maſts were ſhot away by the board, and an hour after he relinquiſhed the conteſt. Under cover of the night he retired to Trincamalé, whence he ſent ſix of his captains, whom he accuſed of forſaking him in the hour of danger, under arreſt to the iſland of Mauritius. The approach of thoſe hurricanes which, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, ſweep, with deſtructive rage, the coaſts of Coromandel, compelled the hoſtile ſquadrons to conſult their mutual ſafety; and while the French ſought ſhelter at Achem, a port belonging to the iſland of Sumatra, the Engliſh retired to the harbour of Bombay.

While the forces of France were thus occupied in the eaſt, the attention of her miniſters at home was directed to the commotions which agitated the republic of Geneva. By the general conſtitution of Geneva, the ſovereign power of the ſtate was inveſted in the general council, which conſiſted of all the citizens and *burgeſſes* [6] aſſembled together; but

6 The members of this republic are divided into four claſſes—The Inhabitants, Burgeſſes, Natives, and Citizens. Under the denomination of *Inhabitants* is comprehended all ſtrangers, who eſtabliſh their reſidence within the bounds of the Republic, either for a limited time or for life. Theſe have no ſhare in the legiſlature, nor can they hold any of the offices of the magiſtracy. Upon their arrival they declare their allegiance, and receive protection and defence,

The character of *Burgeſs* is deemed more honourable and advantageous than that of *Inhabitant*. It confers particular privileges in the proſecution of trade and commerce, of which the latter are deprived. It is a rank, however, that may be acquired, either by dint of favour, or through the medium of money. A ſtranger, ſettling at Geneva,

but, by degrees, the acquiſition of wealth, that never-failing ſource of oppreſſion, enabled the magiſtrates and ſenate to extend their own power, by an unconſtitutional infringement on the privileges of the people. Theſe encroachments occaſioned frequent complaints, the neglect of which, of courſe, gave riſe to ſerious diſcontents. The ſenate occaſionally impoſed taxes without the conſent of the general council; and the ſeverity exerted by the magiſtrates and ſenate againſt thoſe who cenſured and oppoſed their attempts to extend the bounds of their authority, had greatly contributed to encreaſe the number of malcontents. To prevent a continuance of thoſe diſputes, which naturally reſulted from ſuch a ſtate of things, the democratical party required the eſtabliſhment of a regular code of laws, which ſhould be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known ſtandard of their obedience. But at the moment when the reſtoration of tranquillity was about to be effected, and mutual confidence on the point of being ſettled on this firm baſis of public order and common ſecurity, the ſalutary project was defeated by the intrigues of the ariſtocratic party. The magiſtrates had not only recourſe to the moſt unjuſtifiable practices for maintaining the authority they had uſurped, and to the moſt exaggerated repreſentations of the oppoſition they had experienced from their fellow citizens; but, rather than ſuffer any abridgment of that authority, they courted and obtained the interference of foreign powers. Of theſe the moſt conſiderable was the king of France, who, as protector of the Republic, concerted with the king of Sardinia, and the Swiſs cantons of Zurich and Berne, the means of reſtoring peace to Geneva. After many unſucceſsful efforts, they, at length, formed a code, which lodged the ſupreme power in the magiſtrates; and, to give weight to their mediation, an army of twelve thouſand men, belonging to the king of France, the king of Sarninia, and the Swiſs cantons, encamped under the walls of the city. The leaders of the democratic party were unable to contend with their rivals, thus formidably ſupported; the gates of the city were opened to the combined forces, and the pretenſions of the ſyndics were eſtabliſhed by the count de Jancourt, the count de Marmora, and meſſieurs Steigner and Valtevalle, the miniſters plenipotentiary of the mediating powers. A general amneſty

Geneva, and wiſhing to carry on his trade exempt from reſtrictions, may, on payment of a certain ſum, be admitted into the *Bourgoeiſie*. The title of Burgeſs may alſo be conferred, in an honorary way, even on foreigners and non-reſidents; but no Burgeſs can hold any office in the magiſtracy, though he has a voice in the general aſſembly of the people.

The *Native* derives his appellation from the circumſtance of being born in the place; but though this ſhould certainly entitle him to the poſſeſſion of particular privileges, he has no political power or capacity whatſoever in the ſtate; he is, in fact, a ſtranger in the midſt of that country in which he was born and educated.

To be a *Citizen* it is neceſſary not only to be born in the republic, but alſo to be the ſon of a *Citizen* or *Burgeſs*, or of a *Native*, whoſe father and grandfather have had the ſame character. For it is not the ſon, but the grandſon of a *Native*, who has the privilege of *Citizen* by birth. The number of this claſs was, in the year 1782, eſtimated at eighteen hundred. The citizens enjoy the privilege of holding public offices, and of forming part of the legiſlature.

was, at the ſame time, publiſhed, out of which only nineteen perſons were excepted; two of theſe were deprived of their employments; ſeven were condemned to perpetual exile; and the reſt were baniſhed for ten years; but the ſpirits of the inhabitants were ſeverely repreſſed by theſe new regulations; and a great number of them rather choſe to quit for ever their native country, than to ſubmit to thoſe inſtitutions which they conſidered as a violent infringement of their privileges, and as a flagrant invaſion of their liberties.

During the adminiſtration of monſieur Fleury, who, on the diſmiſſion of M. Neckar, had ſucceeded to the office of comptroller-general of the finances, many of the reforms which the latter had carried into execution were ſuperſeded, and ſome of the abuſes which he had deſtroyed were unhappily reſtored. The publication of various edicts and impoſts, neceſſary but onerous, increaſed the regret of the people for the loſs of the late miniſter, who had wiſely adopted the beſt of all maxims of finance, that economy is the ſureſt ſource of abundance.

To multiply the reſources of the government, without encreaſing the burthens of the public, the miniſters endeavoured to kindle, throughout the capital, and in the different provinces, a flame of enthuſiaſm, which, if productive of no ſolid advantage, might yet dazzle the eyes of the multitude, and awe the enemies of France. The defeat of the count de Graſſe had impreſſed the kingdom with general grief and conſternation; and, in order to repair the loſs which the national marine had ſuſtained, ſeveral ſtates and wealthy communities were prevailed upon to diſplay their zeal in the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips of war, according to their reſpective ſtrength and affluence.

The clergy were more particularly diſtinguiſhed by their liberality, diſplayed in a manner highly conſiſtent with their ſacred profeſſion. They not only granted to the exigencies of the ſtate a free gift of *fifteen millions of livres*, but, at the ſame time, requeſted their ſovereign to accept an additional million, to be inviolably applied to the comfort and maintenance of thoſe ſeamen who had been wounded in the courſe of the war, and to the ſupport of the widows and orphans of ſuch as had fallen, gallantly fighting in the defence of the naval glory of France.

A. D. 1783.] Yet theſe contributions, though they reflected the higheſt honour on the donors, could afford but a partial and ſcanty ſupply, while the immenſe preparations of France called for the moſt ſolid and effectual ſupport. In conjunction with his allies, Lewis was determined this year, to make the moſt powerful efforts, for the purpoſe of promoting a ſpeedy termination of the war. The combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon, though unable to atchieve any enterprize of importance, ſtill maintained their ſuperiority, in Europe, over the Engliſh. The marquis de Buſſy, with three

three ſhips of the line, three thouſand troops, and a conſiderable train of artillery, ſupported the hopes of France in the Eaſt, and already aſpired to the conqueſt of the Engliſh poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel. Nine ſhips of the line, and thirty tranſports, in which was embarked a ſelect corps of ſeven thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, ſailed from Breſt to America, under the conduct of monſieur de Vialis, to reinforce the marquis de Vaudreuil, and to complete the expulſion of the Engliſh from that continent; while the States-General of Holland agreed to ſupply at their own expence ten ſhips of the line, which were to ſail to Breſt, and to act in concert with the ſquadrons of France. The count d'Eſtaing was appointed to the ſupreme command of the combined fleets.

Such were the preparations for the enſuing campaign, on which the miniſters of France founded the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs; but, fortunately, their projects of ambition were fruſtrated by the pacific diſpoſition of their ſovereign, who preferred to the aggrandiſement of his crown the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects. A change in the adminiſtration of England had effected an alteration in the ſentiments and proceedings of the Britiſh council, and all idea of farther oppoſition to the claims of America were diſclaimed by the new miniſters. The emancipation of the Americans from the domination of Great Britain had been the grand object of France; the defeat in the Weſt Indies, and the repulſe at Gibraltar, were ſtill impreſſed on the mind of Lewis; and though his vaſt armaments, and the reſources of his allies, preſented the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs in the enſuing campaign, they were ſtill inſufficient to perſuade him to continue the war, when the grand object of it was already obtained, and when peace could be procured on terms honourable to himſelf, and advantageous to his kingdom.

Induced by theſe conſiderations, he liſtened to the proffered and powerful mediation of the two firſt potentates in Europe, the emperor of Germany, and the empreſs of Ruſſia; and the count de Vergennes, who ſtill preſided over the department of foreign affairs, was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert, the Engliſh miniſter at Bruſſels, but who had lately proceeded to Paris, to conduct this important negociation. The way was already ſmoothed for the reſtoration of public tranquillity by proviſional articles, ſigned, at the concluſion of the laſt year, between Great Britain and the States of America, and which were to conſtitute a treaty of peace finally to be concluded, when that between France and Great Britain took place.

By theſe articles the freedom, ſovereignty, and independence of the Thirteen United States were, individually, by name, and in the fulleſt and moſt expreſs terms, acknowledged, and all claims to their government and territorial rights were for ever relinquiſhed by the crown of Great Britain. Several lines were drawn for the purpoſe of preventing all future diſputes about boundaries; and, on the ſea coaſts—as the Britiſh forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States—New York, Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, and Charles Town, with all their dependencies, were given